

CONTENTS

PAGE	PAGE
PROFESSOR K. KRISHNASWAMI AYYANGAR C.V., M.A. :—	PROFESSOR K. B. PATHAK :—
THE ANTIQUITIES OF MAHABALIPURAM .. 49, 65	NEW LIGHT ON GUPTA ERA AND MINIRAKULA. 267
KHIMBAO. R. AMBEDKAR, M.A. :—	V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T. :—
GAMES IN INDIA 81	THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA .. 22, 36, 57, 74, 96, 119, 156, 183, 209, 237, 272
L. D. BARNETT :—	K. AMRITA ROW, M.A. :—
ALPHABETICAL GUIDE TO SINGHALESE FOLK- SONS FROM BALLAD SOURCES .. Sup. 117	THE DRAVIDIAN ELEMENT IN PRAKRIT .. 33
JOHN FAITHFULL FLEET 128	SURENDRANATH MAJUMDAR SASTRI :—
D. C. BHATTACHARYYA, M.A. :—	Kavyamimamsa of Rajaekhara 185
Banabhatta's Guru 63	HIRALAL AMRITLAL SHAH :—
The Mahanastasa and its Author .. 164	SOME REMARKS SUPPLEMENTING "THE MANUSMRTI IN THE LIGHT OF SOME RECENTLY PUBLISHED TEXTS" 95
Magha and His Patrons 191	SOME INTERESTING PARALLELS 233
G. E. L. CARTER, I.C.S. :—	SIR AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E., D.Sc., D.LITT. :—
Notes on Sind 133	A THIRD JOURNEY OF EXPLORATION IN CENTRAL ASIA, 1913—16 109, 137, 165, 193, 221, 249
RELIGION IN SIND 205	V. S. SUKTHANKAR :—
K. N. D. :—	Kalidasa's Meghaduta or the Cloud Messenger 79
The Notion of Kingship in the Subhantī, by R. G. Pradhan, B.A., LL.B. 48	An Account of the Different Existing Systems of Sanskrit Grammar 106
N. B. DIVATIA, B.A. :—	SIR R. C. TEMPLE, BART. :—
THE WIDE SOUND OF E AND O WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO GUJARATI .. 297	ORIGINAL PAPERS RELATING TO THE CYCLONE AT PONDICHERY ON NEW YEAR'S DAY, 1761.. .. . 5
R. E. ENTHOVEN, C.I.E., I.C.S. :—	Notes From Old Factory Records .. 48, 64, 79, 106, 192, 220, 248, 275, 304
FOLKLORE OF THE GUJARAT Sup. 125, 137, 149	JOHN FAITHFULL FLEET AND "THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY" 129
J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (RETD.), PH.D., C.I.E. :—	JOB CHARNOCK—HIS PARENTAGE AND WILL 266
JAMES BURGESS, C.I.E., LL.D. 1	AUSTRIA'S COMMERCIAL VENTURE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY 277
Y. R. GUPTA :—	L. P. TESSITORI :—
Intercourse between India and the Western World from the Earliest Times to the Fall of Rome, by H. G. Rawlinson, M.A., I.E.S. 164	Aitihāsaka Rasa Samgraha, by Vijaya Dharma Suri 133
K. P. JAYASWAL, M.A. (OXON.), BAR-AT- LAW :—	DR. A. VENKATASUBBIAH, M.A., PH.D. :—
THE HISTORICAL POSITION OF KANBY AND HIS IDENTIFICATION WITH YASODHARMAN. 145	THE KADAMBA PRAKRIT INSCRIPTION OF MALAVALLI 164
Architecture and Sculpture in Mysore .. 248	ABDUL WALI :—
Bandha-bhitya of the Mudra Rakshasa .. 275	Surgeon Gabriel Boughton 47
Prajñā-Trisavi, a Jaina Epistle 276	H. WILBERFORCE-BELL :—
T. V. KANE, M.A., LL.M. :—	Corruptions of English in the Indian Vernaculars 28
OUTLINES OF THE HISTORY OF ALAMKARA LITERATURE 173	G. YAZDANI :—
NANEGOPAL MAJUMDAR, B.A. :—	History of Aurangzeb, Vol. III, by Prof. Jadu Nath Sarkar, M.A. 64
A HARAPA STONE INSCRIPTION 125	
Kullukana and Kannadaka 220	
RAMESH CHANDRA MAJUMDAR :—	
Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department, for the year 1918, Bangalore, by Rao Bahadur B. Narasimhaiah, M.A. 135	
THE HISTORY OF KANNADA 261	

CONTENTS

MISCELLANEA

Surgeon Gabriel Boughton, by Abdul Wali	47
Banabhatta's Guru, by D. C. Bhattacharyya	50
Notes on Sind, by G. E. L. Carter	123
The <i>Mahimnastava</i> and its Author, by D. C. Bhattacharyya	124
Magha and his Patrons, by D. C. Bhattacharyya	124
Kalidasa and Kamandaka, by Nanigopal Majumdar	125
Bandhu-bhritya of the <i>Mudra Rakshasa</i> , by K. P. Jayaswal	175

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Corruptions of English in the Indian Vernaculars, by H. Wilberforce-Bell	38
Notes from Old Factory Records, by Sir R. C. Temple	48, 64, 79, 106, 192, 236, 243, 275, 304

BOOK-NOTICES.

The Notion of Kingship in the <i>Sutranti</i> , by K. N. D.	48
History of Aurangzeb, Vol. III, by G. Yasani	64
Kalidasa's <i>Meghaduta</i> or the Cloud-Messenger, by V. S. Sukthankar	79
An Account of the different Existing Systems of Sanskrit-Grammar, by V. S. Sukthankar	106
Aitihasika Rasa Samgraha, by L. P. Tessitori	133
<i>Kavyamimamsa</i> of Rajaekhara, by Surendranath Majumdar Sastri	135
Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for the year 1916, Bangalore, by R. C. Chandra	135
Intercourse between India and the Western World from the Earliest Times to the Fall of Rome, by Y. R. Gupta	164
Architecture and Sculpture in Mysore, by K. P. Jayaswal	248
<i>Vijnapti-Triveni</i> , a Jaina Epistle, by K. P. Jayaswal	276

SUPPLEMENTS.

Alphabetical Guide to Sinhalese Folklore from Ballad Sources, by L. D. Barnett	117
Folklore of the Gujarat, by R. E. Enthoven, C.I.E., I.C.S.	125, 137, 149

PLATES.

The Antiquities of Mahabalipur, Nos. 1—12	facing pp. 46, 52, 53, 65, 67, 68, 69, 73
John Fair full Fleet	facing p. 128
Sketch Maps I & II to illustrate the position of Mt. Eiros	135
Dr. James Burgess, C.I.E., LL.D.	221

THE DRAVIDIAN ELEMENT IN PRAKRIT.¹

BY K. AMRITA ROW, M. A.; MADRAS.

DR. CALDWELL, while discussing in his *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages* (vide p. 56. III Ed.) the question of the Dravidian Element in the vernacular languages of Northern India, says "If the non-Sanskritic element contained in the Northern vocabularies had been Dravidian, we might also expect to find in their vocabularies a few primary Dravidian roots, such as the words for head, foot, eye, etc., but I have not been able to discover any reliable analogy in words belonging to this class." He further says "though the matter has been very much discussed in Muir's *Sanskrit Texts* Vol. II and in Beames's *Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India*, few, if any, traces of *distinctively* Dravidian elements are discernible in the North Indian Vernaculars."

Beames, on the other hand, in his *Comparative Grammar* (pp. 9-10 *3) says "the Aryans were in possession of a copious language before they came into India; they would therefore not be likely to borrow words of an ordinary, usual description, such as names for their clothing, weapons and utensils, or for their cattle and tools, or for the parts of their bodies, or for the various relations in which they stood to each other. The words they would be likely to borrow would be names for the new plants, animals, and natural objects which they had not seen in their former abodes, and even this necessity would be reduced by the tendency inherent in all races to invent descriptive names for new objects."

With regard to the non-Sanskritic element in the Northern Languages, the theory of Mr. Beames seems to me to be more accurate than that of Dr. Caldwell. I cannot understand why Dr. Caldwell should expect to find in the Northern vocabularies a few Dravidian roots, such as those for head, foot, eye, etc. The occurrence of such words would depend upon the degree of contact between the Aryans and the Dravidians. At the present time, we find in South Canara people speaking Konkani, an Aryan dialect, and living amidst people speaking the Dravidian languages, Canarese and Tulu. Though they have been living there for a very long time, the only foreign words which are now to be found in the Konkani vocabulary are words of the type mentioned by Mr. Beames. But the Dravidian words borrowed by the Prakrits, which will be given below, tell a different tale. We find that the Aryans speaking the Prakrits have borrowed from the Dravidians even words for the various relations in which the Aryans stood to each other, besides words for parts of the body. Though they had several words of their own for the various animals, they borrowed words for them from the Dravidians. Thus, we find 4 words for parrot, *kīrō* (Dr), *kaṇṇillō*, *kuntō*, *vāyāḍō*; five words for pig, *kiraḥ* (Dr), *kidi* (Dr), *bhuxḍō*, *thūlaghōnō*, *bhuxḍīrō*; six words for tiger, *pakkasāvaḥ*, *karāḍō*, *arialli*, *rattacchā*, *pulli* (Dr), *khacchollō*; four words for snake, *kikkīṇḍi*, *sarāhaḥ*, *payalāō*, *pāvō* (Dr). It is unnecessary to multiply instances.

With regard to *dēśi* words in Prakrit, the only source of information we have at our command is Hemachandra's *Dēśināmamālā*. Though Hemachandra himself mentions the names of other authors such as Pādalīptāchārya, Gōpāla, Dēvarāja, etc., the works of these authors have not come down to us.

¹ Abbreviations: P. Prakrit; S. Sanskrit; Dr. Dravidian; Pers. Persian; Pehl. Pehlvi.

Hemachandra says, in the introductory verses of his *Dēśināmāṇī*, that in his work will be given such words as are not explained in his Grammar, are not to be found in lexicons and do not owe their origin to the power called *guṇīlakṣhaṇā* (i. e., which are not used in a metaphorical sense). He further says that numerous forms have been used in the various provincial dialects, and that the term *dēśi* has been used to denote only those words which have been used from times immemorial in Prākṛit. While several provincialisms given in *Dēśināmāṇī* can be traced back to Dravidian origin, some go back to Persian. Cf. P. *angutthalam*, 'ring,' Pers. *angushtarī*, Pehl. *angust*, Zend. *angusta*. For the change of *st* to *th*, cf. S. *hasta*, 'hand,' P. *hattha*. 2. P. *dattharō*, 'handkerchief,' Pers. *dastār*, 'a napkin, towel.' (For change of medial *ā* to *a* cf. S. *prastāva*, P. *patthava*) 3. P. *bandhō*, 'a servant,' New Pers. *bandah*, 'a servant,' Pehl. *bandak*, Old Pers. *bandaka*. 4. P. *parakkam*, 'a river,' Pers. *parak*, 'name of a river.' For the use of proper nouns as common cp. P. *goṇḍam*, 'a forest,' P. *gaṇḍivam*, 'a bow.' Punjābi *g-anesh* 'a due' paid to Hindu shrine. 5. P. *bokkadī*, 'a goat,' is evidently the Prākṛit form of S. *var-kara*, 'young animal,' which is evidently to be traced back through Persian to Arabic *baqar* 'ox, bull,' Hebrew, *baqar*, 'young animal.' (For change of medial *a* to *o* cf. S. *padma*, 'lotus,' P. *pomma*, and for change of *r* to *d* cf. S. *bhēra*, P. *bhēḍa*.) 6. P. *jayaṇa*, 'saddle,' cf. Pers. *zin*, Pehl. *zin*, Zend, *zaini*.

We learn from Mr. Vincent A. Smith's *Early History of India* that the Pahlavas settled in Western India as the lords of a conquered native population about the second century, A. D. and that the author of the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, (5 century A. D.) found the valley of the Lower Indus under the rule of the Parthian chiefs. After the battle of Nahavend in 641 A. D. in which the last Persian dynasty was overthrown by the Arabs, a large number of Zoroastrians from Persia came and settled in India. Muhammad Kāsim, a great general was deputed by the Caliph of Baghdad to conquer India about 711 A. D., and the Arabs ruled in India until they were turned out of Sind by the Rajputs. During the time of Muhammad of Ghazni (A. D. 997-1030), famous in Indian History for his twelve expeditions, one of his *vazīrs*, being more a man of business than learning, introduced the practice of writing all public papers in Persian. Elphinstone in his *History of India* says that it is owing to this circumstance that although India was never directly conquered by Persia, the language of business and of writing in general, is all taken from the latter country. Hence we need not be surprised if we should find Persian words in Prākṛit, since we find Persian and Arabic words in the Dravidian languages, on account of Muhammadan rule in Southern India. Hemachandra is therefore perfectly justified in supposing that provincialisms borrowed from Persian have been in use 'from times immemorial'.

The following are a few of the *dēśi* words in Hemachandra's *Dēśināmāṇī*, of which I attempt to give the Dravidian affinities. In deciding whether a word is Dravidian or not I have followed in general the same principles as those followed by Dr. Kittel and Dr. Caldwell (vide Dr. Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary*, Preface p. xiv—xvi).

Nouns of Relationship. Of the seven nouns of relationship borrowed by the Prākṛits five are distinctly Dravidian. 1. P. *appō*, 'father' is found in almost all the Dravidian dialects. 2. P. *ammā*, *avvā*, 'mother.' *Amma* is found in all the Dravidian dialects except Tulu. In Canarese *avva*, *avve*, means 'a mother or grandmother.' In Telugu *avva* means 'a grandmother.' 3. P. *akkā*, 'sister,' in Sanskrit, 'mother.' In the Dravidian dialects *akka* means 'sister,' as in Prākṛit. 4. P. *attā*, 'father's sister.' cf. Dr. 'atta father's sister.' 5. P. *māmī*, 'mother-in-law.' cf. Dr. *māmi* 'mother in law.' 6. P. *bhāvō*, 'elder

sister's husband.' cf. Can. *bhāva*, S. *bhāma*. 7. P. *vahunī*, 'elder brother's wife.' This is probably derived from the Sanskritised form, *vadhunī*, cf. Tel. *vadine*. (For the change of medial *i* to *u* cf. Tam. *maṣir*, 'hair,' P. *māsurī*.)

Parts of the body:—1. P. *bondī* 'form, face, body.' cf. Tam. Tel. *bondī*. 2. P. *poṭṭam*, 'belly.' cf. Tel. *poṭṭa*, Can. *poṭṭe*. 3. P. *khaḍdam*, 'beard' cf. Tel. *gaḍḍamu* Can. *gaḍḍa*, Tam. *kattai*. 4. P. *māsuri*, 'beard' cf. Tam. *maṣir*. For change of medial *i* to *u* cf. Tel. *vadine*, P. *vahunī*. 5. P. *punḍhō*, 'hollow, hollow of the loins.' cf. Tam. *punḍai* 'female organ of generation.' 6. P. *maḍḍō*, 'neck,' cf. Tel. *meḍa*. (for change of medial *e* to *a* cf. Tel. *reḍḍi*, P. *raddhī*: see below). 7. P. *kandala*, 'cheek,' cf. Can. Tel. Tam. *kanna* (vide Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary*, (Pref.) p. 17.)

Personal nouns. 1. P. *raddhī*, 'Chief, head' cf. Can. Tel. *reḍḍi*, 'the title of agriculturists.' 2. P. *seṭṭhī* (S. *śreṣṭhīn*) 'the headman of a village.' cf. Can., Tel. *ceṭṭi*, Tuḷu. *seṭṭi*. 3. P. *talārō*, 'a village watchman.' Dr. Pischel derives it from *talavāra*, *talavāraṇam*, 'glove of an archer' (cf. S. *skandhāvāra*, P. *khandhāra*. cf. Tam. *taleyāri* (from *tale-yāyī iru* 'to be at the head.'), Tel. *talāri*, Can. *taleyāri*. 4. P. *pōō*, 'boy' (S. *pōta*, 'young one of an animal'). cf. Can. *pōlu*, 'a he-goat.' Tel. *pōtu*, 'young one of an animal'. 5. P. *paḍiajjha* (*paḍi ajjha*). For *paḍi* cf. Tel. *baḍi*, 'a school.' (For change of *b* to *p* cf. Tel. *balli*, Skt. *palli*, 'a lizard'). 6. P. *paḍujuvai*, (*paḍuju vai* fem. term. corr. to S. *vaṭi*), 'a young girl.' cf. Tel. *paḍuṣu*, a young girl. (For change of *c* to *j* cf. S. *piāci*, P. *piāji*). 7. P. *sūlā*, 'a courtesan,' cf. Can. *sāḷe*. 8. P. *illō*, *ellī*, 'a poor man,' cf. Tam. *illān*, 'a poor man, Tam. *illai*, Can. *illa*, 'there is not.' 8. P. *kurulō*, 'a man with curly hair.' cf. Tel. *kurulu*, Can. *kuruḷ*, Tam. *suruḷ*, 'to twist, curl.' 9. P. *kurulō*, 'unkind, clever man.' cf. Tam. *kurudan*. Can. *kuruḍa*, 'blind man.' (change of meaning can be easily explained). 10. P. *maṭṭhō*, 'lazy man.' cf. Can., Tel. *maḍḍi*, 'stupid, dull, awkward person.'

Names of Animals. 1. P. *pullī*, 'tiger.' cf. Dr. *puli*. 2. P. *pāvō*, 'snake.' cf. Can. *pāvu*, Tel. *pāmu*, Tam. *pāmbu*. 3. P. *karaḷō*, 'tiger.' cf. Tam., Can. *karāḍi*, 'a bear.' 4. P. *mangusō muggasō*, 'ichneumon.' cf. Tel. *mungisa*, Can. *mungisi*. 5. P. *kira*, 'a parrot.' cf. Can. *kiru*, 'to cry,' Dr. *kiḷi*. 6. P. *kirah*, *kiḷi*, 'a pig.' cf. Dr. *kiru*, 'to scrape, scratch.'

Miscellaneous. 1. P. *ciccī*, 'fire.' cf. Tel. *cičču*, Can. *kiccu*. 2. P. *ṇesarō*, 'sun,' cf. Can. *ṇesaṣ*, Tam. *ṇāyir*. 3. P. *jhaḍi*, 'torrent of rain.' cf. Tel. *jaḍi*, Can. *jaḍi*. 4. P. *addūō*, 'looking glass.' cf. Tel. *addamu*. 5. P. *pasinḍi*, 'gold.' cf. Tel. *pasinḍi*. 6. P. *vairam*, diamond, Tam. *vairam*. 7. P. *peṇḍam*, 'anklet.' cf. Tel. *peṇḍaramu*, 'an anklet.' 8. P. *chāṇa*, *chāṇi*, 'cow-dung.' In the sense of cloth, P. *chāṇa* Skt. *chādana*. In the sense of cow-dung from S. *chagaṇa* (Can. *saganī*), cf. Tam. *sāṇi*. 9. P. *ūrō*, 'village.' Cf. Tel. *ūru*, Tam. *ūr*, Heb. *ār*, 'a city,' Assyrian, *uru*. 10. P. *māḷiam*, 'a house.' cf. Tam. *māḍam*, 'a house.' 11. P. *ummarō*, 'threshold.' cf. T. *ummārapaḍi*. 12. P. *kassō*, *kachcharō*, 'mud.' cf. Tel. *kasavu*, Can. *kasa*, *kasavu*, *kasara*, 'rubbish.' (For change of *s* to *ch*, cf. S. *sirā* 'vein,' P. *chihrā*). 13. P. *jheṇḍua*, 'ball.' cf. Can. *ceṇḍu*. 14. P. *moggara*, 'a bud' is evidently derived from Tel. *mogaḍa*, a bud. (For change of *d* to *r*, cf. S. *śhōḍasa*, P. *sōraha*). The doubling of medial *g* is due to confusion with Tel. *mogga*. cf. Can. *mogge*, *moggu*, 'a bud' Tam. *moggu*. 15. P. *u id*, 'black gram.' Cf. Tam. *ulundu*, Can. *uddu*. (for change of medial *u* to *i* cf. S. *puruṣa*, P. *pulisā*.) 16. P. *tuppō*, 'a leathern bottle for oil.' cf. Can. and Tam. *tuppa*. 17. P. *kālla* toddy, cf. Tel. *kaḷḷu*, Can. *kaḷḷu*, Tam. *kaḷ*. 18. P. *kāram*, pungent, through P. *kāram* from S. *kāra*. The deaspirization of initial is probably due to Dravidian influence, cf. Dr. *kāra*. 19. P. *muddi*, 'kissing.' Cf. Dr. *muddu*. 20.

P. *aṭṭai*, boils : cf. Dr. *aḍ*, to cook, past part. *aṭṭa*. 21. P. *ghuṭṭai* 'drinks.' cf. Tel. *guru* (*ku*) 'a gulp,' Brahui *gut*, 'throat.' 22. P. *rampai*, *rampai*, 'cuts.' cf. Tel. *rampamu*, 'a saw.' 23. P. *kāvi* 'blue colour.' Cf. Dr. *kāvi*, 'red ochre.'

Since the above words are considered by Hemachandra to be provincialisms which were in use from times immemorial, we may say that those words were borrowed long before his time. It is not, however, possible to say at what periods the different words were borrowed, as the materials I have collected till now are too scanty. Of course, there can be no doubt that the Aryans at one time lived in very close contact and freely mixed with the Dravidians, as is evident from the words mentioned above. This intermingling of people speaking Dravidian and Aryan vernaculars has occurred even in more recent times. Several Dravidian families have gone and settled permanently in Benares, the Bombay Presidency and even Kashmir, and intermarried with people speaking the Aryan vernaculars. We may therefore, expect to find a few Dravidian words in the languages of Northern India on account of this immigration. It may, after all, be that the Dravidian languages spoken by these people have not had any effect upon the Aryan vernaculars, just as the Marāṭhā language spoken in Tanjore and other parts of Southern India by settlers from the Marāṭhā country and the Gujarāṭi (Paṭnūli dialect and that by the Mārwarīs) have had no influence on the Dravidian languages.

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA

BY V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T., MADRAS.

(Continued from p. 28.)

If the theory of apostacy and murder is incredible, that of love intrigue is equally so. To believe that a king who had, in his harem, more than 200 wives,⁵⁴ the picked beauties of his kingdom, and who was already far in the decline of life, being more than 65 years old at the time of the alleged intrigue, was engaged in it, and underwent a vile and miserable death in the backyard of a poor man's house, alone and in the dark, demands an absurd amount of credulity as well as the sacrifice of commonsense. All that we can say is, that Tirumal Nāik must have died such a sudden death as to give rise to surprise and suspicion on the part of the populace and the concoction of plausible theories on the part of his servants. The early life of the Nāik ruler had not been adorned by temperance, and a sudden indisposition probably proved fatal.

NOTE.

Wheeler (*History* Vol. IV. Part II, pp. 576-581) gives some curious information concerning Tirumal Nāik. He says that Tirumal Nāik came to the throne on Feb. 9, 1626. The very next day after his coronation, Tirumal received the Tanjore ambassador and agreed to give Vallam in exchange for Trichinopoly,⁵⁵ if Vijaya Ranganātha would give his sister Pārva'ī to him in marriage. Wheeler then gives a description of the royal marriage, which was exactly the same as that at the present day. Three days after this marriage, Aryanātha died.⁵⁶ His funeral was performed with great splendour, and the

⁵⁴ The Jesuit letters say that he had 200 wives and the most distinguished of these committed *satī* on his death. See *Madura Gazr.*, p. 48.

⁵⁵ This is absurd; for we have already seen that Vallam was exchanged for Trichinopoly in the time of the first Viśvanātha.

⁵⁶ This is also absurd. Aryanātha really died in 1600, 23 years before Tirumal's accession.

ministerial ring was given by the Nâik to his favourite, Vidiappa, and the ring of the commander-in-chief to his other favourite, Râmappaiya. Wheeler points out that the Nâik's army numbered 4,000 horsemen and 60,000 footmen under 72 polygars. The cavalry was placed outside the fort, and the infantry on the 72 ramparts. The annual revenue of the State was 44 lakhs of *chakrams*, i. e., 88 lakhs of rupees. About one tenth of these went to Brahmans, £ 60,000 for servants' salaries, £ 40,000 for charities and palace expenses, £ 20,000 for the Nâik's daily charities, and the remaining £ 680,000 were stored up in the treasury, thereby giving much scope for Mussalman plunder; or to speak in terms of *chakrams*, 4 lakhs for Brahmans and their temples, 3 lakhs for salaries of servants, one lakh for daily charities, and the remaining 34 were hoarded up. Wheeler then goes on to state that Tirumal married the daughters of his uncles, who had been passed over for the sake of the Tanjore princess. For his war with the Sêtipati, his numerous marriages, etc., see *ante*. Wheeler concludes by pointing out that Tirumal was adored as a God by his subjects. He never refused a boon. No suppliant ever left his presence with discontent in his face. His troops were well disciplined, his generals brave and experienced, and himself so fortunate that he gained as many victories as he fought battles.

CHAPTER VII.

The Advent of the Marathas.

SECTION I.

Muttu Ala-kadri 1659.

THE death of Tirumal Nâik was the sign of internal factions and disputed succession. Immediately after the performance of the funeral of the great king, his son Muttu Alakâdri, or Muttu Virappa⁵⁷ as he was also called, was elevated to the throne by a council of the lords, courtiers and the ministers. The succession of the new monarch, however, was disputed by the able Kumâra Muttu, the younger brother of the late king, who was, as we have already seen, engaged in his victorious campaign in Mysore at the time of his brother's death. Immediately after he received the intelligence of his nephew's election, he abandoned the contest with Mysore and returned at the head of his exultant army to win the crown by the sword. Kumâra Muttu had the strong support of his army, but Virappa had the command of the treasury and the support of the most influential grandees of the court. The war between the rival claimants, it appeared therefore, would be prolonged and obstinate; but at this stage the timidity or self-sacrifice of Kumâra Muttu saved the kingdom from the evils and hardships of a civil war. In return for the independent rule of Sivakâsi and the surrounding districts, he gave up his claim to the throne of his ancestors. The reasons which led to this extraordinary act are uncertain. The author of the *Madura District Manual* believes that it was probably due to the prudence of Kumâra Muttu or to the unwillingness

⁵⁷ The divergency of opinion among the chronicles in regard to Virappa's date is very great. According to the *Pand. Chron.*, which is perhaps the right authority, he ruled only three months from the Paṅguni of Viḷambi (1659 A.D.) to the Vaikâsi of Vikâri. The *Hist. of the Carnat. Kings and Supp. MS.* and the Telugu record of the *Carnat. Dynas.* on the other hand, attribute to him 10 years from Subhakṛit to Virôdhikrit (S 1484-1494, i.e.,) 1562-1572 A.D. One of the Mirtanjiya MSS. (*O. H. MSS. II. 119*) says that he assumed office on the 5th Mâsi, Viḷambi (S. 1580) and ruled till the end of Vykâsi in Vikâri, i. e., 4 months.

of his wearied army to fight with his formidable opponents. The theory of strong Court opposition seems to have much truth in it, for we are told that even Ranganna Nâik,⁵⁸ so just in his behaviour and so loyal in his conduct, was for Muttu Virappa, and went on an embassy from him to his rival, then encamped in the village of Dharmavaran, to dissuade him from war, and from the Madura throne in return for the sovereignty over the district of Sivakâsi. Either policy or fear then prompted Kumâra to support with resignation the loss of his crown and accept a province in preference to a more extensive but doubtful kingdom. Before he surrendered his right and his army, however, he took care that his son Kumâra Raṅgappa Nâik was installed and anointed as the second in power, so that the claim of his line to the crown might not die with him. At Sivakâsi he distinguished himself by his salutary works. He built the town, erected a large temple, which he dedicated to a *lingam* he had brought from Nanjanakuṭi, established a number of companion images ordered embroidered vestments for their adornment, constructed a car, and arranged for regular festivals. He is further said to have excavated many reservoirs and established many *agrahârams*. He ruled there for some time and died. (*Record of the Carna. Govrs., O. H. MSS. II, p. 184.*)

As for the new king, he seems to have been not wanting in capacity and character. A Telugu chronicle indeed eulogises him as a ruler of splendour and equity, a builder of temples and villages, a charitable man and a gallant soldier, and though the eulogy may be a general formula rather than a tribute to truth, yet Muttu Virappa seems to have been neither wanting in energy nor in high aims. The great object of his policy was to undo the political vandalism of his father, to remove the Musalman yoke, and to revive the former glory of independence. With this commendable, if unattainable goal, he strengthened the fortifications of Trichinopoly, and proposed to the Nâik of Tanjore the formation of an alliance, both offensive and defensive, against Musalman domination. The proposal of Virappa was a wise one, but it received no favourable support from the Tanjore Nâik who feared that it would invite war and bring disaster. After all, he did not gain by this selfish and timid attitude, for, in the opening months of 1659, a Muhammadan army appeared on the scene, and finding itself unable to seize Trichinopoly, owing to the caution of Muttu Virappa, turned its arms, with that unscrupulousness which blinded it from friends and foes alike, against Tanjore. The latter was not unprepared to sustain a siege. It was defended by an almost impregnable fortress, a fine equipment of artillery and a considerable collection of provisions; but all these sources of strength and means of success could be of no avail where cowardice and treason reigned supreme. The Tanjore general was a coward, and a slight wound was enough to make him lose heart and give up the defence and flee, with his master, to the neighbouring fortress of Vallam. The result was the Muhammadan army was able to take possession of the city and then reduce the rest of the kingdom. Nothing remained to complete the disintegration of the kingdom but the capture of Vallam, and the king and the victorious Islamites now proceeded to that task. The fortress of Vallam was one of the strongest and most strategic in the country. Its defence hardly required much military skill, and the Tanjore king had no reason to fear

⁵⁸ See Taylor's *O. H. MSS. II, p. 177* (The history by Raṅganna Nâik.) Raṅganna ruled his *paḍayam* for 50 years.

disaster so long as he had the necessary men and provisions ; but he was the slave of fear and the tool of cowards. He therefore abandoned the defence of the place and left for the neighbouring woods, where pursuit was difficult and life was safe.

The conquest of Tanjore was immediately followed by the invasion of Madura ; and the whole country from the banks of Kâveri to the latitude of Madura became subject to the depredations of the Musalmans. The unfortunate people once again had to experience the hardships of war, while their king was secure in his luxurious palace at Trichinopoly. As usual, the Musalman in victory did not display moderation or wisdom. It seemed to be more a crusade against civilization in general than the conquest of a kingdom. The avarice of the soldiers seized every opportunity of plunder and their brutality every chance of oppression. Never did Madura or Tanjore experience, in all their gloomy careers, a calamity so dire and so disastrous as on this occasion ; but never at the same time did Providence mete out a punishment to the authors of the misery so rapid and so effective as the one on this time. The excesses and atrocities of the victors recoiled on themselves. The horrors of famine overspread the land. Thousands died of hunger, and thousands left the kingdom in search of better, safer and more fortunate climes. Those who survived the famine or resisted the temptation to emigrate fell victims to epidemics. In this combination of ills the Muhammadan army suffered most. Want of food thinned its ranks daily, and desertion became a common-place occurrence. The corpses of starved men and the carcasses of dead horses lined the roadside in disorderly mixture and filled the fields. The atmosphere became surcharged with the poison of putrid matter and the stench of decaying bodies. Diseases and pestilence broke out and added their dire work to the activity of famine. The difference between conquerors and conquered disappeared in the common suffering, and both united in cries of misery and prayers of urgency for the help of Providence.

For a few weeks the Muhammadan generals endeavoured to overcome the calamity, but in vain. They found their position absolutely untenable and longed to return to their homes. But before doing so they wished, if possible, to intimidate the King of Madura and extort an indemnity from him. With this intention they advanced to Trichinopoly and laid siege to it. They were not successful. In the first place they met with a stout and determined defence from Muttu Virappa and his general Liṅgama Naik, a man of great capacity and greater ambition, of whom we shall hear much in the next reign. Secondly, the horrors of famine and virulence of pestilence followed them, and thirdly, the depredations of the Kallās, probably the subjects of the Sētupati, insulted them by harassing and daring attacks upon their camps. The consequence was the Muhammadans entered into negotiations for peace. Virappa could, with greater tact, have refused attention to their overtures, and found a means to annihilate them ; but he exaggerated their strength and underrated his own, and thought that he was making a good bargain by purchasing their evacuation of the country. His only consolation was that the drain from his coffers was comparatively moderate.

So ended the dream of Muttu Virappa to restore the glory of his realm to its former independence. His failure in the war is attributed by some writers on the authority of the Jesuits to his character. From⁵⁰ the moment of his accession, they say, he gained the notoriety of a drunkard and a debaucher. Entirely oblivious of the duties of his office,

⁵⁰ *E. g.* ; Wheeler and Nelson. Taylor takes the view of the Chronicles that he was very probably a wise and peaceable prince and that his reign was not marked by incidents, (*O. H. MSS.* II, p. 184).

he employed his hours in the gratification of the senses, in the exclusive pursuit of pleasure, which told fatally on his constitution. The son of Tirumal Nâik died, according to this view, an inglorious, unhonoured, and unlamented death, after a short but eventful rule of three months. The chronicles, however, do not give this dark picture of the Jesuits.

SECTION II.

Chokkanâtha Nâik 1659-1682.

On the death of Muttu Alakâdri, his son Chokkanâtha, a youth of sixteen, came to the throne.⁶⁰ The young ruler promised to achieve greatness both in the field and in the *darbâr*. A keen soldier and enterprising adventurer, he had, for the first object of his ambition, the restoration of the independence of Madura.

The character of Chokkanâtha.

His arms were at first attended with success, but in the latter part of his reign, the degeneracy of his own character, the treason of his ministers, and the interference of the Marâthâs and Mysoreans in the State, resulted in the collapse of his policy and the practical extinction of his kingdom. Beginning then under auspicious circumstances, his reign ended, contrary to the sanguine expectations of his people, in misery and gloominess. The impartiality of the historian must declare that the period of his government, in fact, is a more horrible record of domestic plots and foreign invasions, of popular misery and hardships, than any other period of equal duration in Nâik history. More active than wise,

⁶⁰ According to the *Pand. Chron.*, the year of his accession was 1660 A. D. (Vikâri Âni). He ruled, it says, for 24 years till 1684 (Dundumi Âni). But the *Supp. MS.* and *Carna. Dynas.* say that he reigned from 1672 (Paritâpi) to 1688 (Prabhava). Wheeler gives him the date 1662-1685. Epigraphical references to Chokkanâtha are somewhat meagre, and they do not illustrate very clearly the period of his rule. They, however, shew that he ruled till at least 1678, the year when the usurpation or elevation of his brother Muttu Alakâdri took place. That Chokkanâtha came to the throne in 1659 is clear from an inscription in the Jayantiâvara Temple at Trichinopoly. (Parâbhava, Âni 27, Saturday, Trayôdâsî) wherein Chokkanâtha is said to have settled a dispute between five castes in regard to their paraphernalia. Sewell mentions six of his inscriptions from 1661 to 1667, and one of his brother dated 1678. The first of these is at Nenmêni, five miles east of Sâttur (Râmnâd Dt.) on a stone in front of the Ananta-Râja Temple, and records the gift of a tank for Chokkalînga's merit in S. 1583. A similar record, dated S. 1587, is on a stone north of the Perumâi temple in the same place. (Sewell's *Antiquities*, I, 305). A copper-plate grant of 1662 (which is in Telugu and which is, Sewell says, in the Trichin. Dt. Court) records a gift of land by Chokkanâtha to a Śrîraṅgam priest. This plate is also interesting for the fact that it records that Śrî Rāṅga Rāya was then reigning at "Ghanagiri." (*Id.* II, 7). An inscn. of 1663 found at Tiruchchengôḍe (Salem Dt.) says that "Vijaya Ranga Chokkalînga Naiken of Madura built the gopura." It is doubtful whether this refers to Chokkanâtha or any other prince of the royal family. (*Id.* I, 203). A Telugu copper plate of 1665, written in Tamil *grantha* characters, records a gift of land to some Brahmins at Kaniyur, 10 miles S. W. of Uḍumalpet. (*Id.* II, 27). This grant also mentions Śrî Rāṅga Dêva Mahâ Rāya, of Chandragiri. A similar copper-plate grant of 1667 mentions a similar grant at Kumâralîngam, 10 miles S. E. of Uḍumalpet. This also mentions Chokkanâtha's acknowledging the allegiance of Śrî Rāṅga Rāya. In regard to this, Mr. Sewell remarks: "This is the first grant that I have seen where the Telugu language is rendered in *grantha* characters." (*Antiquities*, II, 28). The record of Muttu Lingappa is a copper-plate (Dt. Court, Madura) in Telugu, dated 1678 A. D. (Kâlayukti). It bestows the village of Krishṇâpuram on a Brahman. The grantor is described as "Muddu Alugari Nayudu, grandson of Viḡvanatha Nayani Tirumala Nayudu, and son Muddu Virappa Nayudu." He also recognizes the suzerainty of Sri Viraprâtâpa Sri Rāṅga Rāya Mahadeva Rāya (who came to the throne, as Sewell says, in 1665). See *Antiquities*, II, 4.

Chokkanātha always had before him projects of a visionary nature, undertakings, which neither his capacity nor his resource was adequate to meet. He lacked that calmness, that quick understanding of facts, that intellectual nimbleness and resource, which is necessary for a successful politician. To this incapacity he added an extraordinary amount of self-pride, which detected insult where there was none. The result was, he left his kingdom at his death, in a most unhappy and dilapidated condition, a prey to rival powers and contending parties, and a home of bloodshed and anarchy.

His war with the Muhammadans.

The tendency of Chokkanātha to act on impulse and ignorance is seen in his very first act.⁶¹ Immediately after his assumption of the royal robes, he proclaimed a war with Bijāpur, with a view to drive that power from its stronghold of Jinji, to restore the Nāiks of that kingdom, and to revive the greatness of the Karnāṭaka *rājā*. It is highly probable that, in his precipitate move, Chokkanātha disregarded the cautious advice of his ministers. At any rate, there is evidence to show that, soon after Daḷavāi Liṅgaṇṇa Nāik proceeded with his 40,000 cavalry to the frontier against Sagosi, the Muhammadan general of Jinji, a plot of a formidable nature, in which the ministers themselves played a prominent part, took place. The origin of the conspiracy lay either in the spirit of independence which the king displayed, or in his youth, which inspired the ambition of unscrupulous men. The leaders of disaffection were the Pradhāni and the Rāyasam, the former a Brāhman. Under the name of guardians, they deprived the young chief of his power and freedom and banished or imprisoned all those whose loyalty was a source of danger to their power. Nor did they display wisdom in their administration. They exercised authority with the cruelty of tyrants and the greediness of upstarts. Allying themselves with the Daḷavāi Liṅgaṇṇa, a man who, in his ambition and avarice, sold the interests of his country to the Muhammadan and was conducting a sham campaign, they organised a formidable triumvirate with the object of removing Chokkanātha and raising his younger brother to the throne in his place. The prospect of success was very near at hand, when an accident betrayed the nefarious plot and brought its authors to justice and ruin. The fidelity of a palace lady apprised the young king of the real state of things. He at once entered into secret communications with his friends in exile, and, with their help, eventually contrived to surprise and seize the traitors in the palace. The Rāyasam was immediately put to death, but the caste of the more heinous criminal obtained for him the comparatively mild punishment in the loss of his eyes. The other accomplice Liṅgaṇṇa Nāik, however, was still at liberty. With a reckless disregard of his country and creed, he joined hands with those whom he was sent to conquer, and marched against his master. Thus it was that a hostile Muhammadan army, of 12,000 foot and 7,000 horse, commanded by Sagosi and guided by the Nāik general, assembled at the foot of the Trichinopoly fortifications. The place was at once invested and every attempt was made to take it. To the arbitration of the sword was added the temptation of bribery, and the camp of Chokkanātha once again became a scene of treasonable activity. A kinsman of the old minister, who was in the king's service, took advantage of this opportunity to entertain designs of revenge, and sell his conscience and good name. The ability of the besiegers and the play of treason

⁶¹ These details are not found in any of the indigenous chronicles. Mr. Nelson has taken these from Jesuit sources, and my account of the reign is based on his.

in the Nâik camp would have achieved the fall of Trichinopoly, but the vigilance of Chokkanâtha saved him. He discovered the plot, removed the conspirator, and promptly overhauled the ministerial staff. A tide of success seems to have followed this reorganisation. The Muhammadans abandoned their attempt, and retreated to Tanjore, and numbers of their soldiery were attracted by the martial vigour and quick resource of Chokkanâtha to crowd under his standard, and the Madura army swelled from its original strength of 50,000 men to 70,000. Success killed prudence, and Chokkanâtha resolved to try the chance in his fortunes to a logical extremity and pursue his retreating adversaries. His object was now threefold, to drive the Muhammadans in disgrace back to their homes, to chastise the conduct of his Dalavâi, and to get reparation from Tanjore for its alliance with the enemies of Madura. In the flush of victory, Chokkanâtha was able to accomplish his aims. He inflicted a defeat on Sagosi and compelled him to return to Jinji. He fell on Tanjore and forced the submission of its chief; and he won over the unscrupulous Dalavâi, not however by conquest, but by matrimony, by raising his daughter to the dignity of his queen.

Curious Portents of disaster.

Such was the formidable treason which threatened Chokkanâtha's crown at the outset of his career, and from which he extricated himself with such pluck and courage. Though not twenty, he had behaved like a hero in the midst of a hurricane of enmity. If his reign began with a domestic trouble, it also began with a triumph over Jinji and Tanjore. Chokkanâtha had therefore every reason to look with self-complacency on his work; but he was not destined to enjoy his satisfaction long. Providence destined him to a career of incessant trouble and grief, of defeat and disaster. Nature itself, we are told, gave warnings of the coming woes and ills to which his State and people were to be subjected. Children were born, we are informed, with complete sets of teeth. Wild animals⁶² boldly roamed in plains and invaded cities; thousands of healthy people died sudden and mysterious deaths, while an equal number fell in famines. Swarms of insects darkened and poisoned the air, and epidemics of a ferocious nature raged with violence and swept off thousands. These unnatural events and extraordinary scenes threw the people into a panic of fear and anxiety, and raised forebodings of coming disaster and distress. Nor did it take long to come, though it did not take a shape as unusual as the events which foreshadowed it. It came in the form of another Musalman invasion.

The Muhammadan retaliation.

In the beginning of 1664, the Muhammadans once again burst into South India. It is difficult to say to, what this invasion was due but it can hardly be doubted that it was due to their desire to wipe out the shame of their late humiliation. The invaders this time were led by the commander-in-chief of Bijâpur, Vanamiân. In his sudden push for the Nâik capital, Vanamiân might have been successfully opposed by the king of Tanjore, but the latter preferred the traditional policy of submission and even assistance. At Trichinopoly, however, the Bijâpur general met with an opposition far stronger than that he had anticipated. The artillery of Chokkanâtha proved more than equal to the equipment

⁶² Proenza says that some time after Tirumal Nâik's death Madura was so much deserted that wild animals boldly came there. Perhaps it refers to this period. The Dutch, it may be mentioned here, took advantage of the popular misery to decoy hundreds of men and women selling them as slaves. That the Portuguese and Dutch dealt largely in slaves is amply proved by Manucci in his *Storia do Mogor*.

of the besiegers, and vanamîān realised that he could not easily capture the city. He therefore resolved to change his strategy, to attack the people and lay waste the kingdom, in short to strike at the king through his people. He therefore abandoned the siege of Trichinopoly, and diverted his forces into the heart of the kingdom. The strength of the Muhammadan soldiers and of Muhammadan fanaticism was let loose on a mild and innocent populace, and there began, in consequence, a period of horrible massacre, rare even in Musalman warfare. The soldiers of Bijapur looked with satisfaction on the burning flames of villages and farm-houses. They seized men and forcibly circumcised them, tossed children on sword points and violated all rules of civilized war. Desperation goaded even cowardice to acts of heroism, and the people of many a village set fire to their homes and preferred death in the general conflagration to capture and torture by the Muhammadan soldiery.

The atrocities of the Muhammadan army, however, had one good effect. They induced the king to endeavour for a conclusion of peace. At first he led a life of indolent security within the fort of his capital, too weak or too indifferent to remove the calamities of his subjects ; but the widespread horror of suffering compelled the abandonment of his inaction and the resort to an understanding with the adversaries. He promptly agreed to pay a considerable sum as indemnity for the present and tribute for the future ; and the Muhammadans turned their back on the ruined kingdom, encumbered with spoils and enriched with booty of priceless value.

His punitive expeditions against Tanjore and Rāmnaḍ.

In the tumultuous condition of South India in the 17th century, the slightest provocation was enough to inflame an internecine war. Chokkanātha's indignation was roused by the assistance which Tanjore had rendered to the invaders and by the indifference with which Tirumalai Sētopati⁶³ had regarded his recent humiliation. He therefore meditated, immediately after the departure of the Muhammadans, an invasion of Tanjore and the chastisement of Rāmnaḍ. Himself taking the field in person, he promptly marched to the fortress of Vallam and took it by surprise. Here his conquests stopped. It seems that Chokkanātha's object was not territorial conquest, but the simple punishment of his brother chief. His expedition was more a punitive demonstration than a serious war. He therefore abandoned the contest after the seizure of Vallam, and marched into Rāmnaḍ. He first occupied the Marava forts of Tirupattūr, Pudukkōṭṭa, Māna Madurai and Kālayār Kōil, and desired to subdue the Sētopati by a single but effective victory. But it was not the plan of the cautious Marava to come to a definite engagement. He adopted guerilla tactics, retreated into the inaccessible woods of his Jaghir, and harassed his Suzerain's forces by daring sallies and surprise attacks. Chokkanātha was, in consequence, tired of the war.⁶⁴ He had moreover to perform certain religious ceremonies in his capital. He therefore left the conduct of the war to his lieutenants, and went to Trichinopoly. The officers were incompetent, and the Sētopati was able to boldly emerge from the forest, resume the offensive, and inflict severe reverses on the royal forces. Chokkanātha had consequently to withdraw his troops, except those which garrisoned the places taken already.

⁶³ Tirumalai was the chief of the Maravas till 1670. Inscriptions 394 and 398 of 1906, which record gifts for his merit at the Satyagirinātha temple at Tirumayyam, are dated 1669 and are therefore practically his last. He seems to have performed the Hiranyagarbha sacrifice and therefore had the title of Hiranyagarbhayāji. See *Mad. Ep. Rep.* 1911, p. 89.

⁶⁴ See *Madura Manual*. Raja Ram Rao's *Rāmnaḍ Manual* does not mention this war.

His disastrous war with Mysore.

Besides the Tanjore and Rāmnāḍ campaigns, Chokkanātha seems to have been engaged in the first decade of his rule in a war with Mysore. Wilks says that it was due to "Chuckapa's" desire for the entire conquest of Mysore; but "the events of the war reversed his expectations, and left the districts of Eroor (Erode) and Darapoor (Dharapuram) as fixed conquests in the possession of Deo Raj, after he had urged his success to the extent of levying large contributions on Trichinopoly, and other places of importance." Wilks attributes this disaster to 1667 A. D. He also points out that in this year "Waumeloor" was taken by the Mysoreans from Gaute Moodelair (i. e., Gheṭṭi Mudali). In other words, if we are to believe Wilks, Chokkanātha lost the extensive province of Coimbatore and Salem. (Wilks, I, 37). Wheeler describes an even greater disaster. He says that, immediately after Chokkanātha's accession, the Mysoreans came as far as Madura, and invested that city, and took it; but that Chokkanātha subsequently laid siege to the city and reduced the Mysoreans to such a condition that they had to live on monkeys and asses and agreed, in return for the allowance to return to their country, to surrender the city. It is not improbable that this event took place in the Mysorean invasion of 1667.⁶⁵ Wilks however does not mention it. (Wheeler is not correct in his chronology. He places this event subsequent to the later Tanjore war of 1674. It is evident he confounds the 1st Tanjore war of Chokkanātha with his campaign of 1674).

A decade of peace.

The Tanjore, Mysore and Rāmnāḍ campaigns disclose the decay of the Madura kingdom, and incapacity of Chokkanātha. The defeat of his arms and the diminution of his prestige which followed the Rāmnāḍ invasion, however, seem to have taught him wisdom—to prefer the duties of peaceful administration to the doubtful laurels of war. The next ten years of his sovereignty, in consequence, are years of profound tranquillity and commendable repose⁶⁶. There is nothing to record in this period, except the permanent transfer of the seat of government from Madura to Trichinopoly. In the recent days of trouble it was the fortifications of the latter city that had saved Chokkanātha from ruin, and he therefore was desirous of making it his permanent residence. There was no harm, on the contrary there was perhaps a decided advantage, in this arrangement; but with extraordinary folly, Chokkanātha gave orders for the demolition of the beautiful palace of Tirumal Nāik at Madura, in order that the materials might be utilized for the construction of a similar building at Trichinopoly. Immediately after the fatal order, the work of demolition began; "and every day saw trains of waggons bear away handsome beams, curiously carved monoliths, magnificent pillars of black marble, in a word, everything that was most excellent and admirable in an edifice which at that time was perhaps one of the finest in all Asia. And this barbarity was unblushingly perpetrated in order that materials might be procured for the erection of a common-place building which was never admired, about which history is altogether silent; and at the cost of the people which had been ruined by long continued wars, and utterly beggared by the unremitting exactions of its ministers"⁶⁷ (Nelson p. 190).

⁶⁵ Insen. 181 of 1910 dated 1669-70 (Saumya) recording a grant to the temple of Kumārasvāmi at Satyamangalam should have been immediately after this invasion. See *Madr. Ep. Rep.* 1911, p. 92.

⁶⁶ Chokkanātha perhaps began to show his over-religious temperament in this period. At any rate we have a few inscriptions to show his religious activity at this time. Insen. 649 of 1905 dated 1666 A.D., (the Tamil year *Kilaka* is wrong) says that he made gifts of land to the Tiruchcheṅgoḍu temple. Insen. 654 of the same year records that in S. 1585 Subhānu (1663) he built the Gōpura of the Ardhanārīśvara temple as well as the temple of Kāśi Visvēśvara, at Tiruchcheṅgoḍu.

⁶⁷ Wheeler gives a singular reason for this transfer of the capital. Chokkanātha, while staying in Madura after his victory over the Mysoreans, saw one day a cobra on his bed clothes, and he felt it necessary to leave Madura itself.

Râmnâḍ affairs.

It was during this interlude of peace, moreover, that some important events took place in the history of Râmnâḍ. The famous Tirumalai Sêṭupati died⁶⁸ in 1670, after a long and beneficent reign of 30 years. On his death, his adopted son, Râja Sûrya, the real son of the Sêṭupati's half-brother Âdinârâyaṇa Têva, ascended the throne. His reign was eventless except in regard to the history of the Râmêśvaram temple. He seems to have been an intriguer who schemed with Tanjore against his Suzerain.⁶⁹ He was consequently seized by Daḷavâi Vêḷkaṭa Kṛishṇaiya, a man of whom we shall hear presently, and taken to Trichinopoly, where, after a prisoner's life for some time, he was put to death. As he left no issue, the Maravas chose as his successor, according to one account, one Âtma Têvan, a distant relation of the deceased chief, to the *gadi*;⁷⁰ and when Âtma was snatched away by death within a few months of his elevation, they met once again, and chose as their leader, a scion of the royal family named Raghunâtha, surnamed, in consequence of his age, the Kîḷavan (old man). According to a second account,⁷¹ after the death of Sûrya Têvar without issue, the Marava chiefs could not come to a definite understanding in regard to a successor, and so the country was, for a time, without a Sêṭupati. Two men, "Attana and after him Chandrappa Servaikaran, managed the affairs of the kingdom. Finally Reghunnatha Tevar Kîḷavan, illegitimate son of the last Setupathi was installed." Wilson⁷² says simply that Chokkanâtha, after putting Sûrya Teva to death, assisted his cousin Kîḷavan to become Sêṭupati.

The accession of Kîḷavan Sêṭupati was highly beneficial to Râmnâḍ. An able and efficient administrator, a fine soldier and statesman, Kîḷavan combined ability with experience, and tact with firmness. During the 35⁷³ years of his rule (1673-1708), in consequence, Râmnâḍ was really a power in the land, practically independent of Madura itself. One of his first and characteristic acts was to put to death the men who, by their schemes, had brought about his elevation; for he argued that the punishment of intrigue was more pressing than the claims of gratitude and that intriguers with him against others were not unlikely, under changed circumstances, to intrigue with others against himself. He then removed the capital from Pogaḷûr to Râmnâḍ and fortified⁷⁴ the latter. The fort "was built in the shape of a square, each side being about half a mile in extent, with the main gate to the east, facing the entrance to the king's palace. The fortifications consisted of a single wall, twenty seven feet high and five thick, surrounded by a deep ditch, now filled with rubbish. The wall was further strengthened with 32 bastions built at equal distances and loopholed, but without any ramparts. To the West of the palace was dug a spacious reservoir to collect the rain water as a provision against the droughts of the summer months. Among the people this tank is known as Mugava Urani, the tank where the face was washed, a name which arose with the rise of legend that Rama washed his face here on his way to Setu."

⁶⁸ This is doubtful, as we have an inscription of Tirumalai, dated 1673 at Hanumantaguḍi recording gifts of lands to a Musalman. See *Antiquities*, I, 298.

⁶⁹ Sewell's *Antiquities*, II, 230, based on the Râmnâḍ *Manual*. The date of this is uncertain; some attribute Sûrya's death to his helping Vijaya Raghava, i. e., they say that it took place *after* the Tanjore war.

⁷⁰ *Calcutta Review* 1878, p. 453.

⁷¹ Râmnâḍ *Manual*; Sewell's *Antiquities*, II, p. 230.

⁷² *J. R. A. S.* III.

⁷³ The dates are not quite certain. Two inscriptions of Tiruvâḷṇai, dated 1679, mention gifts by "Hiranyagarbha Sêṭupati." Was this person identical with Kîḷavan?

⁷⁴ *Calcutta Review*, 1878, p. 453. *J. R. A. S.* III, 165-8.

The Origin of the Pudukkōṭṭai State.

One of the most important acts of Kīḷavan Sētupati was the creation of the modern Toṇḍamān Rāj of Pudukkōṭṭa. It has been already mentioned how the area covered by the modern Pudukkōṭṭa State was, till the end of the 16th century, under the occupation of various chiefs. The Western parts were the possessions of the Maṇappārai and Maruṭ-gāpuri Polygars, the Southern under the Sētupati, the North-eastern under Tanjore Nāiks; and the centre, under the hereditary dynasty of the Pallava Rāyas, Toṇḍamāns as they were called. These Pallava Rāyas must have, as their name signifies, been somehow connected with the ancient Pallavas of Toṇḍamaṇḍalam. The late Rao Bahadur Venkaya believed that,⁷⁵ immediately after their subjugation by the Chōḷas, the ancient Pallavas entered the service of their conquerors. The Karuṇākara⁷⁶ Toṇḍamān who, according to the *Kalingatupparani*, led Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa's forces against Kalinga and who was the lord of Vandai (Vandalur, Chingleput Dt.) was a Pallava. There were, again, Pallava vassals under Vikrama Chōḷa.⁷⁷ In the war of the Pāṇḍyan succession of the 12th century, the Toṇḍamān played a very important part as the ally of Kulasēkhara, one of the claimants. From the account of this war, as given in the *Mahāvamsa*, it appears that the Toṇḍamān dominions could not have been far from the Pāṇḍyan country; that, in fact, they were most probably in the region of Tirumaṅgalam⁷⁸ and Srivilliputtūr. In a later Tanjore inscription, the name Toṇḍamān is applied to a local chief named Sāmanta Nārāyaṇa, who gave the village of Karundaṭṭānguḍi, the suburb of Tanjore, to Brahmans. Thus the name Toṇḍamān actually travelled from the Pallava into the Chōḷa country. There is therefore every reason to suppose that the Toṇḍamān of Pudukkōṭṭa, who bears the title Pallava Rāya, is descended from the Pallavas of Kānchi.⁷⁹ Whether this was so or not, the Toṇḍamāns were a minor dynasty, in Kulattūr, a place not far from Pudukkōṭṭa, till the time of Kīḷavan, when the first step for forming, out of his and his neighbour's territories a powerful and aggressive feudatory state was taken. It seems that the Pallava Rāya, who ruled at the little territory around Pudukkōṭṭa and who was "the last of his stocks" attempted to throw off his allegiance to Rāmnāḍ and to place himself under the protection of Tanjore; and that the latter in consequence was removed by the Sētupati. The latter then placed on the throne one Raghunātha Toṇḍamān, a local chief, whose sister, Kāṭṭēri, he had married. Raghunātha was a capable man, and he at once took steps to extend his little estate at the expense of his neighbours, till at last he became the head of an extensive State, with resources which enabled his descendants to thwart Rāmnāḍ itself, and Tanjore, and above all, Madura.

⁷⁵ See *Arch. Surv. Ind.* 1906, pp. 241-3.

⁷⁶ For a detailed study of the poem, see *Ind. Ant.* XIX (1890), 329-40.

⁷⁷ See *Vikrama Chōḷan Ula*. For a very able analysis of this from two MSS. of the Tanjore palace library by the late Mr. V. Kanakasabai Pillai, see *Ind. Ant.* XXII (1893), pp. 141-8.

⁷⁸ Venkaya bases that surmise on the fact that a place called Maṅgaḷam is frequently mentioned.

⁷⁹ Venkaya believes that the Pallavas were Kurumbas (like the Vijayanagar kings later on) of whom the Tamil Kurubas and Canarese Karabas are representatives. From the facts that the term Pallava is used identically with Veḷḷala in some inscriptions that the Telugu Reddis and agriculturists called themselves Pallavas and that Pallava Rāya is one of the 30 *gotras* of the Tamil Veḷḷālas Mr. Venkaya surmises that there must have been some connection between the Pallavas and the cultivating caste in the Tamil as well as the Telugu country. We suppose that some of them must have settled down as cultivators after their political decline. See *Arch. Surv. Ind.* 1906, p. 243.

Such is the account of the origin of the modern state of the Toṇḍamān as given by M. Nelson. According to this, the Toṇḍamāns are a very modern dynasty, who came to prominence only in the latter part of the 16th century. The palace records and the indigenous chronicles, however, claim a very ancient origin to the dynasty. They assert that the first of the line, "the founder of the family, was one Tirumalai Toṇḍaimān," who emigrated from Tirupati or Tirumalai in Toṇḍamaṇḍalam, and settled in Ambukkôvil (22 miles east-north-east of Pudukkôṭṭai), seventeen generations before the middle of the 17th century. A Telugu poem, apparently composed about 1761, refers to one Āvalai Raghunātha Toṇḍamān, the 18th in descent from Tirumalai, as having distinguished himself by capturing an elephant in one of the hunting expeditions of Sri Raṅga Rāya of Vijayanagar (about 1638-78), and as having been rewarded with the title of Rāya and several other distinctions. The fact that he obtained this title from the Vijayanagara king is also mentioned in a Pudukkôṭṭai grant as early as 1709. The same chief is stated in the memorandum of 1819, already mentioned, to have conquered the Pallava Rāyas in 1639, with the permission of the Vijayanagara king, and to have laid the foundations of the present Pudukkôṭṭai State. His son served the Nāik king of Tanjore for a short time; but in the end left his patron and annexed to his dominions several of the Tanjore villages. The same Toṇḍamān is said to have given his sister to the Kijavan, "the notorious Sēṭupati of Rāmnāḍ, and to have received, about 1675, as a gift from the Sēṭupati, the country of Pudukkôṭṭai, which his father represented in the palace memorandum to have conquered in 1640."

The editor of the *Trichinopoly Gazetteer* believes that the second version, i.e., traditional account given above, "is inadequately supported by contemporary evidence and is in many ways improbable," and he therefore thinks that Nelson's theory is the correct one. It seems to me, however, that there is no inconsistency between the two theories. It is quite possible that, while the Pallava Rāyas were ruling at Pudukkôṭṭai, there was a contemporary local line of chiefs at Ambukkôvil. Most probably the two lines of chiefs were constant rivals, till at last he who was ruling at Ambukkôvil in the middle of the 17th century, conquered his contemporary at Pudukkôṭṭai and got himself confirmed in his new acquisition by Kijavan Sēṭupati, as he was his brother-in-law. As regards the title Toṇḍamān, it had been assumed by both the dynasties, and is now continued to be worn by the surviving one.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

SURGEON GABRIEL BOUGHTON.

In a paper entitled "Jahānārā" and published in the *Journal of the Panjab Historical Society* Vol. II. No. 2 (1914), the author has controverted the assertion that Surgeon Gabriel Boughton did not take part in the treatment and recovery of Jahānārā Begām, daughter of Emperor Shāh Jahān. The learned author has noticed the "Boughton Legend" at greater length than the scope of the

article would seem to admit. He has consulted certain sources which he has either particularly noticed by name, or omitted to do so, as the context would show. As an Editor of a history for the B. I. Edition, now in course of publication and as an employé of the Bengal Asiatic Society, he must have read the paper on Surgeon Boughton and the privileges to the English traders published in 1912 in the *Society's Journal*, and Mr. William

Foster's two learned Monographs in this *Journal* for 1911 and 1912 on the former, of which the paper in the Asiatic Society's *Journal* was based.

What the author's main contention is, is summed up in this one sentence "that Boughton must have left Surat many months (could it not be many days or hours ?) earlier than the 3rd January 1645." Again "It is quite in the fitness of things that Asālat Khan should have sent for a capable European Surgeon from Surat."

Without going through the various facts and arguments advanced by William Foster in this *Journal* and by myself in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* "the Boughton Legend," may I at once bring to the notice of the writer of the article, Mr. Yazdāni, that Gabriel Boughton went with Asālat Khan, "who had long importuned us" (President and Council at Surat), not to Agra, but to Central Asia,—to Balucke (Baluch) as a body physician of that minister, as Mr. Foster has proved in his subsequent second article published in this *Journal* for 1912. It is a fact noted by Persian

writers that none but Hakkims, or Yunāni physicians, took any part in prescribing those medicines that were taken internally; but Physicians and laymen of other nationalities took part in the treatment of the external sores. It is also a fact, that these latter treatments were of no benefit to the ailing patient, but only the ointments given by two unknown persons—Arif and Hemūn. Every one of the physicians and quacks whose medicines were found to be efficacious were rewarded and mentioned in the Persian Histories of the time. But those whose medicines did no good to the Princess, were not mentioned. If Dr. Boughton was so quick as to arrive at Agra or Delhi in time, he too like others was not mentioned because his treatment like that of others was of no benefit to the Princess. Either he took no part in the treatment or took part without being successful in curing the sores. In either case Boughton, and, through him, the English Company, could not get any concessions. Boughton got no concessions, nor even a *Khildt*.

ABDUL WALLI.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS.

1. The Broker's Horse Allowance.

6 August 1662, *Consultation in Surat*. Our Broker Chout Tooquer [Chāwat Thākur] made it his Request That whereas it hath been a Constant

Custom for the Honble. Company to allow his horse meat [food], which hath for some yeares been omitted, that wee would againe allow the same, which wee finding to be a former Custom approved of. (*Factory Records, Surat*, Vol. 2.)

R. C. Temple.

BOOK NOTICE

THE NOTION OF KINGSHIP IN THE SUKRANTĪ.

By R. G. PRADHAN, B.A., LL.B., NASIK.

WE have received a reprint of this article, from the author, who published it in the February No. of the *Modern Review*, 1916. The author has been at some pains to prove that the conception of royalty in ancient India, as discernible from the *Sukraniti* and other works on political science, was far more advanced than the notions prevalent in medieval Europe, and was a close approximation to the theory of constitutional monarchy, which has supplanted the old ideas in modern times. We think the attempt has for the most part been successful, as the writer has put forth his subject with moderation and careful thought; though we think he has misunderstood some words and phrases as they occur in Sanskrit. For instance, the popular maxim ना विष्णुः पृथिवीपतिः is understood by the writer as 'no king but is the representative of the god Vishnu', perhaps, wrongly construing नाविष्णुः as न अविष्णुः but the correct way in which it is popularly understood is ना विष्णुः which makes the whole phrase equivalent to 'The King (lord of the earth) is the god Vishnu (in the form of) a man.' In fact, this is another expression embodying the same idea as in 'नराणां च नराधिपः' *Bhagavadgita*, 10, 27. In some places, we find the translation from the

original text of the *Sukraniti* inaccurate अस्वतंत्रः in l. 168 it is rendered as 'independent of Niti,' while the real meaning is, 'not dependent on himself, i. e., giving due consideration to good advice and the precepts of Niti.' गुणिसुदः in l. 170 should have been translated as 'served or attended by qualified persons' and not as 'respected by meritorious persons.' The lines 189-90 have been completely misunderstood. The original verse अष्टश्रीः स्वामिता राज्ञा वयं राज्ञा न मन्त्रिणः । तथाऽविनीता राजा राज्ञा पुत्राऽपि च ॥ is translated as 'Sovereignty in a kingdom is deprived of its beauty, if there is the king only, but there are no ministers, well disciplined kinsmen and restrained offerings.' It is not easy to see how such a simple verse was so grossly misinterpreted. We would translate the verse as follows:—

A king whose ministers are not restrained, whose kinsfolk are unruly and whose sons, &c., are wicked is (soon) deprived of the splendour of his sovereignty.'

In other respects we find the conclusions arrived at by Mr. Pradhan regarding political thought among the ancient Hindus, to be quite legitimate and justifiable, and would heartily wish him to continue his researches with the same sober spirit in this untrodden field of enquiry, as he has shown in this article.

K. N. D.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF MAHABALIPUR.

BY PROFESSOR S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR AVL., M. A. ; MADRAS UNIVERSITY.

MAHABALIPUR, popularly known Mâvalivaram, is a village about 20 miles east-south-east of Chingleput and lies in a narrow strip of land between the Buckingham Canal and the Sea. It is now a small hamlet with but a few houses, though it has in it a Vaishṇava temple of some importance and considerable antiquity. Excepting an old light-house and the bungalow of the Zamindar of Nallâttûr there is nothing to indicate that the place is of any consequence at present. It is nevertheless a place of very great importance to the Archæologist, since the monuments left there are regarded as at the very foundation of Dravidian civilization on its architectural side.

The monuments in this particular locality fall into three classes:—

- (1) Monolithic rock-cut shrines.
- (2) Excavation in the shape of caves of various kinds.
- (3) Structural buildings—such as temples.

‘If we do not know all we wish about the antiquities of Mâmallapuram’, says Fergusson,¹ ‘it is not because attempts have not been made to supply the information. Situated on an open beach, within 32 miles of Madras, it has been more visited and oftener described than any other place in India. The first volume of the *Asiatic Researches* (1788) contained an exhaustive paper on them by Wm. Chambers. This was followed in the fifth (1798) by another by Mr. Goldingham. In the second volume of the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1830) there appeared what was then considered a most successful attempt to decipher the inscriptions there, by Dr. Guy Babington, accompanied by views of most of the sculptures. Before this however, in 1816, Colonel Colin Mackenzie had employed his staff to make detailed drawings of all the sculptures and architectural details, and he left a collection of about forty drawings, which are now in manuscript in the India Office. Like all such collections, without descriptive text, they are nearly useless for scientific purposes. The *Madras Journal* in 1844, contained a guide to the place by Lieutenant J. Braddock, with notes by the Rev. G. W. Mahon, the Rev. W. Taylor, and Sir Walter Elliot; and almost every Journal of every traveller in these parts contains some hint regarding them, or some attempt to describe and explain their peculiarities or beauties. With the exception of the Mackenzie Ms. the most of these were collected in a volume in 1869 by a Lieutenant Carr, and published at the expense of the Madras Government, but, unfortunately, as too often happens, the editor selected had no general knowledge of the subject, nor had he apparently much local familiarity with the place. His work in consequence added nothing to our previous stores’.

Since then, however, a great deal more attention has been bestowed upon the place, by archæological and other experts in those branches of study to which in particular each turned his head or hand. Fergusson has embodied his architectural views in two monumental works of his: *The Cave Temples of India* and his *Hand-book on Indian and Eastern Architecture*, which has received the approval of, and revision by, James Burgess. Mr. Rea has brought out a book on Pallava architecture, on behalf of the Government

¹ *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, I. 328 (New Edn.).

Note.—This paper embodies the subject-matter of two special University lectures delivered before the University of Madras in November, 1916. It gives me the greatest pleasure to acknowledge, in this connection, my obligations to Mr. A. H. Longhurst, Superintendent of Archaeology, Madras Circle, for his ready kindness in allowing me the use of his photographic negatives and photographs, both for illustrating the lectures and the paper as it appears now.

of Madras. The Madras Epigraphists, Dr. Hultzsch and his successors, have done their part in deciphering and interpreting the inscriptions. Others have been equally busy. There is a handy and very useful guide book recently published by Mr. Coombes of the Education Department, better known by his connection with the Chingleput Reformatory.

Last of all, there is the work of the Frenchman, Professor of Pondicherry, Jouveau-Dubreuil, whose recent work on *South Indian Architecture and Iconography* has perforce to allot considerable space to this locality.

With such an array of expository effort extending over a whole century and more, it would be rash indeed to attempt any further exposition of the subject which, at best, could result only in adding 'another hue unto the rainbow.' It turns out happily that it is not so, because so far no one has succeeded in expounding what actually this signifies in South Indian History. Even in respect of some of the details that have already been examined by archæological specialists there has not been the co-ordination of evidence leading to conclusions for historical purposes. This it is proposed to attempt, with just the necessary amount of examination of various archæological details for co-ordination with a view to the historical significance of the antiquities of Mahâbalipuram.

The modern name of the village is Mâvalivaram, or the Sanskritized Mahâbalipuram, the city of Mahâbali, the great emperor of the Asuras, who, legend has it, was too good and too powerful to be suffered by the gods gladly. The god Vishnu in his dwarf incarnation outwitted him. Praying for a gift of three feet of earth, he measured the nether and the other world in two, and demanded room for the third foot promised. Great Bali prayed that his humble head give the room demanded. When the foot of the Great One was placed upon it Bali sank under the earth, where he is said to reign supreme monarch of the world below. The unwary visitor to the shore-temple in the village is occasionally informed that the recumbent figure in the seaward chamber of the smaller shrine of the shore-temple is Bali on his couch.

There is a panel of Trivikrama in the Varahâvatâra cave and beyond this there is nothing particularly to associate this place with the demon-emperor Bali. This form of the name, perhaps, became familiar in connection with the dynasty which was known in the interior of this region as the Mahâbalis (Mâvalis popularly) or Bânas, with their capital at Tiruvallam in the North Arcot District, and with their territory taking in portions of Mysore also. So far as our knowledge of this dynasty goes at present, they seem to have flourished in the period intervening between the death of the last great Pallava king Nandivarman and the rise of the first great Chola king Parântaka. There is a reference to a Mahâbali ruler, who was the father-in-law of the reigning Chola king Killi in the *Manimēkhalai*². This work has to be referred to a period anterior to the Pallavas, as even the late Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya³ allots the great Chola Karikâla to the sixth century A. D., the period of interregnum between the great Pallava Dynasty, and the dynasty that preceded it.

² செடியோன் குறஞ்ஞவாகி நிமிர்ந்துத
னடியிற் படியைய யடக்கி யவன்னுள்
நீரிற் பெய்த மூரிவார் சிலை
மாவலி மருமான் சீர்கெழு திருமகன்
சீர்த்தி யென்னுந் திருத்தரு தேவி.

Manimēkhalai. Canto XIX. ll. 51-55.

³ A. S. R. 1906-7. p. 224. note 1.

In the days, however, of the great Pallava dynasty, the place was known as *Māmalla-puram*, generally taken to mean the city of *Mahāmalla* (*Māmalla*), the Pallava *Narasimhavarman I*. *Tirumangai Ālvār* refers to the city invariably as *Mallai* and has often the adjunct *Kaḍal* (Sea) before *Mallai*. In one verse he refers to the Pallava king *Paramēsvara Varman* as '*Mallaiyarkōn*'⁴ the king of the 'people of *Mallai*', or of the people '*Mallar*'. The latter meaning is taken to find support in the expression *Mahāmallakulam* in lines 24 & 25 of the copper plate grant of the *Chaulukya Vikramaditya*⁵ I; but the expression *Mahāmallakulam* need not refer to a people, and probably refers to the family of *Mahāmalla*, the Pallava king *Narasimhavarman* of *Kānchi*.

The title *Mahāmalla* was the title assumed by the Pallava king *Narasimhavarman*⁶ I. It is this Pallava king that sent out two naval expeditions to help his friend *Manavarma* of Ceylon, who ruled the island from A. D. 691 to 726.⁷ Of the first invasion we have, in the chronicle, '*Mānavarma* then took ship and crossed over the sea (with his Army) and having made a fast voyage, landed at Lanka with his forces, and began to subdue the country (around)'. The following passage contains a more detailed reference to the second. And *Narasimha* thus thought within himself: "This my friend, who seeketh most resolutely after fame, hath spent now many years of his life in my service that so he might get back his kingdom. And lo! he will soon have grown old. How then can I now reign (in comfort) and see him (thus miserable)? Assuredly I shall this time restore to him his kingdom by sending my army thither. Else what advantageth my life to me?" Thereupon the king collected his army together, and having equipped it well gave *Manavarma* all things he desired to have, and himself accompanied the army to the sea-coast, where a mighty array of ships of burden, gaily ornamented, has been prepared for them. And when the king reached the harbour he gave orders to all his officers that they should embark and accompany *Mānavarma*; but they all showed unwillingness to do so (without their king).

'And *Narasimha*, having pondered well over the matter, resolved on this stratagem. Keeping himself so that his army might not see him, he gave over to *Manavarma* all his retinue and insignia of royalty together with the ornaments with which he adorned his person, and sent him (secretly) on board the ship, bidding him take the royal drum, the *Kotta*, with him, and sound it from the deck of the vessel. And *Mānavarma* did as he was directed; and the soldiers thinking that it was the king (who was sounding the call), embarked leaving him alone on the land. Then *Mana* began his voyage with the army and all the material of war, which, with the ships in which they were borne, was like unto a city floating down the sea. And in due time he reached the port and disembarked with the army.'

In regard to these transactions the following details have to be noted. *Manavarma* came to India some time after the accession to the throne of *Harṣadatta II* (A. D. 664). He lived for sometime alone, and then brought his wife over and she had by him four sons (say ten or twelve years). Then took place the war between *Narasimha* and the *Vallabha* (who must be *Pulakeśin* or *Pulikeśin II*). This war and the destruction of *Vallabha*'s capital *Vâtâpi* are ascribed to the year A. D. 642 by Dr. Fleet. Then took place the first expedition to Ceylon in aid of *Manavarma*. It proved a

⁴ *Periya Tirumoli*, 2nd Ten. 9th Decad. Stanza 1.

⁵ *Ante*. Vol. VI., pp. 75-78.

⁶ *A. S. R.* 1906-7, p. 228 and refs. in note 5. ⁷ *Mahāvamsa*, Turnour and Wijesinha, Ch. XLVII.

failure and Manavarma returned and waited till four kings had ruled in Ceylon. In other words he had to bide his time during the rest of the reign of Hapadatha II. and the reigns of his successors till, in A. D. 691, he was able to reinstall himself on the throne in Anuradhapura. He ruled afterwards for thirty-five years. Assuming that he came to India a young man, about 65 years of active life seem possible; but there is a discrepancy of about 35 years between the Ceylonese and Indian chronology. Let that pass. The synchronism is near enough, notwithstanding this discrepancy, to justify this assumption that Manavarma and Narasimha-Varman I. Mahamalla were contemporaries.

What was the port of embarkation of this grand Armada? Narasimha's capital was at Kānchī, and Narasimha's name or title figures prominently in several of the structures in Mahābalipuram, considered the oldest according to architectural standards. The natural inference then would seem to be that this Mahābalipuram as it is now called, was the chief port of the Pallavas, and that, since the Pallava ruler, Mahamalla Narasimha attempted to enhance its importance by building these structures, it came to be known then Māmallapuram. This conclusion finds support in the following passage in the life of Hiuen Tsiang. 'The city of Kānchīpura is situated on the mouth (bay) of the Southern Sea of India, looking towards the kingdom of Simhala, distant from it three days' voyage.' The city⁸ of Kānchīpura here referred to can be no other than the 'port of Kānchīpura,' in all likelihood Mahābalipur. This probability is enhanced by what follows regarding the arrival of the two Buddhist Divines, Bōdhimeghesvara and Abhayadamshtira, because of a revolution in Ceylon. They are said to have just arrived at the city, and this could only be in the port and not at the capital 40 miles inland. The corresponding passage in Watter's *Yuwan Chwang Vol. II. p. 227*, is 'Kānchīpura is the sea port of South India for Ceylon, the voyage to which takes three days.'

Compare with this the following description of Talaśayanam by Tirumangai Ālvār:—
'Oh my foolish mind, circumambulate in reverence those who have the strength of mind to go round the holy Talaśayanam, which is Kaḍalmallai, in the harbour of which, ride at anchor, vessels bent to the point of breaking laden as they are with wealth, rich as one's wishes, trunked big elephants and the nine gems in heaps.'⁹

There still remains the form of the name Mallai, distinguished often as Kaḍalmallai, 'the Mallai close to the sea.' This is the name invariably used by Tirumangai Ālvār, who lived one generation later than Narasimha. Even Bhūtattālvār, whose native place it was, refers to it as Mallai. This must have been an anterior name therefore, and the distinction 'Kaḍalmallai' raises the presumption that there was another Mallai, and possibly a people called Mallar, referred to by Tirumangai Ālvār in the designation of Paramesvaravarman, 'Pallavan Mallaiyarkōn' (the king of Mallar.)

The first plate represents what is usually known as the Pancha Pāṇḍava Ratha. This name seems to have arisen at a time when the significance of the 'rathas' had long

⁸ Beal's *Hiuen Tsiang*, p. 139.

⁹ புலன்கொள் நிதிக்குவையோடு புழைக்கைம்மாக ளிற்றினமும்
கலன்கொள் கலமணிக்குவையும் சுமந்தெற்கும் கான்றொடுநின்று
கலன்களியற்கும் மல்லைக்கடன் மல்லைத்தல சயனம்
வலன்கொள் மனத்தாரவரை வலன்கொள்ளென் மடசெஞ்சே,

been forgotten and the story of the *Mahābhārata* was in great vogue. The origin seems simple enough. Of the five structures one differs from the rest the smallest with a peculiar roofing—a roofing that seems formed on the pattern of a small hut with the roof overlaid with paddy grass as village houses and huts often are. Of the four other structures three are quite similar in form. The whole five struck the popular imagination as houses built for the five brothers, the twins counting as one, as is often the case in the original *Mahābhārata*. Hence the name must have appeared peculiarly appropriate, having regard to the magnificent bas-relief which goes by the name of Arjuna's Penance.

The illustration exhibits the structural differences between the so-called Dharmarāja and the Bhīmaratha clearly. The Dharmarāja, Arjuna and Nakula-Sahadēva Rathas are of one pattern—the conical; the Bhīma Ratha is of a different pattern—the apsidal; while the Draupadi Ratha is of the conical pattern likewise, but exhibits the roof smooth showing even the details of the over-lying paddy grass. The difference between the other three and the Bhīma Ratha is one of structure—the structure of the originals of which these are but obvious copies. The originals are no other than village houses, which are of the same two patterns all along the coast. The roofing material is almost universally plaited cocoanut fronds overlaid in more substantial dwellings by dried paddy grass. Such a structure necessitates certain structural features in the roof, which in the copies develop into ornaments. The tale of their origin is disclosed often by the names that stone masons and others engaged in architecture make use of. Inscriptions on them make it clear that these were intended to enshrine gods and goddesses. The work was begun under Narasimhavarman, Pallavamalla, was continued under Paramēśvaravarman I. and Narasimhavarman II, Rajasimha, and had not been quite completed even under Nandivarman Pallavamalla, the last great Pallava: in all a period of about a century. The Dharmarāja Ratha has inscriptions of all these except the last, while the Gaṇēśa Ratha and the caves of Sāluvanguppan contain inscriptions of Aṭṭirānāchanda taken to be a surname of Nandivarman while it might possibly be one of Rajasimha himself.

Plates II & III represent the bas-relief which goes by the name of Arjuna's Penance. The sculptor has made use of a whole piece of rock with a hollow right in the middle, perhaps caused by the erosion of running water. The first gives the general view of the whole. The striking feature of the whole scene depicted appears to be the water course towards which every figure represented seems to move. As is always the case in Hindu temple building, one will see a small shrine on the left side of the cascade containing a standing figure. Just outside the shrine an old looking man is found seated to one side in the attitude of one performing *japa* (repeating prayers). Almost in a line with this, but above is seen another figure of an old man standing on the left leg, the right somewhat raised and bent, and both his hands held above his head in an attitude of god-compelling penance. In front of this old man is seen the majestic figure of a god, standing in an attitude of granting the prayer, with four hands, two of them holding weapons and the other two in the poses known as *abhaya* (no fear) for the left, and as *varada* (giving boons) for the right. The dwarf figures about and close to the personage deserve to be noted, as they are characteristic of Śiva; the dwarf figures being representations of various *ganas*.

of giving the *Pāsupata* to Arjuna as one of the more prominent acts of beneficence by Siva¹³. The inscriptions on the Rathas and the caves make it absolutely clear that **Narasimhavarman** laboured to make them Siva shrines and make a Saiva centre of the place. Inscriptions Nos. 17 & 18 on the Dharmarāja Ratha make it clear that it was intended to be called '*Atyantakāma Pallavēśvara*.'¹⁴ The same name occurs in the so-called Gaṇēśa Ratha and in the Rāmānuja Maṇṭapam. This *Atyantakama* was no other than **Paramēśvaravarman**, the grandson of **Narasimhavarman I.** and father of **Narasimhavarman II, Rajasinha**. The larger number of buildings in rock therefore began to be excavated by **Narasimhavarman I.** and reached their completion if they ever reached it at all under **Narasimha II, Rajasinha**, Saiva sovereigns in a Saiva age. These naturally made the bas-relief represent one of the most popular of Siva's acts of beneficence to humanity which both the *Tēvāram* hymners refer to very often in the course of their works. This is the more natural seeing that the other bas-relief has reference to one of Kṛishṇa's achievements, the holding up of the hill, *Gōvardhana*, to protect the cowherds and cattle from a shower of stones. We shall revert to this later; but must mention here that this place finds no mention in the *Tēvāram* as a place holy to Siva, though these hymners refer to *Tirukalukkunṛam*; nor is the place included among those peculiarly sacred to Siva now. It seems to be then beyond the possibility of doubt that this bas-relief represents **Arjuna's Penance**, not as an incident in the *Māhābhārata* but as a representation of one of Siva's many acts of beneficence to humanity, perhaps because it is so depicted in the hymns of the *Tēvāram*.

This interpretation finds unlooked for support in the archaeological remains of a few pillars recently unearthed at Chandimau in the Behar District of the Patna Division. These are sculptures that exhibit the same incident and the monument belongs, according to Mr. R. D. Banerjee, to the 5th or the 6th Century A. D. as the inscriptions found on the pillars are of the Gupta characters.¹⁵

Another point in regard to this bas-relief is whether it is the work of foreigners. That foreign workmen from other parts of India and outside did do work in this part of the country on occasions, is in evidence in the Tamil classics.¹⁶ Jewellers from Magadha,

¹³ சூரியல் பல்லா வருவமதாதி யொண்டி.றல்வே

டனதுருவது கொண்டு,

காரிகை காணத்தனஞ் சயன் றன்னைக் கறுத்

தவற் களித்துடன் காதல்செய் பெருமான்.

திருவெங்குரு. 3.

(சம்பந்தர்)

பாடகஞ்சேர் மெல்லடி நற்பாவை யாளும்

நீயும் போய்ப்பார்த் தனது பலத்தைக் காண்பான்

வேடனாய் வில்வாங்கி யெய்தநாளோ,

திருவாரூர்த் திருத்தாண்டகம். 3.

(அப்பர்)

¹⁴ *Epigraphia Indica*, X, p. 8.

¹⁵ *A. S. R.* For 1911-12 p. 162-etc. seq.

¹⁶ மகதவினை ஞரும்மராட்டக் கம்மரும்

மவந்திக் கொல்லரும் யவனத்தீச் சருஞ்

தண்டமிழ் வினைஞர் தம்மொடு கூடிச்

கொண்டி னிதியற்றிய கண்கவர் செய்வினைப்

பவளத்தி ரன்காற் பன்மணிப் போதிகை.

Maṇimēkalai XIX 107-110.

யவனத் தச்சரும் மவந்திக் கொல்லரு

மகதத்துப் பிறந்தமணி வினைக்கா ரரும்

.....பசம்பொன் வினைஞரும்

கோசலத் தியன்ற ஓவியத் தொழிலரும்

வத்த நாட்டு வண்ணக் கம்மரும்.

Perungadai. Unjakkāṇḍam, passage quoted under above in Pundit Saminātha Aiyar's edition of *Maṇimēkalai*.

smiths from Mahārāṭṭa, blacksmiths from Avanti (Malva), carpenters from Yavana, laboured with the artisans of the Tamil land.

Admitting this possible co-operation, it requires more to prove borrowing either the inspiration or the execution. None of the details of these works seem foreign either to the locality or to the prevalent notions of indigenous art. The suspected 'Cornucopia' held in the hand by one of the figures at the bottom of the central water-course is none other than a sling containing the sacrificial platter of wood which one of the disciples has washed and put together to carry home to the hermitage, while his companion carries on his shoulder a vessel of water.

(To be continued.)

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA

By V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T., MADRAS.

(Continued from p. 47.)

However it might have been, the rise of the Toṇḍamāns was an important event in the history of Madura, Tanjore and Rāmnāḍ. From the time when Raghunātha Toṇḍamān established himself at Pudukkōṭṭai, there was a new state which, led by able men and acute leaders, played a large part as a buffer-State in the wars and fortunes of the three powers which surrounded it. Nominally subordinate to Rāmnāḍ, it adjusted its policy to the exigencies of the moment, and utterly indifferent to the principle of constancy or loyalty, carried on its own task of self-expansion. The Toṇḍamān, as we shall see later on, did not hesitate to act against Rāmnāḍ if his interests dictated such a course. Similarly, he did not hesitate to fight with Madura, the suzerain of his immediate suzerain. Towards Tanjore the Toṇḍamān was, as a rule, an enemy; but even here enmity or friendship depended on the expediency of the moment. The result of these moves and countermoves, of these alliances and enmities, was that Pudukkōṭṭai was able, in the long run, to survive both the kingdoms of Tanjore and Madura and, in a sense, the estate of Rāmnāḍ, as the last of these became, thanks to its instigation, a partitioned and therefore comparatively powerless estate.

In the year 1674 the interval of peace ended, and Chokkanātha again entered into a series of wars which, though at first attended with startling success, eventually turned out highly disastrous to the kingdom. The first of these, which was destined to mark a revolution in the history of South India, was with Tanjore. It not only led to the sudden extinction of the Nāik dynasty of that kingdom, but to the advent of the Marathas, just then rising to power and prominence, into the South. The Maratha occupation of Tanjore led in its turn to important effects. The Tanjore colony was the work of the younger son of Shahji, and was followed by a civil war between him and his elder brother. The struggle between the brothers was complicated by the entrance on the scene of their common enemy, Mysore, then under the efficient and powerful rule of Chika Dēva Rāj. The ambition and avarice of the contending parties extended their field of operations into the region between the Kāveri and the Vaigai. The kingdom of Madura became, in consequence, a vast theatre of war. The position of Chokkanātha was a most unfortunate and miserable one; for while the Marathas and Mysoreans were struggling with one another, they were equally interested in despoiling his power and annexing his kingdom, so that in a few years his authority was reduced to

a shadow and his extensive dominion to the single city of Trichinopoly. And when to this foreign conquest, he had to meet the contumacy of the greatest of his vassals, the Sêtipati, who raised an independent standard at a time when his master was most in need of his obedience and help, the cup of Chokkanâtha's grief became too full, and he passed away, leaving his kingdom in possession of contending foreigners, and his subjects the victims of war and military occupation.

The Tanjore war affords a fine example, so common in Indian History, of history merging into romance. The cause of the war was, as in many other cases in India, a woman. The king of Tanjore, the pious Achyuta Vijaya Râghava, had a daughter, whose beauty of person and of mind, had gained wide renown and a crowd of suitors. Chokkanâtha was an aspirant for her hand, and in 1674 despatched an embassy with presents and proposals of marriage. But no sooner did the Madura messengers state the object of their visit than the monarch of Tanjore flew into a passion and declared that the proposal was an insult. With undisguised contempt and denunciatory abuse, he⁸⁰ pronounced his brother chief to be unfit⁸¹ to be his son-in-law, and dismissed the messengers with insult. When Chokkanâtha heard of the indignity he resolved on immediate war, and ordered the Dalavai Vênkata Krishṇa Nâik,⁸² and the treasurer Chinna Thambi Mudali, to set the Madura army in motion. Vênkata Krishṇa was an able general. His skill had gained, from his master and his contemporaries, the flattering titles of Sugrîva's crown and Savyasâchin. He promptly obeyed his master's mandate, and was in a few days in the confines of the Tanjore kingdom, where the first engagement between the two powers took place. The contest was sanguinary, and "blood ran like water in the channels for irrigation." The Trichinopolitans gained the victory, and were able to push their way into Tanjore. When within a few miles of the capital, they came into collision, for a second time, with an army despatched by Vijaya Râghava. Many interesting and singular facts are narrated in connection with this battle, which give us an excellent idea of the warfare of those days. The Telugu chronicle, *Record of the Affairs of the Carnatic Gover-*

⁸⁰ Vijaya Raghava would have, according to one version, consented for the marriage; but he was deterred from doing so by an evil counsellor, the Dalavai Rangappa Naik, who had his own motive for thus acting. He wished to marry the princess to his son, Ranganatha, and to divert the crown through her, to his own family. With this view, we are told, he had already secured the imprisonment of the right heir, Mannâru Naidu by accusing him before the king of an abandoned life. In dissuading his master from listening to Chokkanâtha's proposal, he proceeded in a cautious and effective manner by provoking by enormous personal vanity of his master. He pointed out how Tirumâl Nâik had stabbed his betrothed a Tanjore princess, for her playful remark that his buildings were like the drainage works of her father, and how such a brutal family was hardly worthy of a marriage alliance. He is also said to have bribed Gôvinda Dikshita, Vijaya Raghava's minister, to tell the king that he, a Vaishṇava, could not properly form an alliance with the Śaivite line of Madura. There are many improbabilities in this version, however: First, there is no evidence whatever to prove that Tirumâl stabbed a Tanjore princess, though there is evidence of such a marriage. (See Wheeler's *Hist.* Vol. IV, pt. II, p. 577) where Wheeler describes the wedding ceremonies). Secondly, Govinda Dikshita was evidently not Vijaya Râghava's minister. Thirdly, even if Govinda had lived he would not have belittled his own deity Śiva.

⁸¹ Manucci, *Storia de' Mogor* III, p. 103-5. As usual Manucci is very inaccurate and unreliable. His version of the "Tanjore prince" (he gives neither the name of Chokkanâtha nor of Vijaya Râghava) is most disparaging, and differs entirely from other accounts. See Note p. 15.

⁸² According to Manucci he proceeded in person.

nors describes in detail the means adopted by the different parties to secure the defeat of the other. It says that Vijaya Raghava supplemented the martial valour of his army with the magic skill of his *guru*. Alarmed at the continuous defeat of his men, he asked his preceptor, Sôma Chandra Svâmi, to perform such incantations as could completely disable the enemy. Chokkanâtha, we are told, retaliated. His *guru*, Balapriya, was more than a match for Sôma Chandra, and by his counter-incantations, did not only make the Tanjorean devices harmless, but prepared the way for the desertion of the Tanjore troops at the nick of time. *Lakhs* and *lakhs* of pumpkins, we are informed, were made the subjects of incantations,⁸³ and cast into the Kâveri, so that those who drank of the waters impregnated with them, were sure to desert for the Trichinopoly ranks. In the midst of the war of magic, the two armies joined battle. The Tanjoreans, once again, suffered defeat and retreated into their own fort.

Vênkaṭa Kṛishna pursued the retreating forces and was soon in the vicinity of Tanjore. From his camp he sent word to Vijaya Râghava offering his withdrawal in case he consented to the marriage. A haughty challenge to arms was the answer. The Dalavai thereupon gave orders for the assault. The Tanjore fort was well guarded by 20,000 musketeers and a powerful army, but the besiegers were undaunted. They mounted their cannon⁸⁴ on raised earth-works and discharged against the fort some tens of thousands of cannon shot. The defending troops were not able to sustain the infliction, and hundreds deserted their ranks, and joined the standards of Trichinopoly. The gates of the fort were then demolished, the ditches filled up with vast quantities of fascines; and then the place was taken by storm, some ascending the breaches made by the cannon shot, and some going in by the gates.

Immediately after his entrance into the city, Vênkaṭa Kṛishna sent a second message of friendship and warning to the Tanjore monarch. The latter was, we are told, all this while engaged in the worship of his god. Entirely oblivious of the fatal events going on outside his city, he wasted his time in meditation and prayer from which no amount of

⁸³ The *Record of the Carn. Govrs.* Many similar examples of resort to magic in assistance to the sword can be cited from Indian History. Tippoo, for instance, in spite of his bigotry, organized a *japan* for securing victory against the English. It was performed for four periods of 12 days each. Scores of Brahmans abstained from salt and condiments promoting digestion and took simple milk and rice during this period. Thus prepared, a detachment of the corps frequently relieved, stood in a rank up to their chests in water, beating it incessantly with their hands and bawling out their *mantras* or incantations. This is also done during a time of drought in the state of Mysore. The same thing was done in the campaign which resulted into the two retreats of Lord Cornwallis from Seringapatam, and the Brahmans attributed his failure to their *mantras*. The *mantras*, however failed to save the capital from General Harris; and this was ascribed by the Brahmans, not to the inefficiency of the *mantras* themselves, but to some mistakes in the mysteries and to the fact that some of the Brahmans had tasted of salt. Muhammad Ali once spent £5,000, through one Achena Pandit, on a *jebbam* at the temple of Pakshijirṭa, S. of Madras, in order to kill Lord Pigot, and it, we are told, succeeded; and a similar incantation, after several failures, killed Haidar Ali. The *mantra* for killing particular persons was generally uttered after suspending a cobra by the tail from the roof of an apartment, and proper incense being burned on a fire immediately below. This is the celebrated *saro yagam*. Wilks gives the story of Haji who claimed one lakh of rupees from Umdatul-umra for killing, his usurping younger brother Amiru'l-umra. See Wilks *Mysore*, I. pp. 445-446. In Malabar especially, magic was largely used for political purposes. See the *Mantravidoms of Malabar* by V. Nagamaiya in *Christ. Coll. Maga.*; Vol X pp. 82-92 and 158-166.

⁸⁴ The detailed consideration of the artillery and weapons of war is made in chapter XI;

bad tidings could disturb him. It is not improbable that the brain of the old king was deranged, and that his obstinate orthodoxy was but the product of lunacy. But if he was mad, there was a method in his madness. For, when Vēṅkaṭa Kṛiṣṇa's second message came to him, he sent the firm and coherent reply that even the loss of his crown would not change his resolution. The consequence was, the troops of Trichinopoly soon surrounded the palace. They stood exultant at the gates, when Vijaya Rāghava finished his devotions, and thought of the war which his vanity had courted and his folly ignored. From the moment of his awakening, he acted like a desperate man who expected certain ruin. He ordered the walls of the *maḥāl* to be mined and provided with gun-powder, so that in the case of his death, which he expected, the ladies of the harem could be blown up, avoiding thereby the possible insults of a conquering foe. He then set free⁸⁵ his son Mannārappa Nāiḍu, who had been in prison as a punishment for a reckless and irregular life, and at his request, permitted him to take a leading part in the ensuing contest. Surrounded by five faithful servants and the wrecked remnants of his once powerful but unfaithful army, Vijaya Rāghava then emerged from the palace, and entered into a hand to hand fight with his antagonists. The enthusiasm he displayed in the battle-field, the acts of heroism of which he was the author therein, are the only good features of his character and conduct during the last days of his career. Though aged and worn out—he was more than eighty at this time—he had the bearing of a young and daring soldier. The shrivelling and overhanging eyebrows of the old man, we are informed, were fastened tightly by golden wires! The feeble and bending waist was adorned by valuable robes, glittering with studded gems.

Both his hands held two long and shining swords⁸⁶. Thus, he went into the thick of the battle, and performed feats of valour. But the attempt of the Tanjoreans was a forlorn hope. The Trichinopolitans were over-whelmingly superior in numbers, in strength, and in the confidence of complete success. Vijaya Rāghava therefore called his son and his servant, Agra Rāja, to proceed to the palace and communicate to the Zenana the news of his coming defeat and death. When the fatal message reached them, the queens and other women, who had, with drawn swords, awaited the signal killed themselves by mutual swordthrusts; and the work of destruction was made complete by the blowing up of the apartment where they had lived the last moments of their ill-fated lives. Not long after, Vijaya Rāghava and his son fell in battle,⁸⁷ and amidst the spoils of victory which Chokkanātha's Daḷavai brought to Trichinopoly, the things which gave superior gratifications to him were the heads and robes of the ill-fated monarch and his gallant son.

Other versions of the war.

Such is the account of the Tanjore War given by the *Tanjāvár Raja Charitra*; but there are some other versions of it which, though not equally authoritative and accurate may be noticed here. The first of these is given by the historian Wheeler. He is wrong both in regard to the date and the causes of the war, for he attributes it to the very day of Chokkanātha's accession and to an alleged dispute between the peoples of Tanjore and

⁸⁵ The *Record of the Carn. Govrs.* attributes this to the intercession of Daḷavai Rangappa. It says that the prince had been imprisoned in a fit of anger by his father. It does not say anything of Ranga's designs. The *Tanjāvár Raja Charitra* gives more or less the same version. See *Tanj. Man.* and Taylor's *Catal.* III, p. 177.

⁸⁶ The *Record of the Carn. Govrs.*

⁸⁷ When about to be killed he preferred to die by the sword and not cannon. See *Tanjāvár Raja Char. Rai's Catal.* III, 177.

Trichinopoly in regard to a water-course. He⁸⁸ says, however, that immediately after this dispute, Chokkanātha sent an embassy to "Vijia Ragunanda" of Tanjore, a man highly advanced in age, requesting the bestowal of his grand-daughter in marriage to him. But the latter dismissed the embassy with scorn on the ground that Chokkanātha's mother was "of mean extraction." On hearing this, the indignant ruler of the southern kingdom promptly assembled his army, and marched against Tanjore, but was utterly defeated by the grandson of the Tanjore king. Chokkanātha became so full of despair that he resorted to a curious device to inflame the pride and rouse the heroism of his soldiers. He enlisted 100 women warriors in his army and posted them in the rear so that his retreating soldiers might meet them and their taunts. Unable to brook the shame, the men of Madura fought with all their valour, entered, Tanjore, and burnt the palace, with the king, his wives, his daughters and grand-daughters.

Niccolao Manucci is equally inaccurate and vague. He gives neither the name of Chokkanātha nor of Vijaya Rāghava. "The Prince of Tanjore," he says, "had a daughter of rare beauty. Inflamed by reports about her the Prince of Madura asked her in marriage, saying they two united, would be able to resist the armies of the whole world. The Prince of Tanjore was much offended at this embassy, and replied that his daughter could not be given to him, seeing his great inferiority in blood and rank. He should remember how humble his forefathers were (referring to the Emperor Ram Raja having raised his ancestors from a lowly condition). He must not entertain such lofty ideas. Thrown into a great rage by this answer, the king of Madura gathered all his forces and "started in person to devastate the lands of Tanjore. The latter also made ready his whole army, and sent his general in advance to impede the progress of the Madura ruler. But such was the sagacity and astuteness of that prince that he brought the Tanjore general over to his side with all his troops. When the Tanjore Prince heard of his general's treason, he was greatly concerned, took the field himself with a strong army, and awaited the arrival of the Madura prince. In a few days the two forces were in sight of each other. But the Tanjore leaders, already tampered with by the Madura Prince or the traitorous general, gradually deserted their prince and sovereign:⁸⁹ by daybreak he found himself entirely abandoned, and was forced to retire into the city." He then tried "to collect the people to defend the place, but through the great confusion that existed, could not succeed; and in desperation he loaded his cannon with all his great store of precious stones, and scattered them over the country. When this had been done, he went to his magnificent palace, where, shutting up 700 wives that he had, together with his daughter and all his wealth, he blew them up by a powder-mine, reserving only his most cherished wife, who was anxious to die in his company." Manucci says that he liberated at this time 15,300 mistresses, picked from the most lovely women in his kingdom,—a number he

⁸⁸ See his *Ind. Hist.*, IV., pt. 2. p. 581-2.

⁸⁹ Later on, Manucci attributes the treason to the behaviour of the king who had seized the wives and daughters of the noblemen to be his mistresses (Manuc. III, p. 105). But this representation of Vijaya Rāghava is entirely against the traditional account of him as a saint. Manucci is positively wrong when he says that it was this "Prince of Tanjore" who gave permission to Robert de Nobilis to build churches and preach Christianity.

chose in imitation of Kṛishṇa, the Lord of the Gopis ! Meanwhile, "the enemy, came and attacked the city. In order not to be made prisoner and be disgraced, the king decided to die bravely. He came out with 3 sons and 18 horsemen, his relations, bearing on his horse's hindquarters his beloved queen. She, at the approach of the enemy's mighty force, felt afraid, and spoke tender words to her husband, saying that as evil chance was so great a tyrant as to rob her of further delight in his society, she prayed to him to end her life with his own hand, so that she might not fall into the enemy's power." The king could not, in spite of her repeated supplications, steel himself to such cruelty. "Still, the arguments of the afflicted and determined princess were so strong that, finding the enemy already close upon them, he was forced at length to yield to her entreaties. Seizing his sword, he cut off her head, and, his blade all bare and crimson, galloped into the enemy's ranks, followed by his companions, and in a brief space ended his life."

It is unnecessary to enter into a criticism of these fables. It is enough if it is understood that all agree that the Nāik Dynasty of Tanjore ended on this occasion, and that with it, a highly romantic but tragical chapter of South Indian History. The annals of the world hardly furnish a finer example of a provocation so trivial and a result so disastrous and far reaching. Chokkanātha himself must have been surprised at the turn the events had taken. When he ordered the invasion of Tanjore, he would hardly have hoped for a result so victorious to his arms, so disastrous to his rival, and so momentous in the history of South India. Wars without number had disturbed the peace and maintained the mutual hostility of the sister kingdoms ; but never had any of them been attended with a consequence as startling as this. The lessons of past history, in short, proved unreliable, and the satisfaction of Chokkanātha at the success of his arms and the acquisition of a dependency must have been mingled with a regret for the fate of a worthy, though misguided, monarch and the sudden termination of a dynasty in the midst of a prosperous and hopeful career. The effect of the catastrophe is felt even to-day. Any stranger who visits the palace at Tanjore can see a ruined and shattered tower at northern-western corner, and will feel a shudder at the sight, when he knows that that is the remnant of the ancient Nāik Zenana. If it had a mouth of its own, it could tell a tale which, though it concerns an eccentric king, is yet a tale which does not belong to one particular man or country, but for all the world that can feel and pity. The ignorant and superstitious servant who guides the visitor through the rambling building of the palace, points to the lonely and gloomy tower, and speaks with a suppressed voice and solemn face, of the gruesome tragedy enacted therein 200 years back. The place is haunted, says he, and none dare approach it lest a contagion of the gloom that surrounds it should seize them.

Aḷagiri's defection.

The Kingdom of Tanjore was now a dependency, an outlying province, of Madura, and Chokkanātha lost no time in arranging for a settled and satisfactory government of it ; but unfortunately the arrangement he made was not such as to strengthen his hold on the conquered kingdom. He dug the grave of his own authority by appointing as viceroy a foster-brother of his, Aḷagiri Nāidu by name, a man of ungrateful nature and unscrupulous conduct, who like a true upstart, assumed airs and proved a tyrant. A few months after his exaltation to his high office, Aḷagiri addressed a letter to his suzerain in terms of equality and in the spirit of an independent chief. He at the same

time ceased the remission of the surplus revenues :⁹⁰ and when Chokkanātha remonstrated and warned, he pleaded with a hypocritical ignorance of the change of circumstances, that he only adopted the precedent of the old Tanjore monarchs. The indignation of Chokkanātha at once ordered the punishment of the traitor; but the Daḷavāi and the other ministers met in council, and after some deliberation regarding the course to be pursued, came to the conclusion that, as Alagiri's position was far stronger than that of Vijaya Rāhgava, it would be more advisable to be cautious and conciliatory. They therefore counselled their master to suppress his indignation and postpone the punitive expedition, till "the devices of Sāma, Dāna and Bhēda were tried," and found futile.

If Alagiri Nāik escaped the chastisement of his master, he did not escape from the fruits of his own behaviour. He seems to have been a tactless and imprudent ruler, entirely unable to conciliate the conquered. His avarice seized the estates of great men, and his arbitrary temper dismissed several men of eminence from their offices. A man who suffered much in this regime was the celebrated Veikaṇṇa, the Rāyasam, of the last Nāik king. Endowed by nature with an extraordinary amount of ability, tact and perseverance, Veikaṇṇa entertained the bold design of subverting the new dynasty and restoring that of his master.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

BANABHATTA'S GURU.

IN the *Kādambarī* verse 4 of the introduction runs "नमामि भवोच्चरणाद्भुजहृद्यं सरोखरैर्मौखरिभिः कृतार्चनम्।" Hitherto भवोः was taken by most scholars as the 6th case dual of भवः meaning Viṣṇu and Siva. This explanation is obviously erroneous, for Bāṇa has already saluted both Viṣṇu and Siva in vs. 2-3. Besides, it is most unlikely that भवः means a dual-god with only two feet between them. According to मेदिनी the word has a meaning Siva; but the fact of being "worshipped by the Maukharis and their feudatories" is conclusive against the word signifying any non-human being, whose greatness becomes only circumscribed by such an epithet. Moreover the line सरोखरैर्मौखरिभिः कृतार्चनम् has an exact parallel in the line अनेकगुणाक्षितपादपङ्कजः of verse 10, where

Bāṇa's own ancestor कुबेर is described as being worshipped by the Guptas. It is thus clear that the commentator भानुचन्द्र alone is right when he says 'भस्वरिति गुरोर्नाम'. भवु or भस्व as भानुचन्द्र reads was then the *guru* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa and was presumably the spiritual guide of the great Maukharis. It is also probable that भवु was Bāṇa's teacher on poetry, for he is perhaps to be identified with a poet of the same name, who has been quoted in several anthologies¹ and whose antiquity is ensured by the fact that the verse आहृतोपि सहायेः found under his name in two of the anthologies, is quoted in the *Dhvanyāloka* (p. 38). अभिनवगुप्त in his comment on the verse says 'शीतकृतार्चनैर्गुरुभिरिति भद्रोक्तः' showing that the verse was quoted even earlier in an unknown work of भद्रोक्त, who lived Circa 800 A. D.

D. C. BHATTACHARYA.

⁹⁰ *Rec. of the Carn. Govrs. and Tanj. Raj. Charit.*

¹ *Vide* Peterson's Introduction to *Subhāshitāvalī* under Bhaṣchu. Altogether 4 verses are there collected, to which we should add another from *Sāktimuktāvalī* beginning with गौरीविभ्रनधूपधूनपटल-इक्षानाद्यमानोदरा :—Bhandarkar's *Sisāh Report*, App.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS.

2. Interpreter as Shipping Clerk.

26 August 1662, Consultation in Surat. A Proposition was made by the President [Matthew Andrews] in the Behalfe of Ranchore Metta [Ranch Mehtā], a person Employed on the Marine for freighting of ships, and receiving in the Money, being very useful also in the lading and unlading of Goods, and Writing our Persian

Letters, whose great care and diligence, with his Constant Attendance on the Company's Affaires for these 3 yeares past being well knowne to this Council, The President mooved, that hee might have a salary of 300 Mamoodoes [*mahmūdīs* = Rs. 150] Yearly allowed him, to commence from the 1st of September 1659, which was joyntly Concluded. (*Factory Records, Surat, Vol. 2*)

R. C. T.

BOOK NOTICE.

HISTORY OF AURANGZIB, Vol. III. By Professor JADU NATH SARKAR, M. A. Published by M. C. Sarkar and Sons, 75-1-1, Harrison Road, Calcutta, 1916.

THE third volume of Professor Sarkar's *History of Aurangzib* deals with the first half (1658-81) of that monarch's reign. Among the new sources of information utilised for this volume (beside those quoted at the end of volume II) the most important are:—*Mir'āt-i-Aḥmadī* (History of Gujrat), Muhammad A'zam's *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, Salimullah's *Tawārīkh-i-Bangala*, Muhammad Ṣālih's *Bahār-i-Sakhun*, Izad Baksh's *Rasā's Rityāzu-l-Widād*, Nigār *Nāmāh-i-Munshi*, Chandar Bhan's *Chhār Chaman-i-Brahman*, Chatar Man's *Chhār Gulshan*, *Dawābit-i-'Alamgiri*, and *Dastār-u-L-'Amal*.

The author has succeeded in gathering an epoch-making collection of material for his subject, and he has taken great pains to collate the evidence of writers of different creeds and nationalities; but the result in some cases is disappointing and, speaking critically, there is a lack of balanced judgment and correct historical perspective in the work. So far as the narration of undisputed facts is concerned Professor Sarkar may be followed implicitly: but in his discussions of subtle questions of state policy and religious dogma it is clear that he does not weigh the various aspects of the problem, and so the picture of events, as we get it in the book, is distorted. For instance, when speaking of Aurangzeb's bigotry, Professor Sarkar freely condemns the policy of the previous rulers also. He says:

"With every generous instinct of the soul crushed out of them, with intellectual culture merely adding a keen edge to their sense of humiliation, the Hindus could not be expected to produce the utmost of which they were capable; their lot was to be hewers of wood and drawers of water to their masters, to bring grist to the fiscal mill, to develop a low cunning and flattery as the only means of saving what they could of the fruits of their own labour The barrenness of the Hindu intellect and the meanness of spirit of the Hindu upper classes are the greatest condemnations of Muhammadan rule in India". Surely this is harsh judgment, especially when one remembers the liberal policy of Akbar, and of Jahāngir and Shāhjahān.

Again, when Professor Sarkar undertakes to pronounce against the tenets of Islam, a task for which he is by no means competent, he places himself at the point of ridicule. "It is not necessary" he says, "that he (Muslim) should tame his own passions or mortify his flesh; it is not necessary for him to grow a rich growth of spirituality. He has to slay a certain class of his fellow beings or plunder their lands and wealth and this act in itself would raise his soul to heaven". It is very evident here that Professor Sarkar has just arrived at 'fresh fields and pastures new'. An author who knows his limitations no better than that cannot expect to receive serious attention from his readers.

There are several mistakes in spelling Arabic and Persian terms, e. g. *Vijay* has been spelt *Jayya*, etc.

G. YARDANI.



THE BOAR-INCARNATION VARAHĀVATARA



THE ANTIQUITIES OF MAHABALIPUR.

BY PROFESSOR S. KRISHNASWAMI AYYANGAR AVL., M.A.; MADRAS UNIVERSITY.

(Continued from p. 57.)

PLATE IV gives a view of the stele representing the boar incarnation (*varāhavatāra*) of Vishṇu. This is in a cave a little to the south of the Gaṇeśa Ratha. The relief exhibits the man-boar according to the Vaikāṇasa Āgama. Of the three kinds of boar-form, this is what is called the Ādivarāha type. This must be exhibited with four hands, two of them carrying the conch and the disc; the colour grass-green, left foot planted upon the hooded head of the king of serpents (*śeṣha*).

The figure of Bhūvarāha should have, according to the *Vaikāṇasa-āgama*, the face of a boar in association with the body of a man. It has four arms, two of which hold the *śankha* and *chakra* as usual. The right leg should be slightly bent and be made to rest upon the jewelled hool of the mythical serpent Ādiśeṣha, who must be sculptured as in company with his wife. Of the remaining two hands, the left hand should be shown as supporting the legs of Bhūmidēvi, seated on the god's bent right leg, with her own legs hanging down, while the right hand has to be thrown round the waist of the same goddess. The boar face of the god should be slightly tilted up so as to make the muzzle approach the bosom of the goddess as though he is engaged in smelling her.¹ The colour of the image of Varāha-Vishṇu is represented by the darkness of the twilight. The associated figure of Bhūmidēvi should have her hands in the *añjali* attitude. She should be decked with flowers and dressed in clothes and should be adorned with all suitable ornaments. Her complexion has to be black. Her face should be slightly lifted up and turned towards her lord, and should be expressive of shyness and joy. The top of her head should reach the chest of the figure of Varāha, and her image should be made in accordance with the *pṛṇchatāla* measure. Such is the description given in the *Vaikāṇasa-āgama*. (Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao's *Hindu Iconography*, p. 132-3).

The Trivikrama panel in the same cave.—The image of Trivikrama may be sculptured, it is said, in three different ways, namely, with the left foot raised up to the level of the (1) right knee, or (2) to the navel, or (3) the forehead. These three varieties are obviously intended to represent Trivikrama as striding over the earth, the mid-world and the heaven-world respectively; and are all exemplified in sculptures also. The image of Trivikrama, with the left foot lifted up only to the level of the right knee is, however, rarely met with among available pieces of sculpture. The rule is that Trivikrama images should be worked out in accordance with the *uttamadaśa-lāla* measure, and their total height should be 124 *angulas*. Trivikrama should have either four or eight hands. If there be only four arms, one of the right hands should be made to hold the *śankha* and one of the left hands the *chakra*; or it may even be that the left hand carries the *chakra* and the right hand the *śankha*. The other right hand should be held up with the palm upwards and the other left hand stretched out parallel to the uplifted leg; or this right hand may be in the *abhaya* or the *varada* pose. On the other hand, if Trivikrama is sculptured with eight arms, five of the hands should carry the *śankha*, *chakra*, *gada*, *sârṅga* (bow) and *hala* (plough), the other three being kept as in the previous instance. The

¹ This attitude of amorous dalliance is sometimes described, of course absurdly enough, as playing the baby at the breast.

right leg of *Trivikrama* is to be firmly planted upon the earth; and the left should be used in taking the stride of world-measure. The colour of the image is to be dark as that of the rain-cloud; it should be clothed in red garments and decorated with all ornaments. Behind it there should be sculptured the tree called *kalpaka*, and *Indra* should be shown holding over *Trivikrama*'s head an umbrella. On either side *Varuṇa* and *Vāyu* should be made to wave *chāmara*s; and over them on the right and the left there should be the figures of *Sūrya* and *Chandra* respectively. Near these again there should be seen *Sanyasa*, *Varaka*, *Sanatkumāra*. *Brahma* should be made to take hold of the uplifted foot of the *Trivikrama* with one of his hands and wash it with water flowing from a *kamanḍalu* held in the other hand; and the water flowing down from the washed foot of *Trivikrama* should be shown as being of a snow-white colour. *Siva* should be sculptured with his hands in the *anjali* pose and as sitting somewhere in space above the height of the navel of *Trivikrama*. Near the leg upon which *Trivikrama* stands, there should be the figure of *Namuchi*, a *rākshasa*, in the attitude of bowing in reverence to the great god *Trivikrama*. On the left *Garuḍa* should be shown as taking hold of *Sukra*, the *guru* of the *rākshasas*, with a view to belabour him for obstructing *Bali* in giving the gift asked for by the Brahmanical boy *Vāmana*; on the right *Vāmana* himself should be made to stand with an umbrella in his hand and ready to receive the promised grant of three feet of space. Near him and opposite to him *Bali* should be shown as standing golden in hue and adorned with ornaments and carrying in his hands a golden vessel to indicate that he is ready to pour the water ceremonially in proof of his gift. Behind the emperor *Bali* there should be his queen. Above the head of *Trivikrama* the figure of *Jāmbavān* should be shown as sounding the drum, called *bhēri* in Sanskrit, so as to exhibit the joy of the celestial beings at their coming delivery from the rule of the *asura* emperor *Bali*. So says, the *Vaikhāṇasāgama*. (*Op. cit.*, pp. 164-7)

Plate V represents a huge panel, about eight feet by six feet in size, carved on the north wall of the rock-cut shrine situated to the south of what is called *Gaṇēśa Ratha* at *Mahābalipuram*. In this group of images the central figure is that of *Trivikrama*. It has eight hands; three of the right hands carry the *chakra*, the *gada*, and the *khadga*, and the remaining right hand is held up with the palm turned upside, as required by the *Vaikhāṇasāgama*. Three of the left hands carry the *sankha*, the *lajaka*, and *dhanus*, and the fourth left hand is stretched out parallel to the uplifted leg. This leg itself is raised up to the level of the forehead. Near the foot of the leg stretched out to measure the heaven-world, *Brahma* is shown as seated on a *padmāsana* and as offering with one of his right hands *pūja* to that foot. His image is given four hands and is made to wear the *jaṭa-makuṭa* and *karna-kunḍalas*. In the corresponding position to the right of *Trivikrama* we see *Siva* also seated on a *padmāsana*. His image also has four arms, one of which is held in the pose of praise. It is also adorned with the *jaṭa-makuṭa* and *kunḍalas*. Immediately below *Siva* is *Sūrya*, the sun-god, with a halo. The way in which the legs of this god and also of *Chandra*, the moon-god, are worked out, suggests that they are both residing up in the heavenly world without any terrestrial support. This sun-god has only a pair of hands, both of which he holds stretched out in the act of praising *Trivikrama*. *Chandra* is sculptured below the shield of *Trivikrama*, with a halo round the head, and is also shown to be in the attitude of praising *Trivikrama*. In the space between the head of *Trivikrama* and *Brahma* there may be noticed a peculiar figure turned towards *Brahma*. It has the face of a boar and is made to carry what is



KRISHNA VANDANA - GOVINDHANA KRISHNA

evidently a drum. This figure is obviously that of old Jāmbavān, sounding the drum in joy due to the victory of the Dēvas over the Dānavas. At the foot of Trivikrama sits Namuchi to the right; and the other three figures, that are to be seen, are perhaps representations of Bali and some other prominent *asuras*. There is one other figure shown as if cutting somersaults in the air, and carrying something like a staff in the right hand. It is not possible to say whom this figure is intended to represent. The *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa* states that when Vāmana grew to be gigantic in size, and became Trivikrama, some of the Dānavas were hurled up into the air as if by a hurricane. This figure is perhaps one of the Dānavas so tossed up. This piece of sculpture belongs to the seventh century, that is, to the palmy days of Pallava supremacy in Conjeevaram. (*Op. cit.*, pp. 170-2).

These two, as also several others of the figures of gods and goddesses in the locality, conform to the norms of Iconography as laid down in the *Vaikāṇasā āgama* and shew marked differences of features from representations of the same icons in other localities and of other ages. This has to be noted carefully, as no conclusion in point of chronology can be drawn from these without regard to the school of architecture or sculpture.

Gōvardhana Krishna:—Plate VI represents Kṛishṇa as carrying the hill Gōvardhana to protect the cowherd settlement of Gōkulam where he was being brought up. When the annual feast intended for Indra, the Vedic god of rain, came round for celebration, Kṛishṇa accepted the offerings intended for Indra, and he in anger, rained stone and other destructive material upon the sacrilegious village. Thereupon Kṛishṇa performed this feat to save the villagers from the harm and exhibit to the wondering world that what was offered to Kṛishṇa is as good as offered to all the gods. Architecturally this piece of workmanship is rather crude in comparison with that of Arjuna's penance; but it seems none the less to belong to the same school of art. If it be so, this may be the first work of an artist or the first work of the school the work of which, in an advanced stage of its skill, is exhibited in the other bas-relief. Behind the Kṛishṇa in this relief, one will notice in the original a young shepherd boy playing upon the flute. This is sufficiently far away to indicate that it represents another of the many aspects of Kṛishṇa's life, and refutes the theory that Vēnugōpāla (young Kṛishṇa playing on the flute) is not found represented before the 13th century A. D. One stanza of Tirumangai Ālvār of the 20 devoted to this place seems specifically to refer to this relief.¹⁸

Mahishāsura-mardhani:—The goddess Durgā should have ten hands according to the *Śilparatna*, which describes her further as having three eyes; she should wear on her head a *jaṭa-makuta* and in it there should be the *chandra-kalā* or the digit of the moon. The colour of her body should be like that of the *atasi* flower, and the eyes should resemble the *nīlōtpala* or the blue lily; she should have high breasts and a thin waist and there should be three bends in her body (of the *trībhanga* variety). In her right hands she should carry the *triśūla*, *khaḍga*, *śaktyāyudha*, *chakra*, and a stringed bow; and in the left hands the *pāśa*, *ankuśa*, *kēṭaka*, *paraśu*, and a bell. At her feet should lie a buffalo with its head cut off and with blood gushing from its neck. From within this neck should be visible the half-emerged real *asura* bound down by the *nāga-pāśa* of the Dēvi. The *asura* should be made to carry a sword and a shield, although the Dēvi has already plunged her *triśūla* into his neck and he is bleeding profusely. He should have a terrific look with knitted eye-brows. The right leg of the Dēvi should be placed on the back of her lion and her left leg should touch the buffalo-body of Mahishāsura.

¹⁸ *Periya Tirumāli*, II. V. 4.

The *Vishṇudharmôttara*, as quoted in the *Vâchaspatya*, describes Mahishâsuramardhani under the name of Chaṇḍikâ thus :—This Dêvi has the complexion of gold and is a very handsome youthful woman in an angry mood, sitting on the back of a lion. She has twenty hands; the right ones carry, respectively, the *śûla*, *khadga*, *śankha*, *chakra*, *bâna*, *śakti*, *vajra*, *abhaya*, *damaru*, and an umbrella; while the left ones are seen to hold the *nâga-pâśa*, *khêṭaka*, *paraśu*, *ankuśa*, *dhanus*, *ghanta*, *dhvajagada*, a mirror and the *mudgara*. The buffalo-part of the *asura* is lying decapitated with the real *asura* proceeding out from the neck. His eyes, hair and brows are red and he vomits blood from his mouth. The lion of the Dêvi mauls him, and the Dêvi herself thrusts the *trîśûla* into his neck. The *asura*, who is bound down by the *nâga-pâśa*, carries a sword and a shield.¹⁹ The peculiar feature of the Mahishâsuramardhani here depicted is that the panel exhibits her as pressing back her enemy Andhakâsura in war. At this stage she has a benign aspect and shows nothing of the ferocity in combination with beauty which is usually associated with this aspect of the Goddess Durgâ. (See Plate VII.)

The Shore Temple:—General view, Plate IX. This temple in general view shows a double *vimâna*, both parts shaped exactly alike, but of proportions that seem intended to serve the purpose of shutting off the smaller from view on one side. The shoreward tower is the smaller and seems the older. It has a hole in the middle of the pedestal stone to hold a stone image or *linga*. An image has since been recovered which is of the Sarvatôbhadrâ²⁰ type. There is within the shrine a representation of Śiva as Sômaskanda²¹ in the central panel.

Beginning at the south end of this little shrine and at the back of it looking towards the sea is what now looks a comparatively dark chamber, holding a large-sized image of Vishṇu *au couchant*. (See plate VIII.)

Then comes the seaward shrine just covering this in front, and of proportions to shut off altogether from view on the seaside both the Vishṇu and Śiva temples above described. This contains a huge *lingam*, with sixteen fluted faces. These three in Chola times were known as Jalasayana or Kshatriyasimha Pallavêśvaram, Paṇḍikondân and Râjasimha Pallavêśvaram, respectively, notwithstanding the statements of the epigraphists to the contrary.

The significance of this will follow :

The Atiranachandêśvara Cave in Sâluvanguppam: plate X. This Atiranachanda was taken to be Nadivarman, the last great Pallava. It looks, on palæographical grounds, to be a surname of Narasimhavarman II, Râjasimha.

Vishṇu in the lying posture as the Sthala-śayanamûrti: plate VIII. 'This is a recumbent image of Vishṇu with only two hands; about a fourth of the body should be somewhat raised, and the remaining three-fourths should be lying flat upon the serpent bed. The right hand should be placed near the pillow, so as to touch the *kirita*; the other hand, bent at the elbow, should be held in the *kaṭaka* pose. Or, this left hand may be made to be parallel to the body, so as sometimes to touch the thigh. The right leg has to be stretched out, while the left should be slightly bent. The image itself should be adorned with various ornaments. The eyes must be somewhat opened. The colour of the image should be a mixture of black and yellow. By the side of this recumbent figure there should be Bhṛgu and Mârkaṇḍêya, and near the feet, the demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha, while on the lotus

¹⁹ T. A. G. *Iconography*, p. 357, *et seq.*

²⁰ A column with four faces, each face with a head of Śiva, the top is surmounted by a head also.

²¹ Śiva in the company of his consort Uma and their son Skandha (Subrahmanya).



Madras Arch. Dept.

THE SHORE TEMPLE
(VIEW FROM NORTH-EAST)

To face p. 68



ANOTHER PANEL—VARĀHA CAVE
NĀRAYANA STHĀLASAYANA

To face p. 68.



CAVE TEMPLE, ATRANA CHANDESVARA - SALVANGUTPADI

issuing from the navel there should be Brahma. On the back wall of the shrine and above the level of the image of Vishnu should be sculptured the images of the Āyudha-purushas, of Garuḍa, of Vishvaksēna, and of the Sapta-rishis, all standing with their hands in the *anjali* pose. On the south wall should be shown Brahma, and on the north wall Siva,—both in the sitting posture. Such a group constitutes the *uttama* class of Yōgaśayanamūrti. If the figures of the Saptarishis and Vishvaksēna are absent, the group belongs to the *madhyama* class; if the Pajakamunis and Madhu and Kaṭabha are also absent, it is conceived to belong to the *adhama* class.²²

In regard to this Yōgaśayanamūrti in the Shore Temple, some of these features adjunct to such a representation are wanting. The omission is explained away by the tradition that the God was there himself alone and had to exhibit himself to Rishi Pundarikā in the Yōgaśayana. Therefore the usual adjuncts are wanting. Of course the tradition is kept up in the modern temple, where the name of the goddess is Bhūlōkī (the Earth). This tradition and the name of the goddess indicate some connection between the locality and the Varāhavatāra of Vishnu. No definite statement of such a connection has so far come to my notice.

The Shore Temple is a feature of the antiquities of Mahābalipuram which has been a puzzle in Archaeology. Being structural, it has been taken for granted that it must have been a late structure at least later than the rock-cut ones. But material is now available to set these doubts at rest, although more definite light would certainly be welcome. Before proceeding to an explanation, the following facts require to be noticed. The original structures seem to have been the smaller shrine and the Vishnu chamber behind it with *very probably an apsidal vimānam surmounting the Vishnu shrine*. As we have it at present, this last is covered in front by the larger shrine facing the sea. (See Plate XI.)

The Chola inscriptions found in Mahābalipuram published in the *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 63-69, go to prove the existence of three shrines (1) Jalaśayana or Kshatriyasinha Pallavēśvaram; (2) Palligam Jaruliyadēva and (3) Rājasimha Pallavēśvaram. According to these inscriptions Mīmallapuram belonged to Āmur Nāḷu of Āmārkōttam. No. 49 of the *South Indian Inscriptions* uses the name Puḍukku Jaiyān Ēkaṭhīran,²³ Fifty as an alternative name for Āmur Nāḷu. Āmūr, a village near, gives the name both to the larger and the smaller divisions. Reverting to the names given in these epigraphs, to the shrines we have no doubt about the Palligam Jaruliyadēva. This can refer only to the god on his couch (Vishnu). The names are not quite as clear in respect of the two others. Jalaśayana-Pallavēśvara can have no direct significance, as there is nothing to connect Jalaśayanam (sleeping on the primeval waters) with Siva. This name can only mean the Pallavēśvara of the place Jalaśayanam, which must have been an anterior name necessarily. This would apply more appropriately to the smaller temple looking shoreward than to the seaward-looking bigger shrine. Even so there is an error in the name, which was according to the almost contemporary authority of Tirumangai Āḷvār, Talaśayanam (Sthalaśayanam) and not Jalaśayanam. The mere proximity to the sea cannot give a shrine this name, and the Siva shrine close to the sea has nothing of *śayanam* (couch) in it, containing as it does only a sixteen-sided prismatic *lingam*.

The Sea-ward Temple seems built with the design to shut off the Vishnu Temple, which Tirumangai Āḷvār describes as a Vishnu temple 'where Vishnu is in the company of

²² T. A. G., *Iconography*, pp. 90, &c.

²³ This name or title which means 'the unparallelled hero of the new umbrella' seems intended to designate Nandivarman Pallavamalla. The first word seems to contain a hint that the throne was to him a new acquisition and not one coming in hereditary descent. The Kaṅkuḷi plates of this Nandivarman call the village under gift by the new name Ēkaṭhīramanḍalam which was probably in honour of the sovereign regent. If this interpretation is correct, it is clear that Nandivarman restored the temple to the *status quo ante*. (*S. Ind. Ins.* II. iii. p. 359.)

Śiva, whose proper place is the crematorium.²⁴ The Talaśayanam must have got modified into Jalaśayanam by an error and assumed the alternative Kshatriyasimha Pallavēśvaram, if Kshatriyasimha made benefactions to the temple by extending and improving it.²⁵ Rājasimha Pallavēśvaram must be the sea-ward-looking temple, which is obviously of later construction from its own position. The prismatic *linga* is quite characteristic of Rājasimha's buildings, as a comparative study of Pallava monuments seems to indicate.²⁶ Rājasimha is further described a very pious prince, the illustrious Atyantakāma, the chief of the Pallavas, who crushed the multitude of his foes by his power (or spear), whose great statesmanship was well known, and who had got rid of all impurity (by walking) in the path of the Śaiva doctrine.²⁷

In his zeal for extension for the Śiva shrine he might have consciously thrown the Viṣṇu shrine into the shade and might even have destroyed parts of it, as that must have faced the sea from the disposition of the image now, both in the shore-temple and in the more modern temple in the town. The tradition is living yet that this latter was built to house the god, left homeless by the pious vandalism possibly of the Pallava sovereign, it may even be, by his own successor Nandivarman who was a Vaiṣṇava and in whose time Tirumangai Ālvār probably lived.

Māmallapuram is not mentioned as a Śaiva holy place by either Sambandar or Appar, who have made hymns upon Tirukkajukkunṇam; nor even by Sundaramūrti, as far as I am at present able to make out. It is not mentioned among the recognised Śaiva centres of worship even now. Tirumangai Ālvār celebrates it separately in two pieces of ten stanzas each, and makes other references besides. Another of these Ālvārs, believed to be much anterior to him in time and born in the town itself, refers to the temple. We have already referred to the primitive character of the bas-relief in the Krishṇamantapam.

It seems, therefore, that before Narasimhavarman I took it upon himself to beautify the place with the various rock-cut temples and other works of art, it must have been a place of Vaiṣṇava worship in some manner connected with one of the oldest Vaiṣṇava temples in Kanchi. In one of his verses, Tirumangai Ālvār refers to the god at Mallai, as 'he who was abed in Kachehi.'²⁸ This may be explained away in a general sense, but the reference seems to be specific, and there is some similarity in regard to the traditions of both. The shrine in Kanchi referred to is that of Yadōktakāri or Velūkū, the only temple referred to in the *Perumbāṇṇṟuppadai*. This poem by Rudran Kaṇṇan has for its object the celebration of the liberality of Tonḍaman

²⁴ பணங்கனி(டு) காடதனுள் நடமாடு பிஞ்ஞகஞ்ஞடு

இணங்கு நீருச்சக்கரத் தெம்பெருமானார் கிடம்விசும்பில்

கணங்கனி யங்கும்மல்லைக் கடன்மல்லைத் தலசயனம்

வணங்கு மனத்தாரவரை வணங்கென் றன் மடநெஞ்சே.

(*Periya Tirumoli*. II. vii, 9.)

²⁵ Para 9, *Epigraphist's Report* for 1913.

²⁶ Cf. Rājasimha-Pallavēśvara, the Kailāsanātha temple at Kanchi.

²⁷ Tēśām vamsē prasūtat Raṇarasika purōrmmaridhāna d (a)gradanḍāt (u)

Subrahmanya), kumarō Guha iva Pramādisvarādātta janma

śaktikṣuṇṇārī varggo viditabahunaya's Śaiva siddhānta margē

śrīmān Atyantakāmaḥ kēlātassakalamalē dhūrdharaḥ | 1 | allavānām

(*S. I. I., Vol. I., No. 24, verse 5*).

²⁸ கச்சிக் கிடந்தவனார் கடன்மல்லைத் தலசயனம்.

I Iandirayan of Kanchi, and refers to a time certainly anterior to that of **Simhavishṇu**, the founder of the great Pallava dynasty, and may go back to the 2nd century A. D. It must be remembered that this **Simhavishṇu** himself was a Vaishṇava, according to the **Udayēndiram** plates of **Nandivarman I.**, **Pallavamalla**,²⁹ while **Rājasimha** is described in the same document as a devout worshipper of Śiva (**Paramamāhēśvara**). A **Vishṇu** temple in the locality seems quite possible, either of sufficient nearness or remoteness in point of time.

Was the place of sufficient importance to deserve this honour before the age of the great Pallavas, specifically before the date of **Narasimhavarman I.**, **Mahāmalla**, whose name stuck on to the place even long after the fall of the dynasty. It is in point to notice here that it is not only the works of the Ālvārs that call the place **Mallai**, uniformly the same designation is given to it in the work **Nandikkalambakam**, a Tamil work celebrating the exploits of **Nandivarman**. Victor at **Tellāru**. The age of this monarch is not yet definitely fixed, but he came later, perhaps much later, than **Nandivarman Pallavamalla**. How far back the name **Mallai** goes we have not the means of deciding, but a coin of **Theodosius** has been discovered of date A. D. 371-395, which would indicate, although the evidence must be regarded as yet slender, that the place was a port of some importance commercially.³⁰ A recent article³¹ in the *Christian College Magazine* attempts to arrange the genealogy of the Pallavas of Kanchi and takes it to eight generations before **Simhavishṇu**, the father of **Mahendra**, the monarch who excavated most of the caves of Southern India. If we can take the time occupied by these at about two centuries, this will take us to about A. D. 400 from the known dates of **Narasimha I.** There are three other names to be accommodated perhaps, before we come to **Vishṇugōpa** of Kanchi, who suffered defeat at the hands of the 'Indian Napoleon' **Samudragupta**—about A. D. 350. One of these very early Pallavas, **Simhavarman**, is said, in the **Amarāvati** Pillar Inscription now in the **Madras Museum**, to have gone up to the **Himalayas** to imprint his '*lanchana*' on its face, as symbolical of his universal sovereignty.³² This is in obvious imitation of the crowned kings of the Tamil land, the **Chera**, **Chola** and the **Pandya**. We have to look for the particular **Pandya**, **Chola** and **Chera** much anterior to his time—whatever that time be.

This would, under all legitimate canons of criticism, bring us to the earlier centuries of the Christian era and the geographical data of the classical writers ought to give us the clue.

We have already noted that the Chinese traveller **Hiuen Tshang** refers both to the capital and the port as if they both had either the same name, or as though they could be regarded as the capital and its port, so intimately connected with each other as to be confounded by even an eminently intelligent foreigner such as the enlightened '*Master of the Laws*' was. **Ptolemy**, the geographer, writing in the middle of the 2nd century A. D. refers to a port, as well as an interior city, named **Malange**.³³ The *Periplus*, written about 80 A. D., refers to three ports and marts north of the **Kavery**; **Camara**,

²⁹ **Simhavishṇu**—the grandfather of **Narsimhavarman I.**, was a devout **Vaishṇava**. (**Udayēndiram** Plates, S. I. I., Vol. II, Pt. iii, p. 370) '*Bhaktiyārādhitā* **Vishṇu** **Simhavishṇu**.'

³⁰ *J. R. A. S.* 1904, pp. 609 and 636.

³¹ Vol. for 1913-14, pp. 239-374, by Mr. K. V. **Subrahmanya Iyer**, Assistant Epigraphist.

³² *S. Ind. Ins.*, Vol. I., p. 27, ll. 33-34.

³³ *Ante*, Vol. XIII, pp. 333 and 368.

Poduka and Malanga.³⁴ Without going into the details of this geography here, we may take Malanga the port to be the Mahābalipuram that is at present. The description of Māvilangai we find in the *Śirupāṇṇāruppadai* would answer to this very well, as well as in Hiuen Tshang's time, when it was the port of embarkation for Ceylon. The interior³⁵ Malange was, according to Ptolemy, the capital of Bassarnagos, which, on the analogy of Sorenagos of the same writer, must be the capital of the land of a people Bassar, which is a Greek modification of Vēṇar or Vēttuvar, who constituted, if not the sole, at least an integral part of the population. This possibility requires to be worked up more fully.

It must be noted in this connection, however, that there is a place containing a Pallava cave temple near Tindivanam called, even now, Kilmāvilangai (*i. e.*, East or Lower Māvilangai). Another Malingi (Kan. for Māvilangai) in Mysore is called in the 11th century A. D. I-jaināṭṭu Māvilangai.³⁶ These adjuncts to the two names imply the existence of other places of the name in the neighbourhood or about the same region. As far as I am able to make out at present there is no authority for taking Māvilangai to mean a country as Mr. Kanakasabhai has taken it³⁷:—the passage of the *Śirupāṇṇāruppadai* not lending itself to that interpretation. If then the capital and the port bore the same name, there is some reason for the careful Chinese traveller calling the two places by the same name, though different from this one, but well-known in his days. In fact, it is stated that to Ōymānāṭṭu Nalliyakkōdan, the hero of the *Śirupāṇṇāruppadai*, belonged the region comprising the cities and fortresses of Āmur, Vēlūr, Eṇilpattinam, Māvilangai, Kidangil, &c., but Kānchi in the same region does not find mention as such. His time, I take it, is intermediate to those of Tonḍamān Ilandirayan of Kānchi, and the Viṣṇugopa of Kānchi defeated by the famous Samudragupta.

This would take us to the vexed question of the origin of the Pallavas, and whether they were an indigenous dynasty or a dynasty of foreigners. The study of their monuments at Mahābalipuram makes it quite clear that their civilization at any rate, must have been Brahmanic: their architecture shews clear traces of its indigenous origin. These would support the contention of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*,³⁸ that the Pallavas were a race of Kshattriyas, who fell from their high estate by giving up the Vaidic duties enjoined upon them, meaning perhaps that they had become Buddhists. When they come into view in South India, they seem bent upon making amends for their past remissness by an extraordinary amount of zeal for Hinduism. It would seem reasonable to infer that they had as little to do with the Pahlavas or Parthians, as their contemporaries the Chālukyas had to do with the Seleukians of Asia.

Having come so far, it would seem pertinent to ask the question whether these Pallavas, who present themselves to us through the antiquities of Mahābalipuram, are the same as those known in the locality from the earliest times, or whether these were new-comers. That these powerful Pallavas of the dynasty of Narasimhavarman were Aryans in culture must now seem clear. There is one particular motive in the buildings of these that strike one as a remarkable feature, and that is the lion-base for the pillars. This, with the maned lion upon their coins, seems to indicate unmistakably that these were the feudatories of the Andhras, who advanced southwards from across the Krishna River, both in the lower and

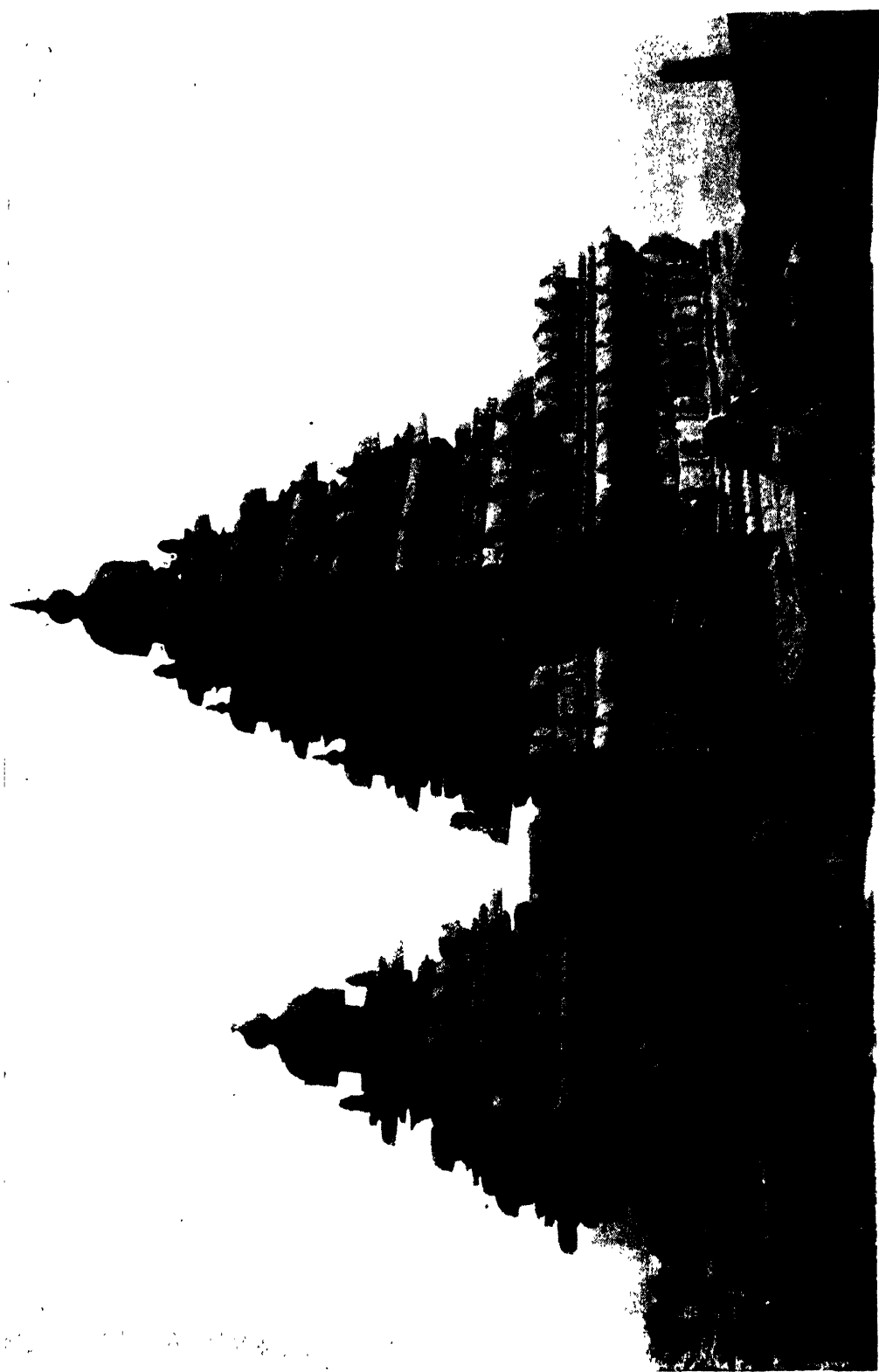
³⁴ W. Schoff's *Periplus*, p. 46, Section 60.

³⁵ *Pattuppāṭṭu* I S. yer's Edition.

³⁶ *Epig. Carnāṭaca*. Mysore Pt. I, T. N. 34 and 35.

³⁷ *The Tamils 1800 Years Ago*,

³⁸ Bk. III. Ch. iii. Wilson's Translation. Original *śloka*s (15-21).



Mahabalipuram

ANOTHER VIEW OF THE SHORE TEMPLE
(THE VISHNU SHRINE AS AT PRESENT WITHOUT THE SURMOUNTING DOME)

upper part of its course. There seems, therefore, some reason to distinguish between these Pallavas and the Pallavas or Kurumbars of the coins which have for their characteristic device a standing bull. On this subject the following remarks of Professor Rapson seem apposite. "In the same region lived the Kurumbars, a people of considerable importance before the 7th century A. D. Between the coins of these two peoples no accurate discrimination has yet been made. The coins of this region fall into two classes:— (i) Those which in style bear some resemblance to the coins of the Andhras (*e. g.*, E. CSI. Pl II, 55-58, called Kurumbar; and perhaps also *id.* I, 31-38 called Pallava or Kurumbar), and may therefore possibly belong to the same period (2nd and 3rd centuries A. D.). The occurrence of the ship as a reverse type testifies to the foreign trade for which the Pallavas were famous. (2) The other class is of gold and silver and undoubtedly later; but here again there seems to be no evidence from which to determine the exact date. These coins all bear the Pallava emblem, the maned lion, together with Canarese or Sanskrit inscription.³⁸

That the Kurumbars were different from the Pallavas, and that the Pallavas were northerners, seems to find an echo in Tamil literature. There are two or three poems, which are ascribed to different authors, who must be allotted, on very substantial evidence, to the first century, or a little later, of the Christian era. Among them a certain chief by name Nannan had for his territory the region called, in Tamil literature, Pālināḍu³⁹ round about the region of Cannanore now. One of the hill forts belonging to that chief was called Ēlil Malai (a hill about 18 miles north of Cananore now). That hill-fort had fallen into the possession of the northerners, as the Tamils called them (Vaḍukar), and the territory was recovered by a certain Chola King, by name Nanjētehenni, victor at Seruppāli or Pāli over these northerners (Vaḍukar).⁴⁰ The same incident is referred to in connection with the same king in *Puram* 378. That is for the west coast. In regard to the east, the Tamil chief Kāri, ruler of Malai Nāḍu round about Tirukkivilur in the South Arcot District, is said similarly to have beaten back an Aryan force which laid siege to his hill fort of Muḷḷār.⁴¹ These references in classical Tamil literature make it quite clear, that at the commencement of the Christian era, there was a general forward movement of the northerners (Aryans or Vaḍukar,) into South India which was resisted with all their power by the Tamilians across the whole width of the peninsula. The boast, therefore, of the Pandian ruler, who figures prominently in the *Silappadhikaram*, that he defeated an Aryan army, and the various northern achievements of Senguṭṭuvan seem founded on a basis of fact. The native Kurumbars, therefore, who must have figured in this general opposition, must have been gradually overcome by the invaders and their territory occupied completely by the Pallavas, who figured prominently in South Indian history at least from the commencement of the 4th century A. D. This would satisfactorily account for the hiatus between the Tamilian rulers of Kānchi, generally known as Tonḍaimān, and the later rulers of the same region, usually known by the Sanskrit name Pallava, though this is but a translation of the word Tonḍaimān.

³⁸ *Indian Coins* by E. J. Rapson, Plate V. 16 and p. 37.

³⁹ This is also called in Tamil Konkanam (Konkan).

⁴⁰ Akam 375 or 374 in the Ms. copy in the Govt. MSS. Library at Madras.

⁴¹ *Narrai* 170.

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.

BY V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T.; MADRAS.

*(Continued from p. 63.)***His tyranny and Veṅkaṇṇah's rebellion.**

He came to learn that, at the time when the zenana of Vijaya Rāghava was about to be destroyed, the queen had handed over a child of 4 years, the only remnant of the family, to a faithful nurse, so that it at least might survive the catastrophe; and that that child, Seṅgamala Dās by name, was growing up in safe obscurity under the tender care of his foster-mother and of a poor merchant of Negapatam.⁹¹ He therefore proceeded thither, and after a few years' sojourn with the prince, took him, when he reached the age of twelve,⁹² to Sikandar Shah (1659-86), the reigning Sultan of Bijapur and the nominal suzerain of South India. He placed before him the pathetic story of Seṅgamala Dās, and described, we may be certain, in highly coloured and persuasive language, to what station he had been born, and to what station the vicissitudes of time and the ambition of the Madura Nāiks had reduced him. The astute Brahmin then pleaded for the Sultan's help, promising in return a faithful allegiance on his part. Sikandar was, on his part, readily willing to undertake an expedition, which promised a firmer hold on the South Indian kingdoms. He could not, however, directly take the field, as he had enough trouble with the Mughals; and therefore ordered Ekoji, the second son of his minister Shahji, then in his province of Bangalore, to march with 1200 cavalry and 1000 infantry to the south, and place Seṅgamala Dās on the throne of his ancestors.

The First Maratha Invasion in favour of Seṅgamala Das.

Thus it was that a Maratha army was, for the first time in Indian History, on its way to the banks of the Kāveri. The necessity of safety and the prudence of statesmanship demanded the relinquishment by Chokkanātha of petty jealousy, and a cordial co-operation with his vassal. An ample facility⁹³ for such a behaviour was afforded, at this time, by a repentant and submissive letter from Alagiri Nāik. But Chokkanātha's small mind could not see that the help rendered to Alagiri was self-help; that, whatever might be the internal affairs of the kingdom, it ought to present a united front to foreign enemies. Left to his own resources, Alagiri met Ekoji at Aiyampet, a village about ten miles from Tanjore and at present a railway station, and in the battle which ensued he sustained such a disastrous defeat that he had not the presence of mind to even defend his capital. He fled to Mysore, and Ekoji seated Seṅgamala Dās on the throne. The restored monarch paid generous donations to his benefactors. Besides paying the revenues of the Taluks of

⁹¹ It was now a Dutch possession. It was the earliest Portuguese settlement on the Coromandel coast and taken from them by the Dutch in 1660, i.e., immediately after Chokkanātha's accession. Nelson does not mention the story of the Negapatam merchant, etc.

⁹² This is the version given in the *Tanj. Raj. Chari*. It is evident that it implies that the advent of the Marathas took place 12 years after the Madura conquest. Mr. Venkasaṃi Rao, the author of the *Tanjore Manual*, says that Chokkanātha's conquest must have taken place in 1662 and the Maratha occupation in 1674. Duperron puts it at 1674-5 and Burnell agrees with him. (See *S. Ind. Palaeo.*, p. 56 and *Antiquities*, II, p. 193.) That Ekoji came south after 1670 is clear from the fact that in 1669 (Saumya) he was at Bangalore and made a grant of land for the god Mallikārjuna of Mallapura.—*Mys. Arch. Rep.* 1909, p. 25.

⁹³ According to Nelson Venkaji had to wait for a year before he was able to take advantage of the unfortunate rupture between Alagiri and Chokka, in 1675.

Kumbakôṇam, Pāpanāṣam and Mannārguḍi, to meet the expenses of the Bijapur army, he gave a reward of 15 lakhs of pagodas⁹⁴ to Ekoji and an equal amount to his followers.

Ekoji's usurpation.

Unfortunately for Seṅgamala Dās, he had to do at the outset of his reign an act which undid the position he had attained with so much difficulty. A dispute arose as to who should be his minister. Veikanna claimed the dignity as a reward for his past service, but the foster-mother of the prince urged the claims of the merchant who had been a second father to him. Seṅgamala Dās, much indebted to both, preferred the latter, and so invested him with the dignity and robes of the Daḷavāi. Veikanna was indignant, and with characteristic vindictiveness of temper, vowed to cut down the tree which he himself had reared. He proceeded to the Maratha camp at Kumbakôṇam, and commenced to sow treason in the honest mind of Ekoji.⁹⁵ Why could not Ekoji, the brother of the illustrious Sivaji, imitate his brother, depose Seṅgamala Dās, seize the crown and at the same time cease to pay tribute to his Muhammadan suzerain? Why could he not thus obtain two victories at one stroke? The one was a weak stripling, already grown, like his father, too religious and unworldly to present a stout opposition. The other was an infidel who lived hundreds of miles off and whose enmity was an honour to the Bhonsle family. When the circumstances were so favourable, when providence had smoothed the way to power and to greatness, would it not be folly, would it not be cowardice, to kick the fortune that came voluntarily in his way? Ekoji struggled with his conscience, and resisted the dictates of self-interest for a space of six months. But some time in 1675, the Sultan died, and all fear from above vanished. He therefore succumbed to the counsels of Veikanna, promptly marched to Tanjore, and seized the crown. The unfortunate son of Vijaya Râghava had already abandoned the throne on which he had mounted only a few months back and had gone for refuge to the Polygar of Ariyalur. With the help of the Sêṭupati he then tried to win back his crown by force of arms, but failed⁹⁶ and lived the rest of his life in obscurity.

⁹⁴ From the money and jewels which his father had buried and which his foster-mother now secured.

⁹⁵ According to Wilks, the views of ambition which Veikanna placed before Ekoji had not been entirely absent from the latter's mind. He points out that the very object of Ekoji's expedition was "a conquest on his own account, but under the ostensible authority of the Government of Vijayapoor." After the defeat of Madura, continues Wilks, Ekoji demanded an extravagant war indemnity from Tanjore, quarrelled with its king on that account, accused him of treachery and seized the kingdom. See Wilks I, 49.

⁹⁶ The story is that he took refuge with the Tonḍamān of Pudukkôṭṭai, and lived there. He had later on the satisfaction to see his grand-daughters by his son (Vijaya Mannāru Nāiḍu) married to the king of Ceylon and his grandson Vijaya Râghavulu adopted by that king, as he was childless. See *Tanj-Raj-Chari*, for details. The *Śiṅgaḍadvīpakatha* also mentions these marriages. After the fall of the dynasty the Madura dynasty, besides others, gave some grants for the maintenance of the unfortunate family. At the time when the *Tanjavurvaru Charitram* was written, a member was living at Jambukēśvaram. See *Tanjore Manual*, p. 758.

Ekoji's raid into the Madura kingdom.

The Maratha conquest of Tanjore was followed by the Maratha invasion of Madura. To the ambition of Ekoji the acquisition of a tract of territory was an incentive to further acquisition. The spoils of Tanjore inspired therefore a longing for the spoils of Trichinopoly. Great as the mutual enmity of the Naiks had been, they had belonged to the same nationality, and had some sympathy towards each other. They had been, moreover, equally strong and equally weak, and none could thoroughly beat the other. Very different was the case with the Marathas. The occupation of Tanjore was in their eyes, a step to the occupation of the other parts of South India. It is not surprising, therefore, that immediately after the pacification of Tanjore, Ekoji marched against Trichinopoly. The vigilance of Chokkanatha, however, frustrated his attempt. He therefore diverted his forces on the people.⁹⁷ The ravages of the Marathas were not less destructive than the hostilities exercised by the Muhammadans. Without making the least endeavour to varnish their proceedings with the colour of fairness or moderation, they stained every moment of their invasion by acts of cruelty and rapine, which made the atrocity of the Muhammadans mildness itself. The masses were harassed by a repetition of claims, plunders and inroads. The sword of destruction was unsheathed on the peaceful villagers, and all limit was transcended in the demand of the surrender of their riches.

The Mysore conquest of the North-west.

The irruption of the Marathas was, however, only one of the causes which afflicted the kingdom of Madura at this time. Early in 1676 an army⁹⁸ of Mysoreans descended, on a sudden, from their mountains and seized at one blow the whole province of Satyamaṅgalam. The soul of this movement was king Chikka Dêva⁹⁹ (1672-1704), the successor of Deva Raja, a king of singular valour and ambition. Inspired by him, we are told, his general, Arasumalai, promptly accomplished his purpose, and carrying everything before him, reached Madura itself and captured it. We do not know whether this was the fact, but there is no question that the whole kingdom between the frontier passes leading to Mysore and Coimbatore was now under the occupation of the Mysoreans,¹⁰⁰ as an inscription at Davaḷagiri (near Satyamaṅgalam) dated 1676 (Naḷa) testifies. The Mysoreans, we are told, followed up their success with an attack on their Maratha rivals on the one hand and the city of Trichinopoly, the only remnant of Chokkanatha's kingdom, on the other. An inscription of Chikka Dêva¹, dated 1674, distinctly claims that he vanquished "Sambhu, Kutapa Sahu-Basava of Ikkêre, Ekoji, Dadôji, Jaitaji and Jasavant."

⁹⁷ Nelson's *Madur. Man.*

⁹⁸ Wilks does not refer to this in detail. The date he gives also seems to be very late. See his *Mysore*, I, p. 58. That Chikka Dêva began his southward movement even earlier seems to be demonstrated by the fact that his Dalavai Kumâra Râya built an anicut at Bêlûr, 10 miles south of Hosur, in 1673. See *Antiquities*, I, 194.

⁹⁹ For the circumstances of Chikka Dêva's accession, his dealings with the Ellandur Pandit, his early reforms in the administration, his conversion to Vaishnavism at the instance of Tirumalaṣyaṅgar, see Wilks I, 53-56.

¹⁰⁰ Insens. 201 and 209 of 1909. *Vide Madr. Ep. Rep.* 1910, p. 116.

¹ See *Mys. Ep. Rep.* 1915, p. 57.

The advent of Sivaji.

And as if these troubles were not enough, Providence sent into the ruined kingdom a third scourge. In 1677 the great Maratha Sivaji, whose career the Sultans of Bijapur and the Great Mughal had in vain tried to check, marched to the Southern Carnatic. Ostensibly he came to acquire from his brother Ekoji half of the Tanjore *jaghir* and of his father's property.² In reality, his object was to bring the Carnatic under the Maratha supremacy in place of Bijapur sovereignty. With characteristic duplicity, he came as the ally and servant of Golkonda, saying that the benefit of his conquests would go to that State. Like a dexterous falcon he fell on the disunited inters of the Carnatic and swept them² off. He first seized the important fortress of Gingi⁴, the headquarters of the Bijapur Viceroyalty, by treachery, and conquered the whole country down to the Coleroon. Organising this into a Maratha province with Gingi as capital, he took steps to exact the allegiance of the southern kingdoms. It is difficult to describe clearly the movements of Sivaji after this. The authorities are so contradictory and confusing. The version of Duff is this: Sivaji's object was to make his brother, Ekoji, acknowledge his supremacy and pay half of his revenues. Ekoji, as shrewd and greedy as his brother, had anticipated this, and approached Chokkanatha with an offer of alliance, both offensive and defensive. The ruler of Trichinopoly agreed, and the alliance was concluded. But, at this stage, we are told, the skilful diplomacy of Sivaji broke the league. He sent his agent Raghunatha Nārāyan to Trichinopoly, and persuaded Chokkanatha by arguments, of the nature of which we are unaware and unable to ascertain, to withdraw from his recent agreement. Disappointed and sulky, Ekoji had now no other alternative than to agree to an interview with his brother for discussing the questions of dispute. The interview took place on the northern banks of the Coleroon. "Sivajee received him kindly, but failed in spite of his earnest representations, to persuade him to his views." He "at first thought of making him a prisoner, and compelling him to give up half of Tanjore of the *jaghir* districts, and of the money and jewels"; but on further consideration felt that such an act was inconsistent with his own character as a brother and a prince. He therefore permitted him to turn⁵ to Tanjore. Sivaji however did not keep quiet. He frequently pressed his brother with his demands. He at the same time took by force his *jaghir* districts in Mysore. Venkaji was still obstinate. Leaving therefore his half brother Santaji to look after his conquests and to subdue Ekoji by arms, Sivaji returned to the Maharashtra,

² Duff's *Mahrattas*, I.

³ For the alarm which the advent of Sivaji caused among the English in Madras, see Wheeler's *Early Rec. Brit. Ind.*, p. 73; his *History*, IV, p. 371. Wilks I, p. 41. For the real objects of Sivaji, see Grant Duff and Wilks; Ferishta's *Deccan* II, p. 31.

⁴ *S. Arc. Gaz.*, p. 350; Duff, I, p. 278; Wilks I, p. 51.; Scott, II, 31.

Thus there came into existence "the Moghul Carnatic" in place of the old Golkonda Carnatic, and the Maratha Carnatic in place of Bijapur's. The Marathas, however, encroached into the Carnatic, and the feudatories there were as much interested in conciliating the Marathas as the attitude and policy of the English illustrates this best. See Wheeler's *Early Rec.*, p. 98.

⁵ Duff, I, p. 277. The Bondela officer, it is curious, does not mention this. He ⁴ met his brother 'Angojee' at Gingi, and not on the banks of the Coleroon as Duff says. Gingi that Ekoji fled to Tanjore. See Scott's *Dekkan* II, p. 32.

⁶ *Ibid.*, cf. the Bondela officer's account given above.

where the pressure of Mughal ravages required his presence. Immediately after his return, Ekoji attacked Santaji, only to be repulsed. This aggression brought forth a long letter of rebuke from Sivaji, which reconciled Venkaji to the payment of tribute in return for the restoration of the *jaghir* districts.

The account of Wilks⁷ is slightly different. He agrees with Duff in regard to the alliance between Chokkanātha and Ekoji and its breach by the embassy of Raghunatha Narayan, but differs in the representation of affairs at the interview between the two brothers. Sivaji, he says, was so inimical that Ekoji spied danger and imprisonment, and so escaped during night to Tanjore and recommenced hostilities. Sivaji soon left for the north, and his general Santaji, who was left behind, eventually succeeded in inflicting such a crushing defeat on Ekoji that, early in 1678, he concluded peace.

Chokkanātha and Ekoji.

Both the authorities thus agree in attributing the pacific attitude of Ekoji in 1678 to purely Maratha affairs. But Nelson⁸ gives a different version, which clearly attributes it to the activities of Chokkanātha. Nelson does not mention the Tanjore-Madura alliance, which had preceded the interview between Sivaji and Ekoji. He is unaware of the part played by Madura then. His account of the relations between the Maratha brothers is also different. He says that the obstinacy of Ekoji so much exasperated his brother during their interview that he actually seized him and put him in prison; that the latter escaped by swimming across the Coleroon, and reached his kingdom; that the floods of the Coleroon prevented Sivaji from the pursuit of his brother; and that he therefore left the command of his troops and the charge of the newly conquered province in the hands of his brother Santaji, and proceeded home, leaving a chain of military posts all along the line of the road through Mysore. The floods subsiding, he continues, Santaji crossed the river and meeting the forces of Ekoji on the route to Tanjore, gained, with his superior strategy, a victory which laid the Southern Maratha capital open to his advance.⁹ It seems that at this stage, Chokkanātha Naik approached Santaji with the offer of tribute, money and men, in case he was placed in possession of Tanjore. It was a very clever move, and if attended with success, would have restored the political condition of the South to what it was before the ill-fated defection of Alagiri Nāidu and the ominous restoration of the unfortunate Seṅgamala Dās. But in his eagerness for diplomacy he forgot the character of Ekoji. The shrewd Maratha saw that affairs were taking a serious turn, and so prudently submitted, early in 1678, to his brother's general. He never forgot the capacity or inclination of Chokkanātha to do mischief. To ambition he now added the feeling of revenge, and from this time onward always carried on raids into the kingdom of Madura, or rather the city of Trichinopoly. The men of Mysore, Tanjore and Ginji were jealous of one another, and carried on a contest among themselves; but they combined in the humiliation and subjugation of Chokkanātha.

(To be continued.)

⁷ See his *Mysore*, I, 50-54.

⁸ *Madur. Man.* 195 f.

⁹ *Madur. Man.*, p. 199; Wilks, I. p. 53. The *Bondela Jour.* does not mention this.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS.

3. A new verison of Hobson Jobson—Jacey
Bocey—Joicey Boicy.

21 December 1682. Consultation in Masulipatam. The Governour of this towne Mauid : Alley Beague [Mahmūd 'Alī Bēg] haveing occasion for 4 Cases spiritts and two Cheeses for his master (being Jacey bocey time when they drinke much sherbett) and for him selfe two balos Sugar, sent to the Factory for same, The Councell therefore thinke it Convenient, and order that he be presented with the same being requesite to oblige him

with such things at this season of the year, that our business may not meet with any inturruption and that in case an Interloper should come in he may not have any pretence to favour him or his businesse. (*Factory Records, Masulipatam*, Vol. 4)

Note.—The copy of this Consultation now at Madras has "Joicey boicy," but that at the India Office has the spelling "Jacey bocey." Either gives us a new form for this much tortured expression.

R. C. T.

BOOK NOTICE.

KALIDASA'S MEGHADUTA OR THE CLOUD-MESSENGER (*as embodied in the Pārsvābhyudaya*) with the Commentary of Mallinātha, literal English translation, variant readings, critical notes, appendixes and introduction, determining the date of Kālidāsa from latest antiquarian researches, edited by KASHINATH BAPU PATHAK, B.A. Second Edition, Poona, 1916.

The *Pārsvābhyudaya* is too well-known to Sanskrit scholars to need an introduction. An edition of Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* based on this metrical biography of Pārsvanātha by Jinasonāchārya is undoubtedly a very valuable contribution to Indology.

The first edition of Prof. Pathak's book, which appeared in 1894, was characterised by a rather indiscriminate use—or misuse—of diacritical marks in the transliteration of Indian words in the preface and notes accompanying the text. The present edition marks a slight improvement in this respect. Even in this edition, however, the number of the "errata" (printed at the bottom of p. vi) has been considerably underestimated by the author, and the little booklet would have proved much better reading for a thorough revision of the spelling, which in many instances is quite unconventional. From the literal translation and the elaborate exegetical and explanatory apparatus accompanying the reprint of the Sanskrit text, it is evident that the edition is intended chiefly for the use of school-boys and junior college students: and there is no doubt that

it will be greatly in demand with this class of readers. The more is the pity that sufficient attention has not been paid to typographical matters; for, this example of inaccuracy in minor details set by a veteran is likely to be unconsciously copied by the inexperienced young scholar in whose hands the book falls. No doubt the press comes in for its legitimate share of reproof; but it must be understood that the responsibility of checking instances of such negligence lies entirely with the author.

At p. vii, the subject-matter of the introduction is indicated by a head-line to be "the date of Kālidāsa." This is indeed a very modest description of the contents of the introduction which treats of a great many things besides; so much so, that the reader experiences some difficulty in threading his way through the maze of (more or less interesting) digressions. The canonade of diatribe running through the analysis of the 'critical acumen' of Dr. Hultzsch (pp. xvii-xix) is distinctly one of the less interesting digressions, and might have been with advantage omitted in its entirety.

The remarks bearing on the date of Kālidāsa have been reprinted with slight alterations from the author's article on the subject entitled "Kālidāsa and the Hunas of the Oxus Valley" (*Ind. Ant.*, 1912, p. 265), where an attempt is made to synchronise the composition of the *Raghuvamśa* with the advent of the Ephthalites in the Oxus Valley. To quote Prof. Pathak's own words (p. x of the

book under review): "Kālidāsa must have written his verses about the Hūnas shortly after 450, the date of the establishment of the Hūna empire in the Oxus Basin, but before their first defeat (A. D. 450—455), when they were still in the Oxus Valley and considered the most invincible warriors of their age"; and all this, because it was on the banks of the Oxus (Vāṅkshu) that Raghu during the course of his *digvijaya* is represented by Kālidāsa (anachronistically, adds Prof. Pathak) to have encountered the Hūna hordes. It is no doubt possible to argue in this way; but the conclusion of the Professor is by no means inevitable. The Hūnas are evidently introduced as a type of people who had impressed the minds of Indians as formidable foes on the battlefield; and Prof. Pathak is perfectly right in implying that the Ephthalites belong to a category different from that of the classical enemies of the conquering hero, such as the kings of the Chola, Pāṇḍya, Kāliṅga and other kingdoms. But this estimation of their fighting qualities was hardly possible to be formed, unless the Indians of Kālidāsa's time had known the nomadic hordes nearer at hand than from the remote Oxus Valley. To the same conclusion points the use of the phrase *kapalapāṇadeśi* by Kālidāsa, in the same work (canto 4, verse 68), which discloses close intimacy with the customs and manners peculiar to the White Huns. It would be, therefore, equally legitimate to assign Kālidāsa to an epoch of Indian history following shortly on the expulsion of the Hūna hordes from the confines of India proper. This would be a time when the picture of their ferocious barbarity was still vividly present to the minds of the poet's contemporaries, and a reference to the rout of the Hūnas would have immediately and strikingly appealed to the imagination of the readers. Thus, even under these circumstances there would be nothing incongruous in the fact of the poet making Raghu encounter the retreating Hūnas in their 'epic' home of the Vāṅkshu Valley. The upshot of this antinomian argumentation seems to be to exclude the possibility of referring Kālidāsa to the period in which the Ephthalites occupied the position of paramount sovereigns within the limits of India. For, on the contrary supposition, with the Hūnas actually holding their own in the Panjab and parts of Central India, the statement that Raghu fought with these

same people on the banks of the Oxus and defeated them there, would have been incomprehensible to Kālidāsa's contemporaries. The reference is, in any case, too vague to admit of exact chronological computations like those which Prof. Pathak attempts.

The determination of the date of Kālidāsa is, as remarked above, only one of the questions dealt with in the introduction. Another topic discussed there is the value of Vallabha's Commentary on the *Meghadūta* in settling the question of the spurious verses. The verdict of Prof. Pathak is not favourable to the commentator. Dr. Hultsch, it would appear, misguided by the opinion of the Pandits Durgaprasad and Parab regarding the age of Vallabha, identifies him with Kaiyaṭa's grandfather of that name and assigns him therefore to the first half of the tenth century (see Hultsch's edition of the *Meghadūta*, Preface, p. ix). Prof. Pathak would rather place him two centuries later, and the reasons adduced by him in support of his opinion are worthy of careful consideration. If it turn out that the Professor's surmise of the age of Vallabhadeva is correct, this circumstance would detract considerably from the value to which the commentary might otherwise be entitled on grounds of its supposed antiquity. In any event, Prof. Pathak attaches far too much importance to this fact; for it must be remembered that even the author of the *Pāraśvābhyudaya* is separated by at least two centuries from the time of Kālidāsa,—a period which is long enough in India to engender interpolations. Each work represents the version locally current at the particular epoch to which the commentator belongs. And neither in one case the seclusion of the Kāśmīr Valley, nor in the other, the proximity to the poet by—admitting Prof. Pathak's estimation to be correct—three centuries, is a sufficient guarantee of the entire purity of the respective texts.

In reprinting the text of Mallinātha's commentary Prof. Pathak has introduced an innovation. He has expunged the remarks of the commentator regarding the spuriousness of certain verses, a procedure which, being misleading, is not commendable.

CASTES IN INDIA.

Their mechanism, genesis and development.¹

BY BHIMRAO R. AMBEDKAR, M.A.

MANY of us, I dare say, have witnessed local, national, or international expositions of material objects that make up the sum total of human civilization. But few can entertain the idea of there being such a thing as an exposition of human institutions. Exhibition of human institutions is a strange idea; some might call it the wildest of ideas. But as students of Ethnology I hope you will not be hard on this innovation, for it is not so, and to you at least it should not be strange.

You all have visited, I believe, some historic place like the ruins of Pompeii, and listened with curiosity to the history of the remains as it flowed from the glib tongue of the guide. In my opinion a student of Ethnology, in one sense at least, is much like the guide. Like his prototype, he holds up (perhaps with more seriousness and desire of self-instruction) the social institutions to view, with all the objectiveness humanly possible, and inquires into their origin and function.

Most of our fellow students in this Seminar, which concerns itself with Primitive *versus* Modern Society, have ably acquitted themselves along these lines by giving lucid expositions of the various institutions, modern or primitive, in which they are interested. It is my turn now, this evening, to entertain you, as best I can, with a paper on "Castes in India: their mechanism, genesis and development."

I need hardly remind you of the complexity of the subject I intend to handle. Subtler minds and abler pens than mine have been brought to the task of unravelling the mysteries of Caste; but unfortunately it still remains in the domain of the "unexplained," not to say of the "un-understood." I am quite alive to the complex intricacies of a hoary institution like Caste, but I am not so pessimistic as to relegate it to the region of the unknowable, for I believe it can be known. The caste problem is a vast one, both theoretically and practically. Practically, it is an institution that portends tremendous consequences. It is a local problem, but one capable of much wider mischief, for "as long as caste in India does exist, Hindus will hardly intermarry or have any social intercourse with outsiders; and if Hindus migrate to other regions on earth, Indian caste would become a world problem."² Theoretically, it has defied a great many scholars who have taken upon themselves, as a labour of love, to dig into its origin. Such being the case, I cannot treat the problem in its entirety. Time, space and acumen, I am afraid, would all fail me, if I attempted to do otherwise than limit myself to a phase of it, namely, the genesis, mechanism and spread of the caste system. I will strictly observe this rule, and will dwell on extraneous matters only when it is necessary to clarify or support a point in my thesis.

To proceed with the subject. According to well-known ethnologists, the population of India is a mixture of Aryans, Dravidians, Mongolians and Scythians. All these stocks of people came into India from various directions and with various cultures, centuries ago, when they were in a tribal state. They all in turn elbowed their entry into the country by fighting with their predecessors, and after a stomachful of it settled down as peaceful neighbours. Through constant contact and mutual intercourse they evolved a common

¹ A paper read before the Anthropology Seminar (9th May 1916) of Dr. A. A. Goldenweiser, Columbia University, New York.

² Ketkar, *Caste*, p. 4.

culture that superseded their distinctive cultures. It may be granted that there has not been a thorough amalgamation of the various stocks that make up the peoples of India, and to a traveller from within the boundaries of India the East presents a marked contrast in physique and even in colour to the West, as does the South to the North. But amalgamation can never be the sole criterion of homogeneity as predicated of any people. Ethnically all peoples are heterogeneous. It is the unity of culture that is the basis of homogeneity. Taking this for granted, I venture to say that there is no country that can rival the Indian Peninsula with respect to the unity of its culture. It has not only a geographic unity, but it has over and above all a deeper and a much more fundamental unity—the indubitable cultural unity that covers the land from end to end. But it is because of this homogeneity that Caste becomes a problem so difficult to be explained. If the Hindu Society were a mere federation of mutually exclusive units, the matter would be simple enough. But Caste is a parcelling of an already homogeneous unit, and the explanation of the genesis of Caste is the explanation of this process of parcelling.

Before launching into our field of enquiry, it is better to advise ourselves regarding the nature of a caste. I will therefore draw upon a few of the best students of caste for their definitions of it.

(1) M. Senart, a French authority, defines a caste as “a close corporation, in theory at any rate rigorously hereditary: equipped with a certain traditional and independent organisation, including a chief and a council, meeting on occasion in assemblies of more or less plenary authority and joining together at certain festivals: bound together by common occupations, which relate more particularly to marriage and to food and to questions of ceremonial pollution, and ruling its members by the exercise of jurisdiction, the extent of which varies, but which succeeds in making the authority of the community more felt by the sanction of certain penalties and, above all, by final irrevocable exclusion from the group.”

(2) Mr. Nesfield defines a caste as “a class of the community which disowns any connection with any other class and can neither intermarry nor eat nor drink with any but persons of their own community.”

(3) According to Sir H. Risley, “a caste may be defined as a collection of families or groups of families bearing a common name which usually denotes or is associated with specific occupation, claiming common descent from a mythical ancestor, human or divine, professing to follow the same professional callings and are regarded by those who are competent to give an opinion as forming a single homogeneous community.”

(4) Dr. Kotkar defines caste as “a social group having two characteristics: (1) membership is confined to those who are born of members and includes all persons so born; (2) the members are forbidden by an inexorable social law to marry outside the group.”

To review these definitions is of great importance for our purpose. It will be noticed that taken individually the definitions of three of the writers include too much or too little: none is complete or correct by itself and all have missed the central point in the mechanism of the Caste system. Their mistake lies in trying to define caste as an isolated unit by itself, and not as a group within, and with definite relations to, the system of caste as a whole. Yet collectively all of them are complementary to one another, each one emphasising what has been obscured in the other. By way of criticism, therefore, I will take only those points common to all Castes in each of the above definitions which are regarded as peculiarities of Caste and evaluate them as such.

To start with M. Senart. He draws attention to the "idea of pollution" as a characteristic of Caste. With regard to this point it may be safely said that it is by no means a peculiarity of Caste as such. It usually originates in priestly ceremonialism and is a particular case of the general belief in purity. Consequently its necessary connection with Caste may be completely denied without damaging the working of Caste. The "idea of pollution" has been attached to the institution of Caste, only because the Caste that enjoys the highest rank is the priestly Caste: while we know that priest and purity are old associates. We may therefore conclude that the "idea of pollution" is a characteristic of Caste only in so far as Caste has a religious flavour. Mr. Nesfield in his way dwells on the absence of messing with those outside the Caste as one of its characteristics. In spite of the newness of the point we must say that Mr. Nesfield has mistaken the effect for the cause. Caste, being a self-enclosed unit naturally limits social intercourse, including messing etc., to members within it. Consequently this absence of messing with outsiders is not due to positive prohibition, but is a natural result of Caste, *i. e.*, exclusiveness. No doubt this absence of messing, originally due to exclusiveness, acquired the prohibitory character of a religious injunction, but it may be regarded as a later growth. Sir H. Risley, makes no new point deserving of special attention.

We now pass on to the definition of Dr. Ketkar, who has done much for the elucidation of the subject. Not only is he a native, but he has also brought a critical acumen and an open mind to bear on his study of Caste. His definition merits consideration, for he has defined Caste in its relation to a system of Castes, and has concentrated his attention only on those characteristics which are absolutely necessary for the existence of a Caste within a system, rightly excluding all others as being secondary or derivative in character. With respect to his definition it must, however, be said that in it there is a slight confusion of thought, lucid and clear as otherwise it is. He speaks of **Prohibition of Inter-marriage** and **Membership by Autogeny** as the two characteristics of Caste. I submit that these are but two aspects of one and the same thing and not two different things as Dr. Ketkar supposes them to be. If you prohibit inter-marriage the result is that you limit membership to those born within the group. Thus the two are the obverse and the reverse sides of the same medal.

This critical evaluation of the various characteristics of Caste leaves no doubt that prohibition, or rather the absence of inter-marriage—endogamy, to be concise—is the only one that can be called the essence of Caste when rightly understood. But some may deny this on abstract anthropological grounds, for there exist endogamous groups without giving rise to the problem of Caste. In a general way this may be true, as endogamous societies, culturally different, making their abode in localities more or less removed, and having little to do with each other, are a physical reality. The negroes and the whites and the various tribal groups that go by the name of American Indians in the United States may be cited as more or less appropriate illustrations in support of this view. But we must not confuse matters, for in India the situation is different. As pointed out before, the peoples of India form a homogeneous whole. The various races of India occupying definite territories have more or less fused into one another and do possess a cultural unity, which is the only criterion of a homogeneous population. Given this homogeneity as a basis, Caste becomes a problem altogether new in character and wholly absent in the situation constituted by the mere propinquity of endogamous social or tribal

groups. Caste in India means an artificial chopping off of the population into fixed and definite units, each one prevented from fusing into another through the custom of endogamy. Thus the conclusion is inevitable that **endogamy is the only characteristic that is peculiar to Caste**, and if we succeed in showing how endogamy is maintained, we shall practically have proved the genesis and also the mechanism of Caste.

It may not be quite easy for you to anticipate why I regard endogamy as a key to the mystery of the Caste system. Not to strain your imagination too much, I will proceed to give you my reasons for it.

It may not also be out of place to emphasize at this moment that no civilized society of to-day presents more survivals of primitive times than does the Indian society. Its religion is essentially primitive and its tribal code, in spite of the advance of time and civilization, operates in all its pristine vigour even to-day. One of these primitive survivals, to which I wish particularly to draw your attention, is the **custom of exogamy**. The prevalence of exogamy in the primitive world is a fact too well known to need any explanation. With the growth of history, however, exogamy has lost its efficacy and, excepting the nearest blood-kins, there is usually no social bar restricting the field of marriage. But regarding the peoples of India the law of exogamy is a positive injunction even to-day. Indian society still savours of the clan system, even though there are no clans: and this can be easily seen from the law of matrimony which centres round the principle of exogamy, for it is not that *sapindas* (blood-kins) cannot marry, but a marriage even between *sagotras* (of the same class) is regarded as a sacrilege.

Nothing is therefore more important for you to remember than the fact that endogamy is foreign to the people of India. The various *gotras* of India are and have been exogamous: so are the other groups with totemic organization. It is no exaggeration to say that with the people of India exogamy is a creed and none dare infringe it, so much so that, in spite of the endogamy of the Castes within them, exogamy is strictly observed and that there are more rigorous penalties for violating exogamy than there are for violating endogamy. You will, therefore, readily see that with exogamy as the rule there could be no Castes, for exogamy means fusion. But we *have* Castes; consequently in the final analysis creation of Castes, so far as India is concerned, means the superposition of endogamy on exogamy. However, in an originally exogamous population an easy working out of endogamy (which is equivalent to the creation of Caste) is a grave problem, and it is in the consideration of the means utilized for the preservation of endogamy against exogamy that we may hope to find the solution of our problem.

Thus **the superposition of endogamy on exogamy means the creation of Caste**. But this is not an easy affair. Let us take an imaginary group that desires to make itself into a Caste and analyse what means it will have to adopt to make itself endogamous. If a group desires to make itself endogamous a formal injunction against intermarriage with outside groups will be of no avail, especially if prior to the introduction of endogamy, exogamy had been the rule in all matrimonial relations. Again, there is a tendency in all groups lying in close contact with one another to assimilate and amalgamate, and thus consolidate into a homogenous society. If this tendency is to be strongly counteracted in the interest of Caste formation, it is absolutely necessary to circumscribe a circle outside which people should not contract marriages.

Nevertheless, this encircling to prevent marriages from without creates problems from within which are not very easy of solution. Roughly speaking, in a normal group the

two sexes are more or less evenly distributed, and generally speaking there is an equality between those of the same age. The equality is, however, never quite realized in actual societies. At the same time to the group that is desirous of making itself into a caste the maintenance of equality between the sexes becomes the ultimate goal, for without it endogamy can no longer subsist. In other words, if endogamy is to be preserved conjugal rights from within have to be provided for, otherwise members of the group will be driven out of the circle to take care of themselves in any way they can. But in order that the conjugal rights be provided for from within, it is absolutely necessary to maintain a numerical equality between the marriageable units of the two sexes within the group desirous of making itself into a Caste. It is only through the maintenance of such an equality that the necessary endogamy of the group can be kept intact, and a very large disparity is sure to break it.

The problem of Caste, then, ultimately resolves itself into one of repairing the disparity between the marriageable units of the two sexes within it. Left to nature, the much needed parity between the units can be realized only when a couple dies simultaneously. But this is a rare contingency. The husband may die before the wife and create a *surplus woman*, who must be disposed of, else through intermarriage she will violate the endogamy of the group. In like manner the husband may survive his wife and be a *surplus man*, whom the group, while it may sympathise with him for the sad bereavement, has to dispose of, else he will marry outside the Caste and will break the endogamy. Thus both the *surplus man* and the *surplus woman* constitute a menace to the Caste if not taken care of, for not finding suitable partners inside their prescribed circle (and left to themselves they cannot find any, for if the matter be not regulated there can only be just enough pairs to go round) very likely they will transgress the boundary, marry outside and import offspring that is foreign to the Caste.

Let us see what our imaginary group is likely to do with this *surplus man* and *surplus woman*. We will first take up the case of the *surplus woman*. She can be disposed of in two different ways so as to preserve the endogamy of the Caste.

First: burn her on the funeral pyre of her deceased husband and get rid of her. This, however, is rather an impracticable way of solving the problem of sex disparity. In some cases it may work, in others it may not. Consequently every *surplus woman* cannot thus be disposed of, because it is an easy solution but a hard realization. And so the *surplus woman* (= widow), if not disposed of, remains in the group: but in her very existence lies a double danger. She may marry outside the Caste and violate endogamy, or she may marry within the Caste and through competition encroach upon the chances of marriage that must be reserved for the potential brides in the Caste. She is therefore a menace in any case, and something must be done to her if she cannot be burned along with her deceased husband.

The second remedy is to enforce widowhood on her for the rest of her life. So far as the objective results are concerned, burning is a better solution than enforcing widowhood. Burning the widow eliminates all the three evils that a *surplus woman* is fraught with. Being dead and gone she creates no problem of remarriage either inside or outside the Caste. But compulsory widowhood is superior to burning because it is more practicable. Besides being comparatively humane it also guards against the evils of remarriage as does burning: but it fails to guard the morals of the group. No doubt under compulsory widowhood the woman remains, and just because she is deprived of her natural right of being a legitimate wife in future, the incentive to immoral conduct is increased. But

this is by no means an insuperable difficulty. She can be degraded to a condition in which she is no longer a source of allurements.

The problem of *surplus man* (= widower) is much more important and much more difficult than that of the *surplus woman* in a group that desires to make itself into a Caste. From time immemorial man as compared with woman has had the upper hand. He is a dominant figure in every group and of the two sexes has greater prestige. With this traditional superiority of man over woman his wishes have always been consulted. Woman, on the other hand, has been an easy prey to all kinds of iniquitous injunctions, religious, social or economic. But man as a maker of injunctions is most often above them all. Such being the case, you cannot accord the same kind of treatment to a *surplus man* as you can to a *surplus woman* in a Caste.

The project of burning him with his deceased wife is hazardous in two ways: first of all it cannot be done, simply because he is a man. Secondly, if done, a sturdy soul is lost to the Caste. There remain then only two solutions which can conveniently dispose of him. I say conveniently, because he is an asset to the group.

Important as he is to the group, endogamy is still more important, and the solution must assure both these ends. Under these circumstances he may be forced, or I should say induced, after the manner of the widow, to remain a widower for the rest of his life. This solution is not altogether difficult, for without any compulsion some are so disposed as to enjoy self-imposed celibacy, or even to take a further step of their own accord and renounce the world and its joys. But, given human nature as it is, this solution can hardly be expected to be realized. On the other hand, as is very likely to be the case, if the *surplus man* remains in the group as an active participator in group activities, he is a danger to the morals of the group. Looked at from a different point of view celibacy, though easy in cases where it succeeds, is not so advantageous even then to the material prospects of the Caste. If he observes genuine celibacy and renounces the world, he would not be a menace to the preservation of Caste endogamy or Caste morals as he undoubtedly would be if he remained a secular person. But as an ascetic celibate he is as good as burned, so far as the material well-being of his Caste is concerned. A Caste, in order that it may be large enough to afford a vigorous communal life, must be maintained at a certain numerical strength. But to hope for this and to proclaim celibacy is the same as trying to cure atrophy by bleeding.

Imposing celibacy on the *surplus man* in the group, therefore, fails both theoretically and practically. It is in the interest of the Caste to keep him as a *grahastha* (one who raises a family), to use a Sanskrit technical term. But the problem is to provide him with a wife from within the Caste. At the outset this is not possible, for the ruling ratio in a caste has to be one man to one woman and none can have two chances of marriage, for in a Caste thoroughly self-enclosed there are always just enough marriageable women to go round for the marriageable men. Under these circumstances the *surplus man* can be provided with a wife only by recruiting a bride from the ranks of those not yet marriageable in order to tie him down to the group. This is certainly the best of the possible solutions in the case of the *surplus man*. By this, he is kept within the Caste. By this means numerical depletion through constant outflow is guarded against, and by this endogamy and morals are preserved.

It will now be seen that the four means by which numerical disparity between the two sexes is conveniently maintained are: (1) Burning the widow with her deceased

husband ; (2) Compulsory widowhood—a milder form of burning ; (3) Imposing celibacy on the widower ; (4) Wedding him to a girl not yet marriageable. Though, as I said above, burning the widow and imposing celibacy on the widower are of doubtful service to the group in its endeavour to preserve its endogamy, all of them operate as *means*. But means, as forces, when liberated or set in motion create an end. What then is the end that these means create ? They create and perpetuate endogamy, while caste and endogamy, according to our analysis of the various definitions of caste, are one and the same thing. Thus the existence of these means is identical with caste and caste involves these means.

This, in my opinion, is the general mechanism of a caste in a system of castes. Let us now turn from these high generalities to the castes in Hindu society and inquire into their mechanism. I need hardly premise that there are a great many pitfalls in the path of those who try to unfold the past, and caste in India to be sure is a very ancient institution. This is especially true where there exist no authentic or written records, or where the people, like the Hindus, are so constituted that to them writing history is a folly, for the world is an illusion. But institutions do live, though for a long time they may remain unrecorded and as often as not customs and morals are like fossils that tell their own history. If this is true, our task will be amply rewarded if we scrutinize the solution the Hindus arrived at to meet the problems of the *surplus man* and *surplus woman*.

Complex though it be in its general working the Hindu Society, even to a superficial observer, presents three singular uxorial customs, namely :—

- (i) *Sati* or the burning of the widow on the funeral pyre of her deceased husband.
- (ii) Enforced widowhood by which a widow is not allowed to remarry.
- (iii) Girl marriage.

In addition, one also notes a great hankering after *sannyasa* (renunciation) on the part of the widower, but this may in some cases be due purely to psychic disposition.

So far as I know, no scientific explanation of the origin of these customs is forthcoming even to-day. We have plenty of philosophy to tell us why these customs were honoured, but nothing to tell us the causes of their origin and existence. *Sati* has been honoured (cf. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Sati: a Defence of the Eastern Woman* in the *British Sociological Review*, Vol. VI. 1913) because it is a "proof of the perfect unity of body and soul" between husband and wife and of "devotion beyond the grave;" because it embodied the ideal of wifedom, which is well expressed by Umâ when she said "Devotion to her Lord is woman's honour, it is her eternal heaven: and O Maheshvara," she adds with a most touching human cry, "I desire not paradise itself if thou art not satisfied with me!" Why compulsory widowhood is honoured I know not, nor have I yet met with any one who sang in praise of it, though there are a great many who adhere to it. The eulogy in honour of girl marriage is reported by Dr. Ketkar to be as follows: "A really faithful man or woman ought not to feel affection for a woman or a man other than the one with whom he or she is united. Such purity is compulsory not only after marriage, but even before marriage, for that is the only correct ideal of chastity. No maiden could be considered pure if she feels love for a man other than the one to whom she might be married. As she does not know to whom she is going to be married, she must not feel affection for any man at all before marriage. If she does so, it is a sin. So it is better for a girl to know whom she has to love, before any sexual consciousness has been awakened in her."³ Hence girl marriage.

³ *History of Caste in India*, 1909, pp. 32-33.

This high-flown and ingenious sophistry indicates why these institutions were honoured, but does not tell us why they were practised. My own interpretation is that they were honoured because they were practised. Any one slightly acquainted with rise of individualism in the 18th century will appreciate my remark. At all times, it is the movement that is most important; and the philosophies grow around it long afterwards to justify it and give it a moral support. In like manner I urge that the very fact that these customs were so highly eulogized proves that they needed eulogy for their prevalence. Regarding the question as to why they arose, I submit that they were needed to create the structure of caste and the philosophies in honour of them were intended to popularize them, or to gild the pill, as we might say, for they must have been so abominable and shocking to the moral sense of the unsophisticated that they needed a great deal of sweetening. These customs are essentially of the nature of *means*, though they are represented as ideals. But this should not blind us from understanding the *results* that flow from them. One might safely say that idealization of means is necessary and in this particular case was perhaps motivated to endow them with greater efficacy. Calling a means an end does no harm, except that it disguises its real character; but it does not deprive it of its real nature, that of a means. You may pass a law that all cats are dogs, just as you can call a means an end. But you can no more change the nature of means thereby than you can turn cats into dogs; consequently I am justified in holding that, whether regarded as ends or as means, *Sati*, *enforced widowhood* and *girl marriage* are customs that were primarily intended to solve the problem of the *surplus man* and *surplus woman* in a caste and to maintain its endogamy. Strict endogamy could not be preserved without these customs, while caste without endogamy is a fake.

Having explained the mechanism of the creation and preservation of Caste in India, the further question as to its genesis naturally arises. The question of origin is always an annoying question and in the study of Caste it is sadly neglected: some have connived at it, while others have dodged it. Some are puzzled as to whether there could be such a thing as the origin of caste and suggest that "if we cannot control our fondness for the word 'origin', we should better use the plural form, *viz.*, 'origins of caste'." As for myself I do not feel puzzled by the Origin of Caste in India, for, as I have established before, endogamy is the only characteristic of Caste and when I say **origin of caste** I mean **the origin of the mechanism for endogamy**.

The atomistic conception of individuals in a Society so greatly popularised—I was about to say *vulgarized*—in political orations is the greatest humbug. To say that individuals make up society is trivial; society is always composed of classes. It may be an exaggeration to assert the theory of class-conflict, but the existence of definite classes in a society is a fact. Their basis may differ. They may be economic or intellectual or social, but an individual in a society is always a member of a class. This is a universal fact and early Hindu society could not have been an exception to this rule, and, as a matter of fact, we know it was not. If we bear this generalization in mind, our study of the genesis of caste would be very much facilitated, for we have only to determine what was the class that first made itself into a caste, for class and caste, so to say, are next door neighbours, and it is only a span that separates the two. **A caste is an enclosed class.**

The study of the origin of caste must furnish us with an answer to the question—what is the class that raised this "enclosure" around itself? The question

may seem too inquisitorial, but it is pertinent, and an answer to this will serve us to elucidate the mystery of the growth and development of castes all over India. Unfortunately a direct answer to this question is not within my power. I can answer it only indirectly. I said just above that the customs in question were current in the Hindu society. To be true to facts it is necessary to qualify the statement, as it connotes universality of their prevalence. These customs in all their strictness are obtainable only in one caste, namely the Brahmans, who occupy the highest place in the social hierarchy of the Hindu society; and as their prevalence in Non-Brahman castes is derivative their observance is neither strict nor complete. This important fact can serve as a basis of an important observation. If the prevalence of these customs in the non-Brahman Castes is derivative, as can be shown very easily, then it needs no argument to prove what class is the father of the institution of caste. Why the Brahman class should have enclosed itself into a caste is a different question, which may be left as an employment for another occasion. But the strict observance of these customs and the social superiority arrogated by the priestly class in all ancient civilizations are sufficient to prove that they were the originators of this "unnatural institution" founded and maintained through these unnatural means.

I now come to the third part of my paper regarding the question of the growth and spread of the caste system all over India. The question I have to answer is: How did the institution of caste spread among the rest of the non-Brahman population of the country? The question of the spread of the castes all over India has suffered a worse fate than the question of genesis. And the main cause, as it seems to me, is that the two questions of spread and of origin are not separated. This is because of the common belief among scholars that the caste system has either been imposed upon the docile population of India by a law-giver as a divine dispensation, or that it has grown according to some law of social growth peculiar to the Indian people.

I first propose to handle the law-giver of India. Every country has its law-giver, who arises as an incarnation (*avatar*) in times of emergency to set right a sinning humanity and give it the laws of justice and morality. Manu, the law-giver of India, if he did exist, was certainly an audacious person. If the story that he gave the law of caste be credited, then Manu must have been a dare-devil fellow and the humanity that accepted his dispensation must be a humanity quite different from the one we are acquainted with. It is unimaginable that the law of caste was *given*. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that Manu could not have outlived his law, for what is that class that can submit to be degraded to the status of brutes by the pen of a man, and suffer him to raise another class to the pinnacle? Unless he was a tyrant who held all the population in subjection it cannot be imagined that he could have been allowed to dispense his patronage in this grossly unjust manner, as may be easily seen by a mere glance at his "Institutes." I may seem hard on Manu, but I am sure my force is not strong enough to kill his ghost. He lives, like a disembodied spirit and is appealed to, and I am afraid will yet live long. One thing I want to impress upon you is that Manu did not *give* the law of Caste and that he could not do so. Caste existed long before Manu. He was an upholder of it and therefore philosophised about it, but certainly he did not and could not ordain the present order of Hindu Society. His work ended with the codification of existing caste rules and the preaching of Caste *Dharma*. The spread and growth of the Caste system is too

gigantic a task to be achieved by the power or cunning of an individual or of a class. Similar in argument is the theory that the Brahmins created the caste. After what I have said regarding Manu, I need hardly say anything more, except to point out that it is incorrect in thought and malicious in intent. The Brahmins may have been guilty of many things, and I dare say they are, but the imposing of the caste system on the non-Brahmin population was beyond their mettle. They may have helped the process by their glib philosophy, but they certainly could not have pushed their scheme beyond their own confines. To fashion society after one's own pattern! How glorious! How hard! One can take pleasure and eulogize its furtherance, but cannot further it very far. The vehemence of my attack may seem to be unnecessary: but I can assure you that it is not uncalled for. There is a strong belief in the mind of orthodox Hindus that the Hindu Society was somehow moulded into the frame work of the Caste System, and that it is an organization consciously created by the *Shâstras*. Not only does this belief exist, but it is being justified on the ground that it cannot but be good, because it is ordained by the *Shâstras* and the *Shâstras* cannot be wrong. I have urged so much on the adverse side of this attitude, not because the religious sanctity is grounded on scientific basis, nor to help those reformers who are preaching against it. Preaching did not make the caste system, neither will it unmake it. My aim is to show the falsity of the attitude that has exalted religious sanction to the position of a scientific explanation.

Thus the great man theory does not help us very far in solving the spread of castes in India. Western scholars, probably not much given to hero-worship, have attempted other explanations. The nuclei, round which have "formed" the various castes in India, are according to them:—(1) occupation; (2) survivals of tribal organizations, etc.; (3) the rise of new belief; (4) cross-breeding and (5) migration.

The question may be asked whether these nuclei do not exist in other societies and whether they are peculiar to India. If they are not peculiar to India, but are common to the world, why is it that they did not "form" caste on other parts of this planet? Is it because those parts are holier than the land of the Vedas, or that the professors are mistaken? I am afraid that the latter is the truth.

In spite of the high theoretic value claimed by the several authors for their respective theories, based on one or other of the above nuclei, one regrets to say that on close examination they are nothing more than filling illustrations—what Matthew Arnold means by "the grand name without the grand thing in it." Such are the various theories of caste advanced by Sir Denzil Ibbetson, Mr. Nesfield, M. Senart and Sir H. Risley. To criticise them in a lump would be to say that they are a disguised form of the *Petitio Principii* of formal logic. To illustrate: Mr. Nesfield says that "function and function only . . . was the foundation upon which the whole system of castes in India was built up." But he may rightly be reminded that he does not very much advance our thought by making the above statement, which practically amounts to saying that castes in India are functional or occupational, which is a very poor discovery! We have yet to know from Mr. Nesfield why is it that an occupational group turned into an occupational caste? I would very cheerfully have undertaken the task of dwelling on the

theories of other ethnologists, had it not been for the fact that Mr. Nesfield's is a typical one.

Without stopping to criticize those theories that explain the caste system as a natural phenomenon occurring in obedience to the law of disintegration, as explained by Herbert Spencer in his formula of evolution, or as natural as "the structural differentiation within an organism"—to employ the phraseology of orthodox apologists—or as an early attempt to test the laws of eugenics—as all belonging to the same class of fallacy which regards the caste system as inevitable, or as being consciously imposed in anticipation of these laws on a helpless and humble population, I will now lay before you my own view on the subject.

We shall be well advised to recall at the outset that the Hindu society, in common with other societies, was composed of classes and the earliest known are the (1) Brahmins or the priestly class: (2) the Kshatriya, or the military class: (3) the Vaisya, or the merchant class: and (4) the Sudra, or the artisan and menial class. Particular attention has to be paid to the fact that this was essentially a class system, in which individuals, when qualified, could change their class, and therefore classes did change their personnel. At some time in the history of the Hindus, the priestly class socially detached itself from the rest of the body of people and through a closed-door policy became a caste by itself. The other classes being subject to the law of social division of labour underwent differentiation, some into large, others into very minute groups. The Vaisya and Sudra classes were the original inchoate plasm, which formed the sources of the numerous castes of to-day. As the military occupation does not very easily lend itself to very minute sub-division, the Kshatriya class could have differentiated into soldiers and administrators.

This sub-division of a society is quite natural. But the unnatural thing about these sub-divisions is that they have lost the open door character of the class system and have become self-enclosed units called castes. The question is, were they compelled to close their doors and become endogamous, or did they close them of their own accord? I submit that there is a double line of answer: **Some closed the door: others found it closed against them.** The one is a psychological interpretation and the other is mechanistic, but they are complementary and both are necessary to explain the phenomena of caste-formation in its entirety.

I will first take up the psychological interpretation. The question we have to answer in this connection is: Why did these sub-divisions or classes, if you please, industrial, religious or otherwise, become self-enclosed or endogamous? My answer is because the Brahmins were so. Endogamy, or the closed-door system, was a fashion in the Hindu Society, and as it had originated from the Brahman caste it was whole-heartedly imitated by all the non-Brahman sub-divisions or classes, who, in their turn, became endogamous castes. It is "the infection of imitation" that caught all these sub-divisions on their onward march of differentiation and has turned them into castes. The propensity to imitate is a deep-seated one in the human mind and need not be deemed an inadequate explanation for the formation of the various castes in India. It is so deep-seated that Walter Bagehot argues that "we must not think of . . . imitation as voluntary, or even conscious. On the contrary it has its seat mainly in very obscure parts of the mind, whose notions, so far from being consciously produced, are hardly felt to exist; so far from being conceived beforehand, are not even felt at the time. The main seat of the imitative part of our nature is our belief, and the causes predisposing us to believe this or disinclining us to believe that are among the obscurest parts of our nature. But as to the imitative nature

of credulity there can be no doubt."⁴ This propensity to imitate has been made the subject of a scientific study by Gabriel Tarde, who lays down three laws of imitation. One of his three laws is that imitation flows from the higher to the lower or, to quote his own words, "Given the opportunity, a nobility will always and everywhere imitate its leaders, its kings or sovereigns, and the people likewise, given the opportunity, its nobility."⁵ Another of Tarde's laws of imitation is: that the extent or intensity of imitation varies inversely in proportion to distance, or in his own words "the thing that is most imitated is the most superior one of those that are nearest. In fact, the influence of the model's example is efficacious inversely to its *distance* as well as directly to its superiority. Distance is understood here in its sociological meaning. However distant in space a stranger may be, he is close by, from this point of view, if we have numerous and daily relations with him and if we have every facility to satisfy our desire to imitate him. This law of the imitation of the nearest, of the least distant, explains the gradual and consecutive character of the spread of an example that has been set by the higher social ranks."⁶

In order to prove my thesis—which really needs no proof—that some castes were formed by imitation, the best way, it seems to me, is to find out whether or not the vital conditions for the formation of castes by imitation exist in the Hindu Society. The conditions for imitation, according to this standard authority are: (1) That the source of imitation must enjoy prestige in the group and (2) that there must be "numerous and daily relations" among members of a group. That these conditions were present in India there is little reason to doubt. The Brahman is a semi-god and very nearly a demi-god. He sets up a mode and moulds the rest. His prestige is unquestionable and is the fountain-head of bliss and good. Can such a being, idolised by Scriptures and venerated by the priest-ridden multitude, fail to project his personality on the suppliant humanity? Why, if the story be true, he is believed to be the very end of creation. Such a creature is worthy of more than mere imitation, but at least of imitation; and if he lives in an endogamous enclosure, should not the rest follow his example? Frail humanity! Be it embodied in a grave philosopher or a frivolous housemaid, it succumbs. It cannot be otherwise. Imitation is easy and invention is difficult.

Yet another way of demonstrating the play of imitation in the formation of castes is to understand the attitude of non-Brahman classes towards those customs which supported the structure of caste in its nascent days until, in the course of history, it became embedded in the Hindu mind and hangs there to this day without any support—for now it needs no prop but belief—like a weed on the surface of a pond. In a way, but only in a way, the status of a caste in the Hindu Society varies directly with the extent of the observance of the customs of *sati*, enforced widowhood, and girl marriage. But observance of these customs varies directly with the *distance* (I am using the word in the Tardian sense) that separates the caste. Those castes that are nearest to the Brahmans have imitated all the three customs and insist on the strict observance thereof. Those that are less near have imitated enforced widowhood and girl marriage; others, a little further off, have only girl marriage, and those furthest off have imitated only the belief in the caste principle. This imperfect imitation, I dare say, is due partly to what Tarde calls "distance" and partly to the barbarous character of these customs. This

⁴ *Physics and Politics* 1915, p. 60.

⁵ *Laws of Imitation*, Tr. by E. C. Parsons, 2nd ed. p. 217.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 224.

phenomenon is a complete illustration of Tarde's law and leaves no doubt that the whole process of caste-formation in India is a process of imitation of the higher by the lower. At this juncture I will turn back to support a former conclusion of mine, which might have appeared to you as too sudden or unsupported. I said that the Brahman class first raised the structure of caste by the help of those three customs in question. My reason for that conclusion was that their existence in other classes was derivative. After what I have said regarding the rôle of imitation in the spread of these customs among the non-Brahman castes, as means or as ideals, though the imitators have not been aware of it, they exist among them as derivatives; and, if they are derived, there must have been prevalent one original caste that was high enough to have served as a pattern for the rest. But in a theocratic society, who could be the pattern but the servant of God?

This completes the story of those that were weak enough to close their doors. Let us now see how others were closed in as a result of being closed out. This I call the mechanistic process of the formation of caste. It is mechanistic because it is inevitable. That this line of approach, as well as the psychological one, to the explanation of the subject has escaped my predecessors is entirely due to the fact that they have conceived Caste as a unit by itself and not as one within a System of Caste. The result of this oversight or lack of sight has been very detrimental to the proper understanding of the subject matter and therefore its correct explanation. I will proceed to offer my own explanation by making one remark which I will urge you to bear constantly in mind. It is this: **that caste in the singular number is an unreality. Castes exist only in the plural number.** There is no such thing as a caste: there are always castes. To illustrate my meaning: while making themselves into a caste, the Brahmans, by virtue of this, created a non-Brahman caste; or, to express it in my own way, while closing themselves in they closed others out. I will clear my point by taking another illustration. Take India as a whole with its various communities designated by the various creeds to which they owe allegiance, to wit, the Hindus, Muhammadans, Jews, Christians and Parsis. Now, barring the Hindus, the rest within themselves are non-caste communities. But with respect to each other they are castes. Again, if the first four enclose themselves, the Parsis are directly closed out, but are indirectly closed in. Symbolically, if group A. wants to be endogamous, group B. has to be so by sheer force of circumstances.

Now apply the same logic to the Hindu society and you have another explanation of the "fissiparous" character of caste, as a consequence of the virtue of self-duplication that is inherent in it. Any innovation that seriously antagonises the ethical, religious and social code of the Caste is not likely to be tolerated by the Caste, and the recalcitrant members of a Caste are in danger of being thrown out of the Caste, and left to their own fate without having the alternative of being admitted into or absorbed by other Castes. Caste rules are inexorable and they do not wait to make nice distinctions between kinds of offence. Innovation may be of any kind, but all kinds will suffer the same penalty. A novel way of thinking will create a new Caste for the old ones will not tolerate it. The noxious thinker respectfully called Guru (Prophet) suffers the same fate as the sinners in illegitimate love. The former creates a caste of the nature of a religious sect and the latter a type of mixed caste. Castes have no mercy for a sinner who has the courage to violate the code. The penalty is excommunication and the result is a new caste. It is not peculiar Hindu psychology that induces the excommunicated to form themselves into a caste: far from it. On the contrary, very often they have been quite

willing to be humble members of some caste (higher by preference) if they could be admitted within its fold. But castes are enclosed units and it is their conspiracy with clear conscience that compels the excommunicated to make themselves into a caste. The logic of this obdurate circumstance is merciless, and it is in obedience to its force that some unfortunate groups find themselves enclosed, because others in enclosing, themselves have closed them out, with the result that new groups (formed on any basis obnoxious to the caste rules) by a mechanical law are constantly being converted into castes to a bewildering multiplicity. Thus is told the second tale in the process of Caste formation in India.

Now to summarise the main points of my thesis. In my opinion there have been several mistakes committed by the students of Caste, which have misled them in their investigations. European students of Caste have unduly emphasised the rôle of colour in the caste-system. Themselves impregnated by colour prejudices, they very readily imagined it to be the chief factor in the Caste problem. But nothing can be farther from the truth, and Dr. Ketkar is correct when he insists that "All the princes whether they belonged to the so-called Aryan race, or the so-called Dravidian race, were Aryas. Whether a tribe or a family was racially Aryan or Dravidian was a question which never troubled the people of India, until foreign scholars came in and began to draw the line. The colour of the skin had long ceased to be a matter of importance."⁷ Again, they have mistaken mere descriptions for explanation and fought over them as though they were theories of origin. There are occupational, religious, etc. castes, it is true, but it is by no means an explanation of the origin of Caste. We have yet to find out why occupational groups are castes; but this question has never even been raised. Lastly they have taken Caste very lightly as though a breath had made it. On the contrary, Caste, as I have explained it, is almost impossible to be sustained: for the difficulties that it involves are tremendous. It is true that Caste rests on belief, but before belief comes to be the foundation of an institution, the institution itself needs to be perpetuated and fortified. My study of the Caste problem involves four main points: (1) That in spite of the composite make-up of the Hindu population, there is a deep cultural unity. (2) That Caste is a parcelling into bits of a larger cultural unit. (3) That there was one Caste to start with. (4) That classes have become Castes through imitation and excommunication.

Peculiar interest attaches to the problem of Caste in India to-day, as persistent attempts are being made to do away with this unnatural institution. Such attempts at reform, however, have aroused a great deal of controversy regarding its origin, as to whether it is due to the conscious command of a Supreme Authority, or is an unconscious growth in the life of a human society under peculiar circumstances. Those who hold the latter view will, I hope, find some food for thought in the standpoint adopted in this paper. Apart from its practical importance the subject of Caste is an all absorbing problem and the interest aroused in me regarding its theoretic foundations has moved me to put before you some of the conclusions, which seem to me well founded, and the grounds upon which they may be supported. I am not, however, so presumptuous as to think them in any way final, or anything more than a contribution to a discussion of the subject. It seems to me that the car has been shunted on wrong lines, and the primary object of the paper is to indicate what I regard to be the right path of investigation, with a view to arrive at a serviceable truth. We must, however, guard against approaching the subject with a bias.

⁷ *History of Caste* p. 82.

Sentiment must be outlawed from the domain of science and things should be judged from an objective standpoint. For myself I shall find as much pleasure in a positive destruction of my own ideology, as in a rational disagreement on a topic, which, notwithstanding many learned disquisitions is likely to remain controversial for ever. To conclude, while I am ambitious to advance a Theory of Caste, if it can be shown to be untenable I shall be equally willing to give it up.

SOME REMARKS SUPPLEMENTING "THE MANUSMRITI IN THE LIGHT OF SOME RECENTLY PUBLISHED TEXTS"¹.

BY HIRALAL AMRITLAL SHAH, Esqr., BOMBAY.

IN the *Mahābhārata*, (Bombay University ed. 1914), Droṇap° VII. 1 (p. 283), Droṇāchārya speaks of his qualifications as a general before the Kauravas gathered together to elect a generalissimo in the place of Bhishma. He tells us:—

“ वेदं षडङ्गं वेदाहमर्थविद्यां च मानवीम्
त्रैलोक्यकर्मण्येष्वलं श(अ)स्त्राणि विविधानि च ॥ ”

“I know the Vedas with their six branches (of sciences), the *Arthavidyā* of Manu, the science of discharging the arrows presided over by Śiva, and various other *śāstras* (weapons).”

This passage of the *Mahābhārata* may help us in concluding that there must be, or, at least, have been, a great book on politics and military affairs composed by Manu. It may form an independent treatise, or it may form a large section in the *Mānavadharmaśāstra*. In the *Arthāśāstra* of Kauṭilya (Mysore, *Bibliotheca Sanskrita* No. 37), we find in its latter portion, consisting of about two hundred pages, (Chāṇakya's thoughts on, and the rules worked out for, military purposes. When we compare the portion of the *Arthāśāstra* of Kauṭilya with what is said in the *Manusmṛiti*, ch. VII, we discover a vast difference between the two. The *Manusmṛiti* enunciates only general principles of warfare. We cannot think that the study of these verses of the seventh chapter will ever qualify a man for the command of a big army, or entitle him to boast of his proficiency in military matters. Hence, we think, that the “*Mānavi Arthavidyā*” must be on a scale similar to that of the *Arthāśāstra* of Kauṭilya and, that *Manusmṛiti* VII is an abridgment of the rules therein.

Perhaps some may take the term “अर्थविद्यां च मानवीम्” in other senses than we have taken it. It might be translated as the “*Arthavidyā* of human beings.” There is no particular reason to prefer this translation, because Droṇāchārya has not spoken of any science or *vidyā* belonging to some other (say, heavenly) beings.

Believing then that the *Arthāśāstra* of Manu is referred to by Droṇāchārya, we would point out here one or two confirmations of this conclusion.

Some of the quotations, standing against the name of the followers of Manu (“इति मानवाः”) in the *Arthāśāstra* of Kauṭilya, cannot be traced to the present *Manusmṛiti*. May it not be that they are to be found in the *Dharmaśāstra* (or perhaps in the *Dharmasūtras*) of Manu which yet lies somewhere hidden away unprinted? Nārada and Bṛhaspati claim allegiance to Manu. They differ much from the *Manusmṛiti*. Hence it may be that the source of some of their rules may prove to be the *Dharmaśāstra* of Manu, which may include also the *Arthavidyā*, proudly mentioned by Droṇāchārya before the Kaurava warriors.

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA,

BY V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T., MADRAS.

(Continued from p. 78.)

The usurpation of Rustam Khan.

In the midst of all this danger and distress, Chokkanātha behaved like a fool and a weakling. He employed his time in the reading of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and other sacred books. He ignored the duties and responsibilities of royalty and became for all intents and purposes, a recluse. Either his recklessness and incapacity or the discontent¹⁰ of his ministers led to the entrusting of the administration in the hands of his brother Muttu Alakādiri. Alakādiri, however, was an incompetent man. He had at the same time a fatal proneness to the company of doubtful persons and dangerous favourites. He raised to power and prominence a Muhammadan, Rustam Khan¹¹ by name, who had entered his service under circumstances of dire poverty. Entrusting all the affairs of administration in his hands, Muttu Alakādiri, like his brother, spent his time in culpable indolence or active oppression; and Rustam paid his master's generosity with treachery. A sudden access to power, instead of gratifying his desires, increased his ambition, and aimed at the mastery and possession of the kingdom. He first strengthened himself by inviting and engaging a number of Muhammadans, on whose faith he could thoroughly rely, in the service of the State. The fort of Trichinopoly came in this way to be guarded by his men. He then boldly demanded the withdrawal of his benefactor from his kingdom or his death. The timidity of Muttu Alakādiri yielded to the Musalman's threat, and he became an exile at Negapatam. Rustam Khan then confined the king within the palace, treated him with indignity, and for two years exercised the full duties of royalty,—not sparing even the honour of the harem ladies, many of whom preferred death to shame.

The downfall of Rustam.

Thus it was that, while Trichinopoly was at the mercy of exultant foreigners at its gates, its internal condition was most miserable and deplorable. The king was a prisoner, his brother an exile, and the city the property of Rustam Khan. At a moment when union and efficiency was needed, it was distracted and weakened by internal broils and jealousies. Affairs would have become still worse, but for the loyalty of the Daḷavāi, Gôvindappaiya, the Polygars, and Kilavan Sêtipati. The Daḷavāi organised a strong Hindu party for the restoration of the king. The means he adopted were ingenious. He sent a secret message to Chinna Kadir Nāik, the chief of Kannivādi,¹² and the Sêtipati,

¹⁰ The Telugu Mackenzie MS. *Record of the affairs of Carn. Govrs.*, says that Chokkanātha directed his brother to manage affairs, himself being employed in religious pursuits. Nelson, however, says that the deplorable weakness of Chokkanātha led to the discontent of the ministers, his deposition, and the entrusting of the administration in the hands of Muttu Alakādiri. The one version thus makes Alakādiri the friend of his brother, while the other his rival and opponent. For an inscription of Muttu Alakādiri see *ante*. Unfortunately it sheds no light on the relation between the brothers, but from the fact that, it does not mention Chokkanātha, while it mentions Śrī Raiiga Rāya as his suzerain, it can perhaps be inferred that he was a rebel and not regent.

¹¹ According to the *Hist. of the Carn. Dyn.*, which does not mention the name of Alakādiri at all, it was Chokkanātha that raised him to position and wealth.

¹² See the genealogy of Appaiya Nāik of Kannivādi.

asking them to come to Trichinopoly. On their arrival¹⁴ he related the condition of the king and the cause of their summons, and proposed that next day they should come at the head of a well-armed section of their troops to the revenue office with a view to seizing the person of the obnoxious Muhammadan. The next day the chiefs and their retinue appeared at the gates of the office. Rustam Khan's suspicion was aroused, and he inquired into the reasons of the unusual procedure. Gôvindappaia, however, answered that they were coming, in accordance with precedents, for the settlement of the revenues, but in secret gave the signal for attack. Two thousand musket-shots, then, assailed the Muhammadan and his men, and put an end to their existence before they could hardly recover from their surprise. The Dinçigul Polygar carried the welcome news to the king, but he refused to come out, unless he saw with his own eyes the head of the traitor. Chinna Kadir replied that it was not possible to bring it, as Rustam's body could not be distinguished from those of his companions; but the king persisted in his desire, asserting that the discovery was easy enough from a mark in the adventurer's ear. The body was then discovered and the head being placed before Chokkanâtha, he emerged from the palace and once again assumed the charge of affairs. His first act was to recall his brother from Negapatam.

The Mysorean and Maratha incursions.

But the relief of Chokkanâtha from domestic enemies did not give him relief from his foreign enemies. The Marathas and the Mysoreans had by this time overthrown the whole of the Madura kingdom. They now, in 1682, encompassed Trichinopoly. Chokkanâtha tried to adopt a wise policy of diplomacy and intrigue, to foment their disunion and cause their destruction. With this view he entered into negotiations with the lieutenant of Santoji against Mysore. It was, as the immediate result showed, a wise act. The Maratha general encountered the forces of Kumâra Râya, defeated them with great slaughter, captured Kumâra Râya himself, and conquered the whole kingdom, except Madura. Even Madura he would have taken but for the assistance which the Maravas rendered to the other party.¹⁵ Chokkanâtha rejoiced at his ally's success; he expected that, in return for his alliance and assistance, he would get back his possessions. But he was mistaken. The Maratha's selfishness blinded him to the obligation of treaty, and instead of restoring the kingdom to Chokkanâtha, he seized it himself. The military occupation of the Marathas was a disaster to the people of the unfortunate kingdom.

The death of Chokkanâtha.

It was a blow from which Chokkanâtha never recovered. The cup of his grief was now full. Friendless and powerless, shut up at Trichinopoly, he became a prey to despair and melancholy. Even the Sêtopati, who had rescued him from the obnoxious Rustam, became a passive traitor. He, indeed, did not openly join the Marathas and Mysoreans against his master. Nevertheless, he was present in the seat of war, and while freely collecting booty, did not raise his finger on behalf of his suzerain. It is not improbable

¹³ Nelson gives a different account. He says that the Mysoreans under Kumâra Râya were then besieging Trichinopoly; that Rustam made a sally and attacked him, but was defeated; and that when he was returning to the city with a few followers, Chokkanâtha's friends (Sêtopati, etc.) fell upon them and cut them down to a man.

¹⁴ The Maravas were the enemies of both the combatants and would have gladly taken the city for themselves; but as it was, they had, in consequence of their inability to take it, to join that party which was likely to prove the most amenable neighbour to them; and they thought Mysore was comparatively the better.

that in the low state to which Chokkanâtha's fortunes had been reduced, the Sêtipati saw the practical extinction of the Madura kingdom, and felt the restoration of its ancient greatness to be a forlorn hope, and therefore thought of his own security, and assumed an air of indifference. It is also possible that his non-interference was the consequence of his inability, for between 1678 and 1685 his country was ruined by a dreadful famine, which made many people leave the dead on the banks of rivers.¹⁶ In any case Chokkanâtha lost the support of his most resourceful vassal at the most critical moment. The kingdom, he now realised, was beyond recovery, and the sense of its loss was so keen as to break his heart and end his days in a few weeks.

The cause of the failure.

Such was the tragic conclusion of the reign of Chokkanâtha. An impartial examination of his reign shews that his failure was essentially the result of his character. Unfortunate in coming to the throne at a very young age, and unfortunate in his servants and ministers, Chokkanâtha was, indeed, to a large extent a fate's failure; but he had for his greatest enemy, himself. His vanity and pride involved him in wars, which wisdom would have avoided. All his misfortunes can be traced to the illfated Tanjore invasion, and that was caused by his quickness to take offence, his oversensitiveness to an old man's words. Chokkanâtha was, further, a creature of moods. To-day he would act with commendable vigour, to-morrow he would lead a life of culpable indolence. Essentially a weak man, he was not fit for an age of storm and stress. The wild Maratha was carrying everything before him and even strong kings trembled at his name. The greedy Mysorean was not far behind in search of prey and profit. Within the kingdom itself there was, thanks to an inefficient central government, restlessness and sedition among its vassals. And yet at such a time, Chokkanâtha forsook politics for religion and the sword for the altar. No wonder he became the tool of his own destruction, and the destruction of his kingdom.

NOTES ON THE TANJORE-MADURA AFFAIRS BETWEEN 1675 AND 1680.

Wilson's version of the events between 1675 and 1680, based most probably on one of the MSS., which is unfortunately not available, is very different from that which has been given above, and is plainly inaccurate. He says that Sengamala Dâs, the Tanjore prince, escaped from Trichinopoly with the aid of Rustam Khan "who had been a favourite of Chokkanâtha and who commanded the garrison under the orders of Mudala Rudra Nayak (Alakadri Naik), the brother of Chokkanâtha, an extravagant and indolent prince who lavished on his personal gratification the sums destined for the pay of the troops." The army had become discontented, and Rustam took advantage of this to become the master of Trichinopoly. It was now that Sengamala Das was allowed to escape. He proceeded to Jingi and asked its king, Ekoji, to advance against Madura. The latter soon came near Srirangam. At the same time the Raja of Mysore encroached in the west. Chokkanâtha's position was thus very precarious. His kingdom was attacked on one side by Ekoji and on the other by Mysore, the latter being so powerful

¹⁶ Chandler.

as to capture Madura itself and occupy it for three years. The internal government was a chaos owing to Rustam Khan. Unable to maintain the shadow of his power, Chokkanātha tried negotiations in despair. He first succeeded in purchasing the return of the Mysoreans by surrendering Erode and Dharapuram to them. He then, with Kilavan Setupati's help, dispersed the troops of Seigamala Dās, and re-occupied Tanjore. He finally recovered Trichinopoly from Rustam Khan, who lost his life in the defence. The Raja of Jingi retreated to his dominions, and Chokkanātha was thus able to be in the tranquil possession of the patrimonial possessions.

But he was soon destined to lose his acquisition of Tanjore. For the fugitive prince, Sengumala Dās, had recourse to Ekoji, who was then at Bangalore under the nominal authority of Bijapur. He readily agreed to undertake his restoration. The confederates marched to Tanjore and expelled the Madura forces. But Ekoji usurped the throne, and forthwith entered into a confederacy with his late enemy Chokkanātha against Sivaji. All this took place between 1675 and 1680.

The *Bhussalapratāpam*, says Wilson, gives a different account. It says that the Prince, of Trichinopoly applied to Shahji for assistance against Vijaya Rāghava of Tanjore, that Shahji helped him in the overthrow of Vijaya Rāghava and the capture of Tanjore; and that he then expelled his ally and seized the kingdom. He left it then under his son Ekoji.

SECTION III.

THE GROWTH OF CHRISTIANITY IN THIS REIGN.

A word may be said about the progress of Christianity in this reign. The organization of the dioceses and the activities of the Paṇḍāram and Sanyāsi missionaries, had a very perceptible effect, and brought thousands of people into the Christian fold. By 1677, for instance, the Nāik capital itself had as many as 2000 Christians. It is said that, about 1650, the Christians were, according to the Governor of Trichinopoly, "everywhere and could not be counted." In 1676 Father Frere wrote that the Christians of Tanjore were numerous enough to emigrate to Ceylon and Malacca. In Tanjore the Pariah Christians had the full control of the royal elephants and horses, and were so far advanced as to organize a strike and compel the authorities to treat them better. Christianity¹⁷ flourished even more in Madura and boasted of recruits from all classes of the population.—Brahmans, weavers of rank and wealth, salt merchants, and blacksmiths, the Pariahs, Pallans, Paravas and mendicants of all castes.

This enormous increase in the Christian population naturally gave rise to persecution in various places. The historian will always note the commendable spirit of toleration which distinguished Hindu kings in general; but it was not always the case. There were not lacking, even in the most liberal age, chiefs and officers that resorted to persecution. In Trichinopoly, for instance, the governor, the chief civil authority of the province, was a determined opponent and persecutor of the Christians, and countenanced an important official under him, the chief of the customs, a Valaiyan by caste, to lead with impunity an anti-Christian crusade. The animosity of this officer, however, was due as much to economic as to religious reasons. He imagined that the Christians were exceedingly rich, and incited some of his own relations, who had been living in poverty in the neighbourhood of the Church at Trichinopoly, to plunder it. Proenza, the missionary Paṇḍāram then in charge, got a warning of the impending attack and escaped to Kandulur. The raiders found

¹⁷ Manucci, writing about 1700, says that there were "more than 100 churches under the Jesuit mission," and the Christians were increasing in number. *Storia do Mogor III*, 106.

nothing to gratify their avarice. When Proenza subsequently returned, they accused him of sorcery and of having caused a Valaiyan to be possessed, and the governor ordered his arrest.

The persecution and trial of Proenza.

Proenza once again made his escape, but not to a place outside Trichinopoly. He went to the Nâik commander of the army, a man of broad mind and kindly nature, whose friendly attitude to the Christian religion was well known. The general, an uncle of the king at Madura and therefore a person of great influence in the Court and council, gave refuge to Proenza, and at his instigation induced the governor to order a public trial, so that the preacher could prove his innocence to the world. It was a plausible request, and the governor appointed judges. These however were his tools and decided that the accusation of the Valaiyans was right. The general however refused to recognize the sham trial and sent men to his nephew to inform him of the event. The governor also sent his decision. The Da avâi-Pradhâni at Madura thereupon ordered a retrial of the case, and at the same time expressed a desire to see a record of the evidence. The result was, that the evidence of the Valaiyan was found to be of no value and Proenza was acquitted.

Other missionaries of the period.

The Christians had many similar annoyances ; but opposition gave them strength and increased their numbers. In all this they had to thank their leaders, Arcelini and Proenza in Trichinopoly, Stephen and De Silva in Madura. De Costa and Alvarez in Tanjore, Frere and others in the East Coast. Alvarez, who died in June 1664, after 21 years of glorious service, was a fit successor of De Nobilis and Martins. Proenza, an Italian of Lombardy, was an equally great man. Historically he occupies a more conspicuous place, as it was around him the court intrigues in Trichinopoly were very active. Indifferent to personal violence and physical suffering he used to make long excursions north of Trichinopoly for the sake of the Pariahs, the special objects of his solicitude, in one of which excursions he died of sheer exhaustion. Between 1670 and 1680 the work of the mission declined in the Western region in Satyamaingalam, while it increased in activity in the Coromandel coast from Jingi to Ramnad. The progress in the northern part of the region, in the basin of the Coleroon, was due to the untiring labours of Father Frere, and in the southern part to the labours of the singularly remarkable saint and sage, who came to Madura as the head of the mission. This was the celebrated John de Britto, a sage, who as a preacher and servant of God, was perhaps greater, certainly purer, than De Nobilis himself.

Jean de Britto.

Jean de Britto was born at Lisbon of illustrious parents in March 1647. His father, Don Pereyra was a favourite of the Duke of Braganza, later on king, then governor of Rio de Janeiro. His mother Donna Beatrix, was a highborn woman of a lively intellect and religious bent of mind. De Britto shewed the spirit of a saint and a martyr even in his youth, when he was under the instruction of the Jesuits. So serious and solemn he was in his studies that his companions called him a martyr, little dreaming that the aristocratic child was after all destined to die thousands of miles away amidst a sturdy and bigoted race, for the sake of Christ and the Cross. In December 1662, De Britto became, in spite of the dissuasions of the Infanta whose companion and playmate he was and of the queen-regent, a member of the society of Jesus ; and after eleven years of

close study and serious preparation, chose South India, the scene of the labours of his cherished hero, Xavier, for his own scene of labours. In 1673 he came to Goa and from there, after the completion of his theological studies, attached himself to the Madura Mission.

From the moment of De Britto's entrance into Madura he began to experience the trials and pangs of a martyr. Rarely indeed has it fallen to the lot of any other missionary in India such a lot as befell him. Before his advent the city of Madura alone had been a centre of Christian activity. The neighbouring villages had been free from it. The advent of De Britto ruffled, in the eyes of his adversaries, this tranquillity of the religious atmosphere and gave rise to a period of storm and excitement. The priests and leaders of Hinduism regarded his intrusion with alarm and set aflame the torch of persecution. The footsteps of the missionary began to be dogged more by his opponents than by his followers, and the voice of his sermon was drowned by the lamentations of his disciples and the exultant cries of his persecutors. On one occasion, while he was at a village near Madura, he was assailed, put in chains, and tortured. Twice the ominous axe was brought, and the calm bearing, the uncomplaining resignation of the pious victim alone unnerved the arm and overcame the zeal of the executioner. De Britto's object, however, was not to work in the vicinity of Madura. He longed to carry the light of his faith to the land of the Maravas, where, he understood, the religion of Christ had not been preached for a long time.

The reception accorded to him here was, if possible, more cruel. The Maravas, fierce in valour and fiercer in prejudice, differed indeed in many respects from the orthodox Hindus, but they were Hindus all the same. Fondly attached to their creed, they regarded with hatred those who dared to revile the god who, in their legendary history, had blessed their land and given it his name. Their glory, their tradition, their very life was bound up with the law of Râma. They were Râma's men, his chosen people,—their great pride was in declaring and cherishing the belief in it. To such a race, the preachings of the new missionary were singularly obnoxious. To see Râma denounced and dethroned, to hear his divinity questioned and his greatness belittled was, in their eyes, not only a wanton insult on their nation, but a crime the enormity of which they could not sufficiently condemn. It is not surprising therefore that De Britto had every opportunity of becoming a martyr.

The leader of the anti-Christian movement was a Marava general, one of the most influential men in the land. Endowed more with religious zeal than martial valour, this pious soldier followed De Britto in all his movements, and subjected him, through his agents, to a crowd of troubles and difficulties. In the vicinity of Sivagaiga, whither De Britto had gone, he was seized and taken to the presence of the Sêtipati. On the way, he was treated with a singular cruelty. Fettered and tortured he was kept bound, for the space of two days, bound to the stumps of trees. Cords were attached to his frame and he was frequently dipped into a tank. Brought before the important shrine of Kâlayâr Kôil, he was suspended to a tree by cords fastened to his feet and hands so that he could look with repentance on the god whose name had had reviled. He was confined in a dark dungeon for eleven days and given meagre food. Suffering, however, gave a new strength and a new enthusiasm to De Britto. The great object of his life was, as has been already mentioned, to get the name of a martyr, to die for the sake of the Cross. The ultimate goal of his ambition was to be ranked with the saints and martyrs of early and mediæval Christianity. He

therefore provoked persecution and excited fanaticism. It is not surprising that when subsequently he was taken to a Siva temple north of Kālayâr Kôil and asked to invoke the name of Siva, he refused, and was kicked and struck by the Hindu general. It was further resolved by his persecutors to deprive him of one of his hands and feet and then to impale. But the resolution was not carried out, though the followers of the missionary were mutilated by the loss of one foot, one hand, the ears, nose and tongue, and sent back to the homes which they had deserted. De Britto was then flogged and cast on an uneven rock and trampled by a number of men so that his body, pierced through and through, was in a welter of blood. These oppressions over, the missionary was taken to the Sêtipati's capital and confined first in a stable and then in a cell for twenty days. At the end of this period he was brought to the presence of the Sêtipati and the latter after hearing the accusations against him and perhaps also his tale of woe, set him at liberty forbidding him, however, on pain of death, to continue his tirade against idol-worship and polygamy.

The divine patience of De Britto gained the admiration of the Father Provincial. Embracing the noble martyr with heart-felt affection, he pronounced his resolve to send him to the mother-country to select, in person, a number of men who could accompany him and share his trials. Early in 1688 De Britto, in consequence, left India and reached Lishon at the end of the year. Honoured by prince and peasant, in the Court and in the country, the pious man of God, clad in Indian costume, was deservedly the picturesque cynosure of the pious section of his countrymen. People high and low, rich and poor, flocked to see the man, who had been born among princes of the proudest nation and who had chosen to suffer for the dark millions of a distant land; who might have graced the richest chambers of a palace, but who had preferred the cell of an Indian hut; who might have enjoyed every luxury, but who had chosen a life of abstinence entirely innocent of wine; who might have shone as a statesman or diplomatist figuring in the Courts of Europe, but who had chosen to be a wandering mendicant, to be flogged by Indian fanatics and persecuted by Indian princes.

De Britto soon returned to the scene of his labours and redoubled them among the people; and his industry was rewarded with a great conquest. One Tadia Tevan, a near relation of the Sêtipati and a man whose chance of ascending the *gadi* itself was not too remote, sacrificed all his chances for the sake of conviction and embraced the Christian religion. He met, however, a great obstacle in his fifth wife, a relative of the Sêtipati, who, unlike her three elder co-wives, refused to sacrifice her wifehood for the money he offered,—for the acceptance of Christianity made it necessary for Tanda Têvan to become a monogamist. The highborn lady engaged the most orthodox to dissuade her husband and tried, but in vain, every means. She then carried her grievance to the Sêtipati. The Marava world had been shocked by the invasion of the palace itself by the alien creed; and Kîlavan felt himself bound to move with public opinion and pacify public agitation, by taking steps against the missionary. Orders were given to burn the church and arrest the preachers. De Britto was arrested and taken in fetters to the Sêtipati's capital. Compelled to run behind the horses while the escorts held the chains, whipped

and jeered at, the saint was taken to the Sêtipati, and he, in response to the advice of his advisers, resolved to put an end to his life. Unwilling to shed the blood himself or afraid of the rebellion of Taḍia Tevan's men, he sent the father to a brother of his, Uḍaya Tevan, then evidently a local chief on the Pâmban. The latter, a lame man, asked the missionary to cure him of his lameness by his magic—for, all this time the universal impression was that he was a magician and deluder of men's minds—and on his pleading inability, it was taken for unwillingness, and he was taken to the scaffold, erected in a plain and seen by all men, tied to a post, and cut to pieces, after the severance of the head from the body. Even the right of burial was denied and the corpse was left to be devoured by birds and beasts.

De Britto¹⁸ had gained his great object—martyrdom. It was in 1693, (February).

Such is the life and career of De Britto.¹⁹ The historian cannot but have a deep affection for his personality. A more inspiring, ennobling, sincere or profound martyr never came to India. Compared with that of De Nobilis, it will be readily noticed that his moral influence was greater, his character more tender and sympathetic. There was much hypocrisy and more self-contradiction in De Nobilis; but De Britto was all sincerity, a personification of uniform and shining virtues. De Nobilis might have been more astonishingly equipped for the work of controversy, he might have even a longer number of the accredited prophetic gifts; but while his genius and his intellectual powers can be readily recognized, it is certain that he is at a distance from De Britto in the beauty of character and the sincerity of God's servant.

In a sketch of the activities of the Madura Mission; one thing should always be remembered,—namely that the Madura missionaries, in the enthusiasm of their propaganda, forgot the spirit of their own gospel and persecuted the other Christians who, like them, wanted to elevate the heathen. A remarkable example of the narrow sectarianism of the Jesuits is clear in a case of Christian converts at Uttamapālayam in 1680. One of these Christians "went to the Syrian Christians in the mountains of Travancore, and represented to their bishop that in Uttamapālayam, at the foot of the mountains on the Madura side, there were several Brahman converts who had not accepted baptism at the hands of the Jesuits, because they regarded them as Parangis. He was asked to come and baptize them, and with them a great prince of that region. The bishop sent an Italian Carmelite, and he went in his European dress to the church at Uttamapālayam. The catechist there begged him to avoid lowcaste neophytes, and because he refused to do that, withdrew with the whole congregation, and there shut him out of the church. The Carmelite's guide abandoned him and the Hindus would not help him, so that the poor man, forsaken in a strange country, disappeared, and probably perished. The Madura priests approved of the catechist's action."²⁰

¹⁸ O. H. MSS., II, 223.

¹⁹ The life of Constantius Beschi is important more for its literary than its religious work. I have therefore dealt with it in Chap. XI.

²⁰ Chandler : *Madura Mission*.

CHAPTER VIII.

Raṅga Kṛishṇa Muttu Virappa, (1682-1689).

On the death of Chokkanātha, his son, Raṅga Kṛishṇa Muttu Virappa, a youth²¹ of sixteen, came to the throne. Never did a ruler ever inherit a throne under such gloomy circumstances or had to meet, at the outset of his career, a situation so doubtful and so dangerous. The incompetence and indiscretion of Chokkanātha had reduced the kingdom to the narrow confines of a single city. The rest of his extensive dominions was either under the actual occupation of foreigners, or a prey to rival adventurers. The people experienced a series of miseries unrivalled in the past and unimaginable in the future. The evils of anarchy and military occupation manifested themselves to the fullest extent, and filled the realm with sorrow and misery. In the name of the rival powers, robbers and adventurers, whose meat and drink was plunder, and whose turbulence and cruelty defied the discipline of authority and the sentiment of humanity, roamed throughout the land, occupied the forts of the realm, thronged the high roads, and out-stripped one another and the soldiers in the work of destruction. A bold, strong and determined man and saviour was the cry of the moment. A soldier and far-seeing statesman was the need of the hour, a person who combined the vigour of the sword with the sympathy of a people's king. Therein lay the one hope of Madura, the one chance of recovery or rebirth. Another Viśvanātha or Aryanātha, in other words, was an imperative necessity.

Raṅga Kṛishṇa's character and adventures.

Fortunately the new king²² was, though young in age, old in wisdom and mature in counsels. He had the activity of habit and the keenness of intellect, characteristic of a soldier-statesman. In his character, enthusiasm was coupled in harmonious combination with discretion, and excellent qualities of the head with those of the heart. Excepting Viśvanātha I, he was the most amiable and picturesque of the Nāik dynasty. His charming personality roused the admiration of his courtiers, the loyalty of his servants, and the affection of his subjects. He was gaiety itself. He loved fun and adventure. He loved to surprise men by his unexpected visits in unexpected places, in unexpected garbs. One

²¹ According to the *Pand. Chron.* he ruled from Rudhirōtkāri (1683) Aḍi 17th, to Pramōdhūta (1691) i. for 8 years. According to *Supple. MS.*, from Vibhava to Bhava (i. e., 1688-1695); the *Carna. Govra.* also says, from Vibhava to Bhava. The *Telugu Carn. Dyn.* says he ruled from Bahudhānya (1698 A. D.) to Vijaya (1707 A. D.). The correct date is about 1682-1689, and is proved by epigraphy. The epigraphical evidences in regard to this reign however are very meagre. In his *Antiquities*, Sewell mentions only one inscription, at Arumbāvur, 14 miles N. W. of Parambalur in Trichinopoly district. It says that in 1686 Raṅga Kṛishṇa repaired a sluice there. (*Antiquities*, I, p. 263). An inscription of 1657 A. D. (Hēvilambi) says that Raṅga Kṛishṇa gave some lands in the villages of Tirumalasamudram and Pudukkūlam in the Tinnevely District to a Brahman. In connection with this inscription Sewell remarks "that the date and cyclic year correspond, but the sovereign mentioned as the donor commenced his reign at Madura in A. D. 1682, and reigned seven years." He therefore believes that the grant might possibly have been given before he became the ruling king. If this were the case, Raṅga Kṛishṇa would have been more than 25 years old at his accession; but the chronicles say that he was only 16 then. It is thus impossible to reconcile the date of this inscription with that of the chronicles. (For the inscription see *Antiquities*, II, p. 7.)

²² According to Wheeler, he was sixteen when he ascended the throne and his mother, Maṅgammāl, acted as Regent. Wheeler notes that he was a skilful horseman and had a memory that could repeat the whole *Bhāgavatam* by heart. He also notes his love for Brahmans, his visit to foreign Courts in disguise, and the dignified way in which he behaved towards the Mughal's slipper.

evening, for instance, he rode, as was always the case with him, alone and unattended to Tanjore, and entering the fort at night, borrowed from a merchant in the bazaar street a pagoda on the deposit of his ring, and used it for his expenses. After a spare diet of milk and butter, he put on the guise and dress of a common sepoy, and entered the king's palace in the dark. Going to the audience hall, he heard with his own ears the discussion of the affairs of the kingdom between the king and his ministers. On his departure,²³ we are told, he wrote on the door leading from the throne-hall to the private apartments the fact of his arrival and his attendance during the discussion of state affairs. The next morning he left for Trichinopoly, promising to redeem the ring soon after. Immediately after his return, he called for the Tanjore ambassador, spoke to him of his adventure, and asked him to write to his master, requesting the redeeming of the ring and advising him to maintain a more vigilant guard in the palace.

A similar story illustrative of Raṅga Kṛṣṇa's heroism and bravery is not out of place here. The Polygar of Ariyalūr had in his possession four things of priceless value, a beautiful²⁴ camel, an elephant, a sword and a horse. The predecessors of Raṅga Kṛṣṇa had expressed a desire for these things, but owing to the unwillingness of the Polygar and their own judicious moderation, which scorned the application of force, they had not obtained them. Raṅga Kṛṣṇa now resolved to get possession of them by some means. With that spirit of daring enterprise which formed the chief feature of his character, he rode alone to Ariyalūr, bidding his Sirdars and troops follow at a distance. Forcing his way into the town, he reached the palace, and seating himself on the verandah outside, sent word, through the servants, of his arrival. The Polygar, a Nāyanār, who was then engaged in his toilet operations, was taken by surprise and seized with apprehension. A visit of his suzerain, so unusual and so sudden, so simple and so unceremonious, foreboded, in his eyes, some disaster or disgrace. He therefore hastily finished his work and, accompanied by his children, hurried to present himself before his sovereign, and placed, at his feet, as a mark of homage, a dish full of gems and jewels. In an attitude of humble and respectful loyalty, the Polygar then asked his master for the object of his condescension; and when Raṅga Kṛṣṇa mentioned it, he expressed a tactful regret that he put himself to such trouble for such a paltry purpose; that a single line in writing would have sufficed. The Polygar therefore readily surrendered the objects of his master's desire, an act in which he was, no doubt, actuated by a feeling of fear at the reported approach of an army. The elephant, however, was then subject to a fit and too furious to be approached by anyone. But the bold daring of the Madurā monarch, undertook, in the face of loyal protests, the task which none of his servants could dare. With his fine and fleet horse, a noble breed of white, he approached the elephant, and by a series of skilful manœuvres succeeded in enticing it to Trichinopoly, where the rest of the work of subjugation was undertaken by skilful mahouts. The king had, however, to pay dearly for his new acquisition; for his noble steed, the instrument of his gain, dropped down dead, owing to exhaustion and overwork, the moment he alighted from it.

(*To be continued.*)

²³ Compare the story about Kanṭhīrava Narasa Rāj of Mysore (1639-55) who once went incognito to Trichinopoly and slew in a duel the champion of that Court. Wilks' *Mysore*, I, p. 30.

²⁴ The camel was called Rāma-Lakshmaṇa, the sword Chinna Rāma Bāṇa, the elephant Raṇa Vīrabhadra, and the horse Muttu Kucchu. The names remind the similar ones prevalent among the Mughals. See, for example, Manucci's *Storia do Mogor*. M. J. Wodehouse compares Raṇa a Kṛṣṇa to the chivalrous James V of Scotland. See *Ante*, Vol. VII. pp. 22-26.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS.

4. Englishmen's Furniture and its Cost in 1682.

14. *August 1682.* Consultation in Masulipatam. There being a great want of Household stuff for this Factory, especially of Chaires, Tables and one or two Couches, and Mr. Field having belonging to him one dozen of Chaires and a Couch made of Teake wood, it is ordered they be bought for the Companyes Account, the Chaires at 2½ rupees each and the Couch 2½ pagodas, which he affirms to bee the true cost of them, and that Mr. Field is desired to furnish us from Madapollam with as

many more of the same sort, the house being soe bare since the removall of the late Chief [i. e. John Field who had been transferred to Madapollam in July 1682] that some of the roomes therein have not above 4 old Chaires in it, much to the Discredit of our honorable Masters. (*Factory Records, Masulipatam*, vol. 4).

Note.—The value of the rupee in Madras at this period was about two shillings and four pence and of the pagoda about eight shillings so that the chairs fetched about five shillings a piece and the couch twelve shillings.

R. C. T.

BOOK NOTICE.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE DIFFERENT EXISTING SYSTEMS OF SANSKRIT GRAMMAR, being the Vishwanath Narayan Mandalik Gold Medal prize-essay for 1909. By SHRIDAD KRISHNA BELVALKAR, M.A., Ph.D., pp. viii, 148. Poona, 1915.

In this little work the author seeks to provide a brief resumé of the total output in the shape of Indian literature bearing on Sanskrit Grammar from the earliest times upto the end of the eighteenth century. This is a long period: and within the scope of 148 pages of the octavo volume Dr. Belvalkar may be said to have achieved a great deal. The "Chronological Conspectus" which is a synchronistic table, showing at a glance the relative positions in point of time of the various grammarians, as well as a very exhaustive and carefully prepared Index, enhance the value of the work.

The book divides itself into short chapters devoted to the individual schools, in each of which an attempt is made to put together the available historical information about the founder of the school, characterise briefly the nature of the work and then follow the subsequent development through the maze of the out-growth of exegetical literature.

Dr. Belvalkar does not claim any originality for the views expressed in the book. The work is a compact little summary—rich in bibliography—of the labours of previous workers in the field, and serves the extremely useful purpose of collecting together in a very handy form the widely scattered material bearing on the subject. It should be indispensable to any one who intends writing a more comprehensive work, discussing *in extenso* the many controversial points which are either only touched upon lightly by Dr. Belvalkar or no

noticed at all. In order to make my meaning clearer I shall give just one instance. It would have been, for example, interesting to know the views of the author with regard to the problem of the *Dhātupāṭha*. The well-known American Indologist, W. D. Whitney, alleged that the majority of roots contained in the *Dhātupāṭha* appended to our editions of Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is a purely fictitious product of the imagination of Indian Grammarians, who for some unknown reason took a perverse delight in multiplying their number almost *ad infinitum*. This is at best a very unsatisfactory explanation of the undeniable fact that a very large fraction of the roots of this list is not met with again in the extant Sanskrit literature. Paragraph 36 of Dr. Belvalkar's book, which deals with the *Dhātupāṭha* contains, however, no reference to the question; nor do I find from the Index any indication that it has been dealt with elsewhere.

The earliest history of Indian Grammar, like that of other Indian sciences, is for us shrouded in the impenetrable veil of antiquity. And Dr. Belvalkar does well perhaps not to lose himself in vague speculations as to the origin of the science (regarding which there is bound to be a great divergence of opinion) but to restrict himself mainly to the historical epoch. In the latter period the author distinguishes twelve distinct schools, each of which has been the focus of further independent development. The first grammarian on the list is naturally Pāṇini. A somewhat detailed treatment is allotted to this school, which takes up nearly one third of the whole volume. But even the short notices of the less known schools, such as the

Kramadīvara, Saupadma, Sārasvata, etc., are welcome, inasmuch as they contain information gleaned from sources which are not within easy reach of every one.

In the portion dealing with Pāṇini and his school we read at p. 29: "Kātyāyana's work, the *vartikas*, are meant to correct, modify, or supplement the rules of Pāṇini wherever they were or had become partially or totally inapplicable." and further on, p. 33: "his [*scil.* Patañjali's] chief aim was to vindicate Pāṇini against the often unmerited attacks of Kātyāyana." It would appear from this that Dr. Belvalkar has overlooked a small brochure of Kielhorn's entitled "*Kātyāyana and Patañjali: to their mutual relation each other and to Pāṇini*," (Bombay, 1876), written with the express purpose of combating this generally accepted but erroneous view and of demonstrating that many of Kātyāyana's *vartikas* are meant merely to explain the full scope of the *sūtras* of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*: while on the other hand, that Patañjali is not such a blind hero worshipper as one is apt to imagine, but that the charge of captious criticism may often be laid at his door as well.

The paragraphs dealing with Chandra and Śakaṭāyana take notice of a great deal of material scattered through various antiquarian journals, Indian as well as Continental. Some of the statements about the Jaina Śakaṭāyana call forth comment. Dr. Belvalkar accepts unreservedly a theory propounded by Prof. Pathak in a somewhat lengthy article entitled "Jain Sakatayana, contemporary with Amoghavarsha I" (*ante*, Vol. 43, p. 205 ff.), containing copious quotations from all kinds of works, which speaks for the erudition of the author but leaves the mind of the reader in unutterable confusion as to the issues involved and the solutions proposed. In this article Prof. Pathak elaborates the theory that the Jaina Śakaṭāyana wrote both the text and the commentary of the *Amoghavṛtti* which was composed in the reign of Amoghavarsha I, between Śaka 736 and 789. This statement involves two independent issues: (1) that Śakaṭāyana was the author of the *Amoghavṛtti* and (2) that the *Amoghavṛtti* was written in the reign of Amoghavarsha I. The second of these propositions I shall leave aside for future consideration and restrict myself for the present to an examination

of the first one. Was Śakaṭāyana the author of the *Amoghavṛtti*? Of the reasons adduced by Prof. Pathak in support of his view, which deserve serious consideration, there are two; firstly, a conclusion to be drawn from certain statements of Yakshavarman the author of the *Chintāmaṇi*, in combination with the fact that the *Amoghavṛtti* and the *Chintāmaṇi* contain many demonstrable phrases and sentences which are either identical with, or differ but very little from, each other; secondly, an explicit statement of Chidānanda Kavi (*ca.* A. D. 1700) to the effect that Śakaṭāyana was the author of the *Amoghavṛtti*. The first point requires further elucidation. In v. 4 of the introductory stanzas of the *Chintāmaṇi*, Yakshavarman tells us that his commentary is merely an abridgment of another very extensive commentary. His words may be interpreted to mean that the author of the latter work was Śakaṭāyana himself. In fact, this is the view I expressed in my dissertation on the Śakaṭāyana grammar (submitted to the University of Berlin early in 1914), which was already in press a long time before the appearance of this article of Prof. Pathak. But since hearing the opinion of so experienced a scholar, like Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, that my interpretation (and incidentally that of Prof. Pathak too) though grammatically possible, was not in consonance with Sanskrit idiom, I have given up my former view and hold now that the couplet in question is capable of an interpretation different from the one I gave to it. However, if Prof. Pathak adheres to the view that the verse in question must be interpreted in the way in which he does, it would be difficult to dislodge him from his standpoint. But even granting that the Professor's explanation is correct, his identification of the author of the *Amoghavṛtti* with Śakaṭāyana is by no means certain. For in substantiating this, Prof. Pathak relies mainly upon the identity of a large portion of the text of the *Chintāmaṇi* and the *Amoghavṛtti*, and attaches a totally wrong value to this circumstance. It is evident that, depending merely on the similarity of the two commentaries, it would be unsafe to conclude that the "extensive commentary" abridged by Yakshavarman must have been the *Amoghavṛtti* and can be no other. The Jainas are such ardent copyists and have at all times exhibited such an utter lack of originality, that it would never do to lose sight of—in their case.

not the remote, but the very near—possibility of their both having copied from a common source. The Jaina grammarians especially vie with each other in carrying this tendency to a nauseating degree. In evidence I need only point out that not merely the *Amoghavṛtti* and the *Chintāmaṇi*, but along with them also the *Rāpasiddhi* of Dayāpāla and the *Prakriyāsamgraha* of Abhayachandra Sūri, have in common not only short pieces of commentary on individual *sūtras*, but contain even lengthy portions of the text which are little more than exact reproductions of each other. Under these circumstances it is evident that it would be fatal to conclude arbitrarily that any one out of the above-mentioned works was a copy of any other chosen at random.

This may be said to be the negative side of the question. But a fact which speaks positively against this theory is supplied by Prof. Pathak himself on the very first page of the article in question. There the author of the *Amoghavṛtti*, after commenting on the Maṅgala stanza at the beginning of the Śākaṭāyana *sūtras*, adds by way of introducing the *pratyāhara-sūtras* the following :
*evam kṛita-maṅgala-rakṣā-vidhānaḥ paripūrṇam-
 alpaganthanam lagh-Ōpāyam śabdānukāsanaṁ śāstramidaṁ mahā-śramaṇa-saṁghādhipatīr bhagavān-
 āchāryaḥ śākaṭāyanas prārabbhate.*

The author of the commentary thus refers to Śākaṭāyana with the words 'The revered Master (Grammarian) Śākaṭāyana ! This, I think, is the strongest positive argument in favour of rejecting the identification of Śākaṭāyana with the author of the *Amoghavṛtti*. I am well aware that Indian authors are in the habit of referring to themselves in their own works in the third person. A well-known instance is that of Vishnugupta, the author of the *Arthaśāstra*, subscribing his opinions with the words: *Kauṭilyaḥ iti*. But it will have to be admitted that there is a world of difference between the emphatic personal note struck by the words *iti Kauṭilyaḥ*, added at the end of an epigrammatic saying, and the boastful self-praise conveyed by the *bhagavān-āchāryaḥ Śākaṭāyanas* attributed to Śākaṭāyana. I hold that it will not be possible to find within the range of the whole of the Sanskrit literature a parallel for the alleged instance of an author referring to himself as the "revered master," or with like words.

The second point brought forth as evidence by Prof. Pathak, *viz.*, the explicit statement of Chidānanda Kavi to the effect that Śākaṭāyana is the author of the *Amoghavṛtti* has at first sight the appearance of being more reliable. But it must be remembered that although Chidānanda Kavi is nearer to our grammarian than we by something like two centuries, nevertheless, he was separated by a period of nine centuries from the probable date of Śākaṭāyana, and is likely to have been informed as to who the real author of the *Amoghavṛtti* was, not any better than we at the present day. Until, therefore, some fresh and unequivocal evidence is brought to bear on the question, the authorship of this commentary will, in my opinion, continue to be an unsolved problem.

To turn to other matters. At p. 69 we read : "He [*scil.* Kielhorn] inclined to the view that it was some modern Jain writer, who has presented his own grammatical labours under the auspices of a revered name, carefully trying to follow the views attributed to him in ancient works and possibly having for its basis some of the teachings of the earlier Śākaṭāyana." Dr. Belvalkar seems to have confounded the opinions of Kielhorn and Burnell. It was the latter (and not Kielhorn) who looked upon the *Śākaṭāyana-tadbānukāsana* as an enlarged edition by a Jaina of a grammar of the pre-Paninean Śākaṭāyana, and maintained that it would be possible to reconstruct the original grammar by discriminating between what is old and what is new in it. Kielhorn, however, was in no doubt, at least when his article in this journal (1887, pp. 24 ff.) appeared, as to the real state of things, *viz.*, that the work is an out and out modern compilation. Be that as it may, there can be no question about the name Śākaṭāyana being a pseudonym adopted by some modern compiler; for, the principle on which the name is formed, *viz.*, by the addition of the suffix *-āyana* to the strengthened form of the protonym, had long fallen into disuse at the time when the Jaina must have lived. Names such as Bādarāyana, Kātyāyana, Śākaṭāyana, etc., belong to quite a different epoch of the history of Indian names.

A THIRD JOURNEY OF EXPLORATION IN CENTRAL ASIA, 1913-16.

BY SIR AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E., D.Sc., D.LITT.

(A paper read at the Meeting of the Royal Geographical Society on 5th June 1916, and reprinted by permission from the Society's Journal.)

Abundant as were the results brought back from the journey which during the years 1906-08 had carried me through the whole length of Eastern Turkestan and portions of westernmost China and Tibet, they could not keep my eyes long from turning towards plans of another Central Asian expedition. It was not the mere "call of the desert"—strongly as I have felt it at times—but the combined fascination of geographical problems and interesting archaeological tasks, which drew me back to the regions where ruined sites long ago abandoned to the desert have preserved for us relics of an ancient civilization developed under the joint influences of Buddhist India, China, and the Hellenized Near East. I well remembered the openings for fruitful exploratory work which, on my previous travels, disproportion between the available time and the vast extent of the ground had obliged me to pass by, and I was anxious to secure these chances afresh while I could still hope to retain the health and vigour needed successfully to face the inevitable difficulties and hardships.

The arrangement of the large collection of antiques which I had brought to the British Museum from my former expedition, and the multifarious efforts which I had to organize and direct for their elucidation, helped by the staff of assistants and numerous expert collaborators, kept me busy in England until the very end of 1911. Work on the big publication which was to record the scientific results of that journey still continued to claim most of my time after I had returned to duty in the Archaeological Survey of India, on the familiar ground of the North-West Frontier and Kashmir. That heavy task was not yet completed when in the autumn of 1912 a variety of considerations induced me to submit to the Indian Government my formal proposals for the long-planned expedition, by which I wished to resume my geographical and archaeological explorations in Central Asia. Among these considerations regard for the favourable political conditions then actually prevailing in respect of the regions to be visited played an important part. In this connection I have reason to remember gratefully the shrewd advice by which two kind friends, Sir Henry McMahon, then Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, and Sir George Macartney, H. B. M.'s Consul-General at Kashgar, helped to decide me for an early start.

The kind interest shown by H. E. Lord Hardinge, then Viceroy of India, in my past labours and in my new plans had from the first been a most encouraging augury. My gratitude for this help will be life-long. With it accorded the generous support which the Government of India in the Education Department, then under the enlightened direction of Sir Harcourt Butler, extended to my proposals. This included the payment in three successive years of a total grant of £3000 to cover the cost of the intended explorations, the Indian Government reserving to themselves in return an exclusive claim to whatever "archaeological proceeds" my expedition might yield. It was understood that the new Museum of Indian Art and Ethnography planned at Delhi would be the first to benefit by prospective "finds."

For the geographical tasks which formed a large and essential part of my programme, the ready assistance secured from the Indian Survey Department was of the utmost value. To Colonel Sir Sidney Burrard, Surveyor-General of India, I owed already a heavy debt of gratitude for the very effective help he had rendered towards securing and publishing

the survey results brought back from my former journeys. He now kindly agreed to depute with me my experienced old travel companion, Rai Bahadur Lal Singh, Sub-Assistant Superintendent of the Survey of India, and to make available also the services of a second surveyor of his department, Muhammad Yakub Khan, along with all necessary equipment and a grant to cover their travelling expenses. Thus the wide extension of our proposed fresh topographical labours was assured from the outset. For my geographical work I found also an asset of the greatest value in the moral support which the Royal Geographical Society generously extended to me, besides granting the loan of some surveying instruments. During the weary months of preparation, with all their strain of work and anxiety, and afterwards in whatever solitudes of mountains and deserts my travels took me to, I never ceased to derive true encouragement from the generous recognition which the Society had accorded to my former efforts to serve the aims of geographical science. Nor can I omit to record here my deep sense of gratitude for the unfailing sympathy and friendly interest with which in their ever-welcome letters Dr. Keltie and Mr. Hinks, the Society's Secretaries helped to cheer and guide me.

After a Kashmir winter and spring passed over incessant work on *Serindia*, the detailed report on the scientific results of my second journey, there arrived by the middle of May the Secretary of State's eagerly awaited sanction for my expedition. Relying on the kind consideration which my plans had so often received before at the India Office, I had ventured to anticipate, as far as I safely could, a favourable decision, and the lists of orders, etc., for the multifarious equipment needed were ready. Yet it cost no small effort to assure the completion of all the varied preparations within the short available time, considering how far away I was from bases of supply and friends who could help me. A careful survey of all the climatic and topographical factors determining the programme of my movements had convinced me that I could not safely delay my start across the mountains northwards beyond the very beginning of August. So the weeks which remained to me in the peaceful seclusion of my beloved Kashmir mountain camp, Mohand Marg, 11,000 feet above the sea, saw me hard at work from sunrise till evening. By July 23 I moved down from its Alpine coolness to the summer heat of the Kashmir Valley in order to complete our final mobilization at Srinagar in the spacious quarters which the kindness of my old friend, Mr. W. Talbot, had conveniently placed at my disposal for those last busy days in civilization.

There I had the satisfaction to find Rai Bahadur Lal Singh, my trusted old companion, duly arrived with all the surveying equipment, which included this time two 6-inch theodolites, a Zeiss levelling set, a Reeves telescopic alidade and two mercurial mountain barometers, besides an ample supply of aneroids, hypsometers, plane-tables, prismatic compasses, etc. With him had come the second surveyor, a young Pathan of good birth, with manners to match, and that excellent Dogra Rajput, Mian Jasvant Singh, who had accompanied every survey party taken by me to Central Asia. In spite of advancing years he had agreed to act once more as the Rai Sahib's cook, and to face all the familiar hardships of wintry deserts and wind-swept high mountains. At Srinagar I was joined also by two other Indian assistants, who, though new to Central Asian travel, proved both excellent selections for their respective spheres of work. In Naik Shams Din, a corporal of the First (King George's Own) Sappers and Miners, whom Colonel Tylden-Pattenson, commanding that distinguished corps, had chosen for me after careful testing, I found a very useful and capable "handy man" for all work requiring technical skill. A Panjabi Muhammadan

of Kashmiri descent, he proved in every way a worthy successor to Naik Ram Singh, whose devoted help on my second journey I owed to the same regiment, and whose tragic end I have recorded in *Desert Cathay*.

The other assistant, Mian Afrazgul Khan, a Pathan of the saintly Kaka-khel clan, and a Sepoy from the Khyber Rifles, was my own choice, and experience soon showed how much reason I had to be pleased with it. Originally a schoolmaster on the Peshawar border, with a sound vernacular education, he had soon after his enlistment in that famous Frontier Militia Corps been noticed for his topographical sense and superior intelligence. After a year's training in the Military Surveyors' Class at Roorkee, where he greatly distinguished himself, he was permitted by Sir George Roos-Keppel, Chief Commissioner, N.-W. Frontier Province, and Honorary Colonel of the Regiment, to join me as temporary draftsman and surveyor in connection with the excavations I was carrying on in the spring, 1912, as Superintendent of the Frontier Circle, Archaeological Survey. There I was soon impressed by his marked and varied ability, and when in addition I became aware of his energy and genuine love of adventure I did not hesitate to engage him as an assistant surveyor for the journey. Our small party was completed by two Indian servants; one of them, Yusuf, a man of somewhat "sporting" instincts, was to act as my cook, and the other Pir Bakhsh, a worthy elderly person from the mountains north of Kashmir, as his substitute in case of illness—or some temporary outbreak of bad temper. The experience of previous journeys had warned me as to the necessity of this double string, and I owe it probably to its restraining influence that I was able to retain the services of both men in spite of all trials and bring them back to their homes in the end safely and in a state of contentment.

Ever since the plan of my journey was first formed I had been exercised in my mind by the difficulty of finding a practicable route which would take me across the great mountain barriers northward to the border of Chinese Turkestan on the Pamirs, and which was still new to me. By the initial portions of my previous journeys I had exhausted the only apparent alternatives of the Chitral and Hunza valleys leading to practicable crossings of the main Hindukush range. Even the devious route over the Karakorum passes I had seen on my return journey of 1908. But fortune seemed to favour me at the start, unexpectedly to open for me the eagerly desired new approach to my goal.

For long years I had wished to explore the important valleys of Darel and Tangir which descend to the Indus from the north some distance below Chilas. Darel (*Ta-li-lo*) is prominently mentioned in the accounts of old Chinese Buddhist pilgrims, partly because there passed through it a route which some of them followed on their descent from the uppermost Oxus to the Indus and the sacred sites of the Indian north-west frontier, and partly by reason of a famous Buddhist sanctuary it once contained. No Europeans had ever been able to visit these territories, as the disturbed political conditions of the local tribal communities, coupled with their fanatical spirit, effectively closed access to them. But in recent years Raja Pakhtun Wali, of the Kushwaqt family, once ruling Yasin and Mastuj, had, after an adventurous career, succeeded in founding and gradually extending a chiefship of his own among these small Dard republics. The desire of consolidating his rule and securing support for his children's eventual succession had led him a short time before to seek friendly relations with the Gilgit political Agency. When I learned of the opportunity chance thus offering I decided to use it for a new route to the Pamirs. The matter needed diplomatic handling. But finally the effective help given by my kind friend the Hon. Mr. Stuart Fraser, Resident in Kashmir, with the assent of the Indian Foreign Department, secured

for me the chief's permission to visit his territories. The conditions he thought fit to attach to it were obviously meant to safeguard his political interests—and incidentally also my safety among his newly won subjects.

On 31 July 1913 I started from Srinagar, and proceeding by boat down the Jhelam, reached next day the little port of Bandipur on the Wular Lake. From there the bulk of our baggage was sent ahead with the second surveyor by the Gilgit military road to await us in Hunza. I myself with Lal Singh and Afrazgul left Kashmir through the side valley of the Lolab and struck north-westwards for the route which leads through the deep-cut gorges of the Kishanganga and its tributaries to the snowy passes of Barai and Fasat and then down to Chilas on the Indus. Bad weather pursued us from the time we entered the mountains, and already on the first eight days the tracks followed proved in many places impracticable for laden animals. But it seemed appropriate Alpine training for the ground ahead, and there was an antiquarian interest to compensate me for the fatigues encountered; for various topographical considerations indicate that it was by this direct route to the Indus and thence to Gilgit that the Chinese received those annual supplies from Kashmir which alone, according to an interesting historical document preserved in the Annals of the T'ang dynasty, enabled them about the middle of the eighth century A.D. to maintain for some years imperial garrisons in Gilgit and Yasin. They thus prevented the junction between their great adversaries who then threatened Chinese hold on Turkestan—the Arabs in the west and the Tibetans in the south. It was, of course, the human beast of burden which alone made the use of such a route possible, and we have historical evidence to show how abundant its supply was in ancient Kashmir.

By August 10 we had descended from the snowy range which culminates eastwards in the huge ice-clad pyramid of Nanga-parbat (26,620 feet above the sea) to Chilas on the Indus, the last British post towards the independent territory of Dard tribes, known as the Indus Kohistan. The *Pax Britannica*, brought some twenty years before to what was once the most turbulent and fanatical of these petty hill republics, had worked curious changes in the position of the cultivated areas, etc., which without definite records a future antiquarian or geographer would find most difficult to interpret correctly. The heat of the summer is great in the deep-cut rock defiles of the Indus, and the banks forbiddingly barren. So I was glad when our descent in the Indus gorge next day could be effected on a skin raft, which the tossing current of the mighty river carried down at the rate of some 14 miles an hour. Though the snowy weather prevailing on the high ranges had caused the river to fall to some 24 feet below highwater level, yet the flood volume was still large enough to allow us to sweep down securely over what at other times is a succession of impassable rock ledges and rapids.

At the mouth of the Hodur stream we left the Indus behind and entered ground which offered ample scope for exploring work. Passing up the unsurveyed valley northward we found plentiful ruins of small fortified villages clearly dating back to pre-Muhammadan times and a great deal of abandoned cultivation terraces for which the supply of irrigation water now available would manifestly no longer suffice. Pushing up to the Unutai Pass we crossed the range which overlooks the Khanbari River and there reached the eastern border of Pakhtun Wali's latest conquests. As we descended westwards through the Datsoi Nullah by a track almost impassable for load-carrying men we were met by Pakhtun Wali's capable nephew, Mehtarjao Shah Alim, with a large and well-armed escort. It had been stipulated beforehand that not a single man from the territory under control of the British Agency of Gilgit was to accompany us. The careful watch kept over us from the start by Pakhtun Wali's select men at arms, wherever we moved or halted, seemed to afford adequate

protection from any fanatical attempt on the part of less trustworthy elements among his new subjects who might have liked to embroil him by an attack upon us. But I confess that it also at first caused me serious misgivings as to the freedom which might be left to us for useful topographical work.

It was quite as much regard for such work, as the wish to avoid the excessive summer heat of the Indus gorges, which had caused me to ask that we might be taken to Darel by the mountains at the heads of the Khanbari and Dudishal Valleys instead of the usual route, which leads through the former. It proved a difficult line of progress, even with such hardy porters for our baggage as Shah Alim had brought from the main Darel Valley. But its advantages for surveying operations were great, and fortunately I soon found that we were left full freedom to use them. The great spurs descending from the Indus-Gilgit watershed northward had to be crossed by a succession of high passes, between 13,000 and 14,000 feet, and these furnished excellent plane-table stations. The extensive views there obtained towards the great snowy ranges across the Indus and westwards on the headwaters of the Swat River permitted our positions to be fixed with accuracy from previously triangulated peaks. At the expense of much hard climbing we secured equally favourable conditions further on, and a protracted spell of fine weather made it easy to use them. R. B. Lal Singh, in spite of his fifty-one years, an age which Indians usually are apt to count as advanced, showed that he had lost none of his old zeal and vigour. Through his devoted exertions a fortnight's hard travel sufficed to map some 1200 square miles, on the scale of 2 miles to the inch, on ground which had never been surveyed or even seen by European eyes.

It was a pleasant surprise to find our tasks soon facilitated by the excellent relations we were able to establish with Mehtarjao Shah Alim and the band of Pakhtun Wali's trusted supporters who formed our ever-watchful guard. They were a strangely mixed crew, of distinctly shady antecedents, but all "handy" and pleasant to deal with. Most of these alert fellows were outlaws from Swat, Chitral, and the independent Dard republics on the Indus, who, with hands already blood-stained, had joined Pakhtun Wali's fortunes at one time or other of his adventurous career. Their burley fair-haired commander Shahid, whose look of jovial ruffian curiously contrasted with his name, meaning "martyr," had from the beginning played a prominent part in all the mixed feuds and intrigues by which their capable chief had raised himself from the position of a hapless refugee in Tangir to that of absolute master of that once turbulent valley. The means and methods by which Pakhtun Wali, in true Condottiere fashion, had subsequently extended his sway over the neighbouring hill republics of Darel and Sazin, had been equally unscrupulous, and recalled times long gone by elsewhere. His was the most recent kingdom carved out in the Hindukush, a region probably less touched by historical changes than any other in the north-west of India, and to glean first-hand information about the process employed was for me a very instructive and fascinating occupation. Nor did quick-witted Shah Alim and his band of intelligent henchmen fail me when it came to collecting exact data about local resources, population, etc., or raising or managing needful transport. Fully familiar with the ground, as their employment had made them, they yet kept a mental detachment from the local interests, regard for which would have induced reticence among more settled subjects.

The Khanbari River was found to drain an unexpectedly large mountain area, and in all the valleys splendid forests of pines and firs, quite untouched by the axe, were found to clothe the higher slopes. In the wider portions below old cultivation terraces, now abandoned, could be traced for miles. Judging from the size of the trees, the forest which has overrun them in most places dates back for centuries. There is an abundant supply of water for

irrigation from snowbeds and springs, and re-occupation of these fertile lands is retarded only by the great scantiness of population. Before Pakhtun Wali's conquest the Darelis had contented themselves with using the extensive grazing-grounds at the very head of the valleys, and only since the advent of more peaceful conditions has the slow immigration of Gujar settlers commenced. Whatever the cause of the original abandonment of these valleys may have been, it soon became obvious that they, like Darel and Tangir, enjoyed climatic conditions far more favourable in the matter of adequate rainfall than those prevailing higher up on the Indus or elsewhere between the Indus and the Hindukush. This abundant moisture may well be due to some feature in the orography of the Indus Valley, permitting the monsoon rains to advance here far beyond the line where their effect is stopped elsewhere by the high mountain chains southward.

The contrast with those denuded barren mountains to the north and east, which I remembered so well from my previous routes through Gilgit and Chitral, became even more striking as we descended from the Ishkobar Pass (*circ.* 13,650 feet) to the head of the main Darel valley. When encamped there at Nyachut, on rich Alpine meadowland and surrounded by mountain sides which magnificent forests of deodars and firs clothed for thousands of feet in height, I felt as if transported to the Sind or some other big side valley of Kashmir. Unfortunately there was little chance left to enjoy the delights of this glorious Alpine scenery while being constantly attacked by swarms of the particularly fierce mosquitoes which infest all Darel and Tangir. We met them first when approaching the Khanbari watershed from the east, and the trouble they gave steadily increased as we progressed. Even high up in the mountains we suffered severely from this plague which is apt to cause bad sores, as my surveyors and myself soon found by experience. There was little consolation in the fact that the local people suffer almost as much from the infliction, as their pock-covered skin showed, and that during the winter those tormentors descend to seek warmer quarters by the Indus. I often wondered whether their presence would not be an adequate defence of Darel against any permanent invasion by people concerned for their comfort.

When I moved down to the vicinity of Manikyal, the northern of the two extant walled townships of Darel, there revealed itself strikingly the remarkable openness of the main valley and the great extent of arable land on the wide plateaus flanking the middle course of the Darel River. The sight of this fertile area, all easy to irrigate, revealed at a glance the importance which Darel must have possessed in ancient times, and which with an adequate population and under a firm rule it could attain once more. But much of the land had passed out of cultivation long ago, and the great number of ruined sites gave striking confirmation of the observation. The survey of these ruins, all known as *kots*, "forts," kept me busy for several days, and showed that most of them were remains of fortified settlements dating back to pre-Muhammadan times. Rapid excavation near one of them, Bojo-kot, brought to light unmistakable relics of a Buddhist burial ground in the shape of cinerary urns, metal ornaments, etc. These ruins always occupy naturally strong rocky ridges bearing elaborately built terraces, and by their position and constructive features curiously recalled to my mind the extensive ruined settlements of the Buddhist period with which my explorations in the Swat Valley and on the Peshawar border had rendered me familiar. Archæological evidence thus seemed to bear out the tradition preserved in the Chinese pilgrims' records as to the early historical connection between the ruling families of Darel and Swat.

All antiquarian observations pointed to the territory having been occupied in Buddhist times by a much denser population than the present and one possessed of far greater material resources. Yet even now Darel contains a number of large crowded villages, some, like

Manikyal and Samagial, well deserving to be called towns. Again and again I was struck by lingering traces of an inherited civilisation a good deal more developed than that to be found now in the neighbouring hill tracts. Thus the alignment of the irrigation canals and the carefully preserved solid stonework of the terraces and embankments over which they are carried showed unusual skill. Another very significant feature was the abundance in houses, mosques and graves of fine wood-carving, retaining decorative motifs which are directly derived from Græco-Buddhist art as known to us from the ancient reliefs of Gandhara, and which occur frequently also in the ornamental wood carvings excavated by me at sand-buried old sites of Chinese Turkestan.

The racial type of the Darelis as far as I could judge without anthropometric observations, for the collection of which there was no time, seemed to me unmistakably akin to that of the other Dard tribes which occupy the adjoining mountain territories. This close relationship is also borne out by their Shina dialect. But there was something in the often refined features of the men and their less heavily built frame, which vaguely suggested inheritance from generations weakened by a decadent civilization and a long period of internal disorder. They struck me distinctly as a race possessing the instincts of quasi-town-bred folk and needing a strong ruler.

On the evening of August 16 I was received by Raja Pakhtun Wali in full state at the castle of Gumarekot, which he was building in the centre of his recently annexed territory and as a stronghold to safeguard its possession against possible risings. The steep ridge which rises above it is occupied by the ruins of the large fort of Raji-kot, marking the ancient capital of Darel. It was a very interesting experience to meet the man who, after a career as chequered as befitted the son of Mir Wali, Hayward's murderer, had succeeded in building up a new kingdom for himself, the last, perhaps, which India has seen raised on the old adventurous lines. His human environment, in which Darelis are still kept much in the background, and the methods by which he maintains his rule seemed to call up times long gone by. There was much to claim my interest in what I heard from the shrewd and energetic Khushwaqt chief that evening, and during the long visit he paid me next morning with his two young sons; but this is not the place to record it. He had spared no care nor trouble to facilitate my safe journey through his territory and to make it as profitable as the limitations of my time permitted. I shall always look back with gratitude to the friendly welcome accorded, and with genuine interest and sympathy to the ruler.

It was a special satisfaction to me that on my way down Darel I was able to identify at Phoguch the site of an ancient Buddhist sanctuary which the Chinese pilgrims specially mention on account of its miracle-working colossal image of Maitreya Buddha in wood. The tomb of Shahakhel Baba, a Muhammadan Saint renowned for his miraculous powers and attracting pilgrims from many distant parts of the Hindukush region as well as Swat and the Indus Valley, attests here the continuity of local worship. Lower down we passed interesting ruins of castles once closing access to Darel. Then we ascended westwards by a precipitous track, difficult for load-carrying men, to the rugged high spur which divides Darel from Tangir. On reaching its top we were rewarded for a trying climb over bare rock slopes by the grand vistas which opened before us. Owing to its isolation the Shardai Pass commands wide views of Darel, Tangir, the Indus Valley, and the ranges beyond, and proved a truly ideal survey station. To the west there showed clearly the gap between precipitous snow-capped spurs,

where the Indus makes its sharp bend to the south. Access to this famous defile, where the bed of the mighty river is reported to contract into an exceedingly narrow rift, is closed by independent tribal territory. Even from afar European eyes saw it now for the first time. How I wished that a Pakhtun Wali's expansionist policy might open the route some day for exploring those Indus gorges, where the old Chinese pilgrims made their way south by the dreaded rock galleries "of the hanging chains."!

The descent to the Tangir River over cliffs and vast slopes of rock débris was a trying experience ; but the valley itself proved remarkably open and fertile. Fruit trees and vines were more plentiful than in Darel, and the mosquitoes a little less fierce. The population is scattered in clusters of hamlets, and showed a manly bearing. Of those fortified villages, in which the Darel people seem to have always sought shelter since early times, I could trace no ruins here. I had a very pleasant reception at Jaglot, where Pakhtun Wali had established his original stronghold, and where his family ordinarily resides. The original modest structure which he occupied as a refuge from Chitral had witnessed a memorable siege by the powerful Gabarkhel tribesmen who hold the upper portion of Tangir, and who then vainly tried to rid themselves of their ambitious exile-guest. Their defeat marked the first stage in Pakhtun Wali's rise to power. The old animosities seemed to be still smouldering here, and as we moved up the valley, our ever-watchful escort took special care to safeguard us from any attempt of Pakhtun Wali's old foes, or the fanatical "talib-ilms," or religious students, gathered in numbers round a famous Mullah at the mosque of Kami.

In the great forest belt at the head of the Satil branch of the valley hundreds of Pathans from Upper Swat and the independent tracts lower down the Indus were engaged in cutting the magnificent timber, an important source of revenue to Raja Pakhtun Wali. The timber is made to float down the Indus under arrangements with Kakakhel traders, who, owing to the sanctity enjoyed by their clan, are able to exploit this business in tracts otherwise far too risky. Here we were joined by Mian Shahzada, the uncle of Afrazgul, my Kakakhel surveyor, who for years had been in charge of these operations, and whose opportune intercession had helped to overcome the Raja's original scruples about our passage. Shahzada had charged himself with the responsibility of keeping all fanatical characters in these wood-cutters' camps out of mischief, and by his effective help amply earned the recommendation I could give him to the district authorities of his far-off home on the Peshawar border.

All arrangements worked smoothly to the end, and when on August 21 we safely reached the Sheobat Pass, over 14,000 feet in height, on the range which forms the watershed between the Indus and the Gilgit river drainage, it was with regret that I left behind Pakhtun Wali's fascinating dominion, from which we had just "lifted the Purdah." I was sorry to bid farewell to our hardy escort of outlaws, after meeting the large *posse* of respectable Gilgit levies which had waited on the other side of the pass to take charge of us. It was amusing to watch the ill-disguised expression of distrust with which the latter viewed our quondam protectors, some of them well remembered, no doubt, from their old raids and similar exploits. The ample and richly deserved rewards I gave to Pakhtun Wali's men however, sufficed to efface any unpleasant reciprocal feelings.

In order to reach the big Yasin Valley through which our northward route was to lead we had first to gain the Gupis post on the Gilgit River. The mountains to the south of the

latter have not yet been adequately surveyed. So it was scarcely surprising that the unexplored pass above Gafarbodo, which I chose as a short cut, proved nearly impossible for our load-carrying men. It took fully eight hours' scrambling over huge masses of rock débris left behind by ancient glaciers, the worst I ever encountered in this region, to reach the pass at an elevation of close on 16,000 feet.

Then I pushed up rapidly in the open and relatively fertile valley of Yasin. It leads due north, flanked by mighty spurs which descend from the glacier-crowned main Hindukush range, and has always been an important route, as it forms the nearest connection between Oxus and Indus. I found myself thus on ground claiming distinct historical interest, and there was a good deal even in things of the present to attest the strong Central-Asian influence to which it has been subject since early times. In addition to much fine old wood-carving in dwellings and mosques, I was able to trace a ruined Stupa with relics of Buddhist times and the remains of several old forts, which tradition significantly enough connects with early Chinese invasions.

It was owing to an early and historically well attested Chinese conquest of these valleys from the uppermost Oxus, that I felt a special interest in the glacier pass of the Darkot by which we crossed on August 29 to the headwaters of the Yarkhun or Mastuj River. It had been the scene of that remarkable exploit by which a Chinese force, despatched in A.D. 749 from Kashgar against the Tibetans, had effected its entry into Yasin and Gilgit. Already in May, 1916, on my way up from Chitral, I had been able to ascertain how closely the topographical features of the Darkot Pass agreed with the exact account which the Chinese Annals of the T'ang dynasty have preserved for us of General Kao Hsien-chih's famous expedition. I had then succeeded in reaching the top of the pass, 15,400 feet above the sea, from the Mastuj side; but no examination of the southern approach, which also figures in that account, had been possible.

In view of the very serious natural obstacles presented by the glaciers of the Darkot, Kao Hsien-chih's passage deserves to rank as a great military achievement, like his successful march across the whole width of the Pamirs, with a relatively large Chinese army, which preceded it, and to which I shall have occasion to refer further on. So it was a particularly gratifying find, when I discovered an old Tibetan inscription scratched into a large boulder on the track where it ascends by the side of a steep moraine flanking the southern glacier of the Darkot. It is very probable that it is a relic of that short-lived Tibetan advance on the uppermost Oxus which the T'ang Annals record towards the close of the second quarter of the eighth century, and which Kao Hsien-chih's adventurous expedition successfully stopped.

On the top of the Darkot I was met by Captain H. F. D. Stirling, of the 57th (Wilde's) Rifles, then commanding the Chitral Scouts, with fresh transport from the Mastuj side. Thus the descent over the big and much-crevassed northern glacier could be effected without undue risk to men or baggage. I have special reason to feel grateful for the most effective arrangements made by Captain Stirling as I pushed on eastwards after crossing the Darkot. Our easiest route to the Chinese border would have led over the Baroghil saddle to Sarhad on the Oxus and thence across the Afghan Pamirs along the line I had followed in 1906. But apart from the fact that its use would have required the special permission of H.M. the

King of Afghanistan, I was anxious to see new ground, and was therefore glad to move now by a parallel but far more difficult route by which westernmost Hunza could be gained from the headwaters of the Yarkhun and Karambar (or Ashkuman) Rivers. This route allowed me to sight the Showarshur branch of the Darkot Glacier, now completely closed by an impassable ice-fall, and to examine more closely the interesting instance of bifurcation by which the glacier above the Karambar saddle discharges its drainage partly towards the Yarkhun or Chitral River and partly into the lake forming the head of the Karambar River.

On its south side the route skirts an almost unexplored region of high ice-clad peaks and big glaciers, and the snouts, which the latter have pushed across the gorge of the Karambar River, together with the huge old moraines encountered in the main valley lower down, constituted serious obstacles. They made all the more welcome the friendly help given by Captain Stirling, who, as an expert mountaineer, took pleasure in accompanying me on those four days of hard marching and climbing.

Beyond the Ashkuman River we were met by fresh porters, collected from the settlement of hardy Wakhi immigrants lower down that much-confined valley. The ascent made with them on September 2 to the Chillinji Pass (*circ.* 17,400 feet high) proved a difficult task.

The snowy weather prevailing all through August had rendered the very steep snow slopes to be climbed still more trying and had added greatly to avalanche risks. The pass had not been traversed by any one for a long number of years, and only one old man sent with us had ever been across. So it was a great relief, when, after eight hours' toil, we safely reached the col, nearly 5,000 feet above camp. It offered a grand view over the extensive glaciers which meet at the head of the Chapursan Valley, but the icy gale sweeping it made even a short rest difficult. Fortunately the great glacier below us proved less trying, owing to the fresh snow which had adequately covered up most of the crevasses, and after a descent of five hours more we found a dry spot by its side where we could bivouac in safety under the shelter of a moraine. Some of our coolies did not turn up till next morning, but they had wisely kept moving all through the bitterly cold night. Their safe arrival caused me great relief and so also did the assurance that my feet, in spite of the loss of toes and the impaired circulation which resulted from my frost-bite accident at the close of the former journey, could stand well thirteen hours' struggle over snow and ice. The snout of the Chillinji Glacier was not passed until after a descent of another 4 miles in the morning, and a short distance beyond I had the satisfaction to find fresh transport from Hunza awaiting us. The arrangements made weeks ahead through my old acquaintance Humayun Beg, the Wazir of Hunza, had not failed me.

After this experience our progress through Hunza seemed easy. The Chapursan Valley, in spite of the huge moraines which the glaciers south have pushed down into it, contains more stretches of level ground than probably all the rest of Hunza. It was hence a feature of special interest to note the extensive areas of old cultivation which we passed on the 25 miles' march between Baba-ghundi and Spandrinj. Neither want of water for irrigation nor present climatic conditions at this elevation from *circ.* 11,000 to 10,300 feet seem to furnish an adequate explanation for their abandonment. Re-occupation is recent and proceeding slowly.

(To be continued.)

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.

BY V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T., MADRAS.

(Continued from p. 105.)

But Raṅga Kṛishṇa was not merely a man of enterprise who would ride into an enemy's country to seek information or obtain amusement; he was a ruler of great sympathy and solicitude for the welfare of his subjects. He delighted to roam *incognito* in his realm, to mix with the humble and lowly, to talk to them, to understand their feelings and to appreciate their merits. If he could subdue an elephant which none else could he could also visit humble places and see humble men, and learn things for himself, learn where virtue or misery had its abode, where injustice prevailed and where disloyalty throve. No occupation was, in his eyes, too low for the investigation of truth. True he was not without defects. He shared the weakness of his dynasty in his love of pomp, his fondness for show, and in his permitting his lieutenants to spend state money on processions and celebrations, but this was a single blot in his brilliant and beautiful character. His easy accessibility, his desire to learn things in person, his sympathy with the people, and at the same time, his weakness for showy pageantry, are evident from his Tinnevely adventure. Hearing from some men of Tinnevely that the son of their viceroy, Tiruvēngaḷa Nāthaiya,²⁵ wasted every night 500 pagodas of Sirkar money in costly processions of "more than royal state," he set out, as was always the case with him, alone on his horse towards Tinnevely to ascertain the fact. The Telugu chronicle, from which the account of this episode is taken, narrates in detail an interview which the king had with a humble, low-caste woman who was carrying a rude and frugal fare for her son, a labourer working in the distant fields. The exhausted monarch condescended to take butter-milk from the woman and noted her name for future favours. Resuming his journey, he reached one of those splendid reception-booths, which had been constructed all along the road for his sake. The warders, however, hardly saw in the solitary horseman their sovereign. In their eyes royalty was always surrounded by magnificence. To think of a king without his host of attendants and flatterers, his paraphernalia and splendour, was to them an impossible feat. Simplicity was a virtue which their rude and unsophisticated mind could with difficulty associate with royalty. They had not the imagination for such a conception, for their experience had always been to the contrary. It is not surprising, therefore, that when the solitary horseman boldly entered the pavilion and tied up his horse, and sat there, he received a mandate from the warders to leave the place at once. Their monarch was coming, and the pavilion was not an inn in which every wayfarer could lay him down and rest. Raṅga Kṛishṇa, whose passion for such interesting situations kept them in ignorance of his personality, proposed that, after resting a little, he would proceed. He was about to be subjected to further indignity, when the army reached the place and, on seeing him, prostrated themselves and performed homage. The warders at once found out the position of their antagonist and the seriousness of their mistake, and expected a summary sentence of death; but the nobility of Raṅga Kṛishṇa dispelled their fears, extolled their sense of duty, and rewarded their merit with the hereditary enjoyment of certain lands! On reaching Tinnevely, the chronicle continues, the king commanded the viceroy's son to organize a procession as usual, assuring him that it was his curiosity, not the desire to

²⁵ Even now near Tinnevely, about 2 or 3 miles off, is a village named Tiruvēngaḷa Nāthapuram, which was probably the residence of the viceroy.

punish, that prompted him to issue the command; and when the latter carried it out with more than usual splendour, the king expressed his joy, declared it a worthy source of prestige, and authorised the prodigal to celebrate it everyday. The royal sanction was accompanied by a substantial grant for the purpose from the treasury. It was a conclusion unworthy of Raṅga Kṛishṇa, but his sin was a common sin of his line and of his time, and he could not overcome it.

All this would furnish a worthy theme for romance, but the true romance of Raṅga Kṛishṇa's life lay in his domestic life. Alone among the Nāik kings, he could control his passions. Temperance was a virtue of which his dynasty was entirely ignorant, but he shone in it. In a time when kings were not satisfied with scores of wives and hundreds of mistresses, he set a worthy example of virtue and of moderation by the constancy of his attachment to a single lady, a lady who was worthy of his love and found it impossible to live after his death. Raṅga Kṛishṇa's harem, in consequence, was not, as that of the other kings of his line, a seat of loose life or a source of scandal. His private life resembled that of a common man, and was characterised by real conjugal love and domestic bliss. The palace was, in his day, a temple of peace, not a breeding ground of jealousies, a home of affection and not of bestial pleasure. With him the safety and welfare of his people was not a secondary consideration of the usual type. They lived for themselves first, and then, if it all, for the people; but he lived for the people and for them alone.

His recovery of the lost territories.

Such was the character of the new king and it is not surprising that from the very moment of his accession things began to change for the better. His own vigorous personality would have been sufficient to alleviate the misery of his kingdom, but other circumstances intervened, which enormously lightened his task and ensured his success. The monarch of Mysore was attacked nearer at home by Sambaji²⁶, and in self-defence had to withdraw his legions from Madura. Ekoji was, in consequence of his own tyranny, troubled by a discontented populace; and his weak frontiers, moreover, were pierced by daring bands of Maravas and Kaḷlas, who now entered the field with the hope of sharing in the tumults and plunders of the day. Ekoji thought it prudent, therefore, to withdraw from the kingdom of Madura. As for the formidable Sambaji, he was involved in wars with the Mughal Empire on the one hand, and with the Portuguese on the other, and so could not pursue his father's conquests in the Carnatic. The Sētupati, again, had his own domestic troubles, for an ambitious Daḷawāi of his set the standard of rebellion, and taxed the resources of his master. All these events, together with the tactful statesmanship of Raṅga Kṛishṇa, relieved Madura from her recent ills. Within three years of his accession, Raṅga Kṛishṇa found himself the master of the whole of the extensive dominions of his ancestors, and the danger of the extinction, which had threatened the Kingdom of Viśvanātha Nāik, was now warded off. Half a century more was to pass before it was to share the fate of its predecessors, and when it fell then, it fell for ever.

The kingdom was now safe, and Raṅga Kṛishṇa consecrated the first moments of peace to the strengthening of his power and the restoration of the country's prosperity. A firm and determined ruler, he made his influence felt throughout his dominions. His remarkable

²⁶ Wilks, I 59-60. Wilks is wrong in regard to the dates. Kumāra Rāya, however, it is said, left his son Doḍḍa Dēva to continue the siege, but he evidently had soon to give it up.

industry secured a personal acquaintance with the most minute affairs of the kingdom. His watchful eye was everywhere, and he was ever on his feet. Restless and enthusiastic, he would proceed hundreds of miles to hear a single complaint or chastise a petty chief. The divided provinces, in consequence, became united; and the Polygars of the most distant provinces dreaded his displeasure, and paid a ready and willing homage. At Tinnevely, whither he went, as we have already seen, to inquire into the alleged financial abuses of the viceroy, he received the respect and the tribute of all the Polygars of the province. Even the king of Travancore, who was apprised of the king's stay at Tinnevely, hastened to enlist his good will by despatching a tribute of elephants (twelve in number) and horses, of treasure and ornaments. The historian cannot but admire the personal merit of this extraordinary king who, though so young in age, was so eminently successful in securing the allegiance of chiefs who, only a few months back, had regarded their suzerain as a nonentity and themselves as kings.

His justice.

In administration²⁷ Rājga Krishṇa was not less successful. His administration was based on the principle of equity and reason. He was, like the rest of his dynasty, a friend, admirer and servant of the Brahmans. He loved to praise them and to be praised by them. He listened to their counsels, and built *agrahārams* and temples, choultries and tanks. He led an orthodox life, paid frequent visits to temples, and bestowed with a lavish hand the traditional charities of money, cows and lands on his advisers. Nevertheless, he never allowed the claims of justice to be overruled by his partiality. In the court he was superior to race consideration or caste privilege. Once in a dispute between the Brahmans and the Christians in regard to a piece of land, which the former had illegally seized for a religious purpose, the king ordered that the idols should be thrown into the river rather than that justice be violated under his regime. A prince with such noble views could hardly have secured the affections and obtained the blessings of the Brahmans at first; but the latter knew how to appreciate real merit. Moreover they succeeded, as we have already seen, in gaining his generous donations in other respects. They knew that if the king was severe, he was severe for the sake of justice; and they therefore took his rebukes in the proper spirit, and tactfully strengthened their own position by praising the spotless equity of his rule.

THE MOGHUL CONQUEST OF THE DAKHAN.

After the pacification of the kingdom, Rājga Krishṇa placed his foreign policy on a stronger basis. His reign synchronised with momentous events in the Deccan. The Puritan Emperor Aurangzeb was engaged in a deadly struggle with the Hindu Marathas on the one hand, and the weak and half-Hinduised Sultans of Bijapur and Golcondah on the other, and by the year 1688 had conquered and annexed the latter kingdoms. With the extinction of Bijapur the Carnatic became the property of the Mughal Empire. The suzerain of the Nāiks of Tanjore and Madura was thenceforth not the Sultan of Bijapur nor the Maratha, but the Emperor of Delhi, and the latter lost no time in establishing the imperial power on a secure basis. For two years after the extinction of the twin kingdoms of the Deccan, Aurangzeb could not proceed against the South, as he was engaged in war with Sambaji. It was only after 1689, when Sambaji was

²⁷ An inscription of Arumbāvár, 14 miles from Perambalūr in the Trichinopoly District, says that he made grants for the repair of a sluice in 1686 A. D. (*Antiquities*, II, p. 263).

captured and slain, and when owing to the flight of Raja Ram to Ginji, the war with the Marathas was extended to the South, that the emperor thought seriously of the completion of his conquests in the South. Raṅga Kṛishṇa's position, in consequence, was, during the last two years of his rule, a dangerous one. He had to keep strict vigilance against possible imperial vandalism. He had to see that his kingdom did not share the fate of the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golcondah. He had to be singularly vigilant in the north-west frontier, for in 1687 the Mysore king, Chikka Dēva Rāj, purchased the District of Bangalore from Ekoji (who thus confined himself solely to Tanjore), for three *lakhs*; and when Kasim Khan, the Mughul general, seized it before the entry of the Mysore troops, he conciliated the emperor, and concluded, in return for the payment of allegiance, an agreement by which he got Bangalore, as well as a tacit permission to extend his territories in a direction that would not interfere with the Mughul operations. The friendship of the emperor assured, Chikka Dēva was ready to encroach into Madura territory. In 1688 and 1689²⁸ we find him invading the Kongu province, conquering the greater part of Baramahal, including Dharmapuri and Kāvēripattanam, pushing his conquest into the Talaghat and annexing Omalūr, Paramatti and Attūr-Anantagiri. This region had been previously conquered by Dōḷḍa Dēva in 1667, but evidently recovered by Madura or by the local chiefs and Polygars. Hence the necessity of Chikka Dēva to subdue it. We have no authority which enables us to say what Raṅga Kṛishṇa did at this crisis. Probably, he yielded for the time and died before taking any steps to recover the lost districts.

The incident of the Mughal's slipper.

But if Raṅga Kṛishṇa could not take any steps against Mysore, he was able enough to defy the power of the haughty Musalman. A curious and highly interesting episode is narrated in the Telugu chronicle in illustration of his dignified attitude towards Muhammadan claims. It was the Padshah's custom in those days, it says, to send one of his slippers in great *eclat* with and in the midst of proper guards and solemn paraphernalia, as a mandate for the performance of homage and the payment of tribute by the feudatories of the Empire. The slipper was placed in a rich and magnificent howdah of an elephant, and defended by an army of 12,000 cavalry and 40,000 infantry, under the command of two Nawabs. All the honours were paid to the royal slipper which were paid to the king himself.

It was fanned by two chowries, and attended by banners and umbrellas, flutes and drums, and other insignia. When the procession reached the boundary of a State, the king of that State was bound to welcome it at the head of his troops, pay homage, and abase his ensigns before it. The king was then bound to take the imperial representative and its defenders to the capital, to resign his throne for a moment to it, and to give as a mark of his loyalty, obeisance and tribute, besides presents to the guardians of the worthy imperial representative! This custom, a capital example of the pride and slavery of kings, had not, however, extended, owing to distance, to "the Paṇḍya kingdom"; but in the reign of Raṅga Kṛishṇa, the imperial slipper, with all its insignia, came to the frontiers of the Madura kingdom at Uṭṭattūr, and despatched the *inayithu nāma*, the news of its arrival, to the king. When the young and proud king of Trichinopoly heard the purport of the message and the claim for homage on his part, his indignation knew no bounds. He dismissed

²⁸ Wilks I, 92; Salem Manual I, 53-4.

the *chobdars*, the messengers, from the imperial camp, with presents; and calling his *Dajavâi* and other ministers, asked them to meet the Nawabs and tell them that he was too unwell to meet them at *Samayâvaram*. At the same time he revealed to them his desire to humble the Padshah's pride, and instructed them to conduct the *farmân* and the Nawabs, by device and by persuasion, to the capital. The ministers succeeded in carrying out the king's orders, but at the expense of truth and of the invaders' good-will. At every stage of their journey, the latter asked why the king had not yet come, and were told that he was too unwell. In this way the slipper and the *sirdârs* were enticed into Trichinopoly, to the very gates of the palace, the army of course being stationed outside the fort. When they reached the palace, the indignant Musalmans, who thought it a disgrace to wait there, took the slipper in a palanquin and proceeded to the audience-hall. Mean-while Raṅga Kṛishṇa had prepared himself for this crisis. He invested himself with all paraphernalia and sat on the throne in the midst of an admiring and loyal audience. When the Nawabs came there, and saw the king's haughty attitude, they were seized with indignation. Pushing those who stood before them, they approached the throne and offered the slipper into the king's hands! The latter flew into an indignant rage, and in words of thunder, ordered the imperial messengers to place it on the floor. They naturally hesitated, but soon came to think discretion to be the better part of valour, and the orders from the throne might be followed by whips in case of disobedience. Raṅga Kṛishṇa then thrust one of his feet into the slipper, and loudly asked how it was that their Padshah had not the common sense to send the other! The agents, as might be expected, answered with all the vivacity of anger, accusing Raṅga Kṛishṇa of treason, and threatening chastisement in the near future. But loyal enthusiasm on their part was hardly serviceable in the Trichinopoly court. Beaten almost to death, they went outside the fort, and incited their army to attack the fortifications. But a large force of Trichinopoly infantry and 45,000 cavalry were more than a match for the invaders, who were cut up piece-meal. Never did the Padshah send again a similar message to his vassals!

Its meaning.

A tale so singular and interesting has naturally given rise to a good deal of controversy. It will be evident, from what has been said, that, if the slipper was sent at all, it should have been sent by Aurangzeb. The Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda could not have done it, for the simple reason that at this time they were themselves a prey to Mughal greed, and by 1687 had ceased to exist. If any sovereign had despatched the slipper, therefore, it must have been their conqueror, the Puritan son of Shah Jahan. Could that have been the case? Was Aurangzeb, the embodiment of craft and cunning, the impersonation of statecraft, the author of such a tactless expedition? It taxes our credulity. The Musalman chronicles are completely silent about it. These, however, it may be argued, were partial, and carefully avoided a subject which was detrimental to their own reputation or interests. But what about Manucci, that great traveller, who was an eye-witness of these campaigns, and took a passionate delight in recording anecdotes like this? Why is he silent about an affair which, if it had happened, must have happened under his very nose? But a grasp of all the circumstances of the period does not make it improbable. Mr. Taylor believes it. He does not think the tale to be silly rodomontade. He sees in it a true expression and exemplification of Aurangzeb's egotism, of his desire to extend the boundaries of the

empire to the southernmost limits of India, of that spirit of supercilious contempt with which he regarded the feudatory princes, calling them petty chiefs and zemindars. The expedition of Zulfiqar Khan in the reign of Mangammāl was probably a punitive²⁹ expedition.

Raṅga Kṛishṇa's death.

In the midst of such a glorious career, the young king of Madura was struck down by small-pox, then, as now, a virulent curse to India. It was the greatest misfortune which could befall the unfortunate kingdom. If Raṅga Kṛishṇa had continued to live, he would in all probability have postponed the subjugation of his kingdom by the Mughals; and though his mother, Maṅgammāl, carried on the affairs of state with a remarkable capacity for fifteen years after his death, she could hardly fill his place. The 18th century was not an age for the rule of women in India. It was too unsettled, too much under influence of upstart powers and adventurous leaders, to allow the mild sceptre of a woman. Mangammāl was one among a million women. She was wise, generous and clever; yet even she failed to secure the independence of her state from Mughal domination, and underwent a tragic death.

The death of Raṅga Kṛishṇa was followed by one of the most romantic and tragic episodes of which Madura history is so full. It has been already mentioned that Raṅga Kṛishṇa had but one queen, to whom he was passionately attached and whose attachment to him was equally passionate. On his death Muttammāl expressed a strong resolve to imitate the heroines of antiquity and become *sati*. The people, however, looked on this attitude with mingled feelings of horror and admiration. Muttammāl was then in an interesting state, and the birth of a successor to Raṅga Kṛishṇa was expected.

(To be continued.)

²⁹ See *Christian College Magazine*, Vol. XII, pp. 276-77 for a discussion of the probability of this event by J. D. B. Gribble. "The foregoing account is from a Hindu source, and there is nothing in any of the Mahomedan histories which in any way confirms it. It is probably exaggerated, especially as regards the number of Mahomedan army who were put to flight. It shows however that previous to this incident which occurred before the end of the 17th century, the custom of sending the slipper had been for some years in force, since the Trichinopoly Sirdars were acquainted with it, and that the emperor's over-rule was recognized, as the first impulse of the Sirdars was to show respect to the slipper, it is clear that for some time previously the Emperor's rule was recognized as far south as Trichinopoly. In the account of the transactions of the latter years of Aurangzeb's reign, translated by Scott from the narrative of a Bondela officer, we are told that in 1693 Zulfiqar Khan, the Emperor's great general, marched 60 *coss* from Gingi into the territories of Trichinopoly and Tanjore, and collected considerable contributions from the zemindars. The slipper embassy was probably subsequent to this expedition, and it was only 5 or 6 years later, when Aurangzeb's whole attention was taken with the Mahrattas, that so flagrant an insult could have been committed. Without therefore relying on the exact accuracy of the incident as here given, it proves that after the fall of Golkonda the emperor's armies overran the whole of the territories of that State and of Bijapur, and exercised a certain amount of control over the hitherto independent kingdom of Trichinopoly." Gribble is wrong in saying that the incident referred to is *subsequent* to Zulfiqar Khan's expedition. For, if so, the incident must have taken place *after* 1693, while Raṅga Kṛishṇa Muttu Virappa died in 1689. It seems to me therefore that Zulfiqar Khan's invasion was subsequent to, if not the immediate outcome of, Raṅga Kṛishṇa's treatment of the slipper. As regards Gribble's argument that the readiness of the Sirdars to pay allegiance to the slipper proves previous imperial supremacy, it seems to me that the inference does not necessarily follow from the fact, as the *sirdars* might have learnt it from hearsay rather than from their own experience, in the past. M. J. Walhouse believes, it may be added here, from the very minute and circumstantial nature of the story that it "wears much the appearance of truth." (*ante*, Vol. VII, p. 26.).

A HARAHA STONE-INSCRIPTION

BY NANIGOPAL MAJUMDAR, Esq., CALCUTTA.

IN December 1915, Mr. R. D. Banerji, of the Archaeological Survey of India, made over to me two excellent inked estampages of a Maukhari inscription which had not been published before.¹ These were procured from Pandit Hîrânanda Sâstri, then Curator of the Lucknow Provincial Museum, who discovered the inscription at a place, called Hârâhâ, in the District of Barabâñki, in the United Provinces.² Râjâ Raghurâja Singh Bahâdur, in whose territory the inscription was discovered, has made a gift of it to the Lucknow Museum,³ where it is now *in situ*.

The inscription is incised on a slab of stone. The size of the inscription is 2'-2½" long and 1'-4½" broad. It consists of 22 lines. Excepting the engraver's name at the end of the inscription, it is entirely in verse. The language is Sanskrit and represents a highly artificial and complex style of composition. The incision is nicely executed and no letters have peeled off. They belong to the northern class of the later Gupta alphabets, such as were prevalent in the fifth and sixth centuries A. D. They are akin to and may be grouped with those of the Mandasore inscription of Yaśodharman, dated A. D. 532⁴. The object of the inscription is to record the reconstruction of a dilapidated temple of Siva by Stryavarman, son of Îśānavarman, the reigning king of the Maukhari dynasty.

Before the discovery of this inscription, five other records of the Maukhari dynasty were already known :

- (1) Two of king Anantavarman, incised on the Nâgârjunî Hill-Caves.⁵
- (2) A third inscription of king Anantavarman, incised above the door-way of a cave on the Barâbar Hill.⁶
- (3) The Jaunpur inscription of king Îśvaravarman.⁷
- (4) A Copper-seal inscription of king Sarvavarman, discovered at Âsirgaḍh, in the Nimâr District, in the Central Provinces.⁸

The above inscriptions are all undated ; so scholars were forced to rely mainly upon palæographical grounds, in order to assign them to a particular period of Indian history. The great importance of the Hârâhâ inscription lies in its being dated. The date is expressed in a chronogram which runs thus :—

Ekâdaśâtirikîṭêshu shaṭsu śâtitaividvîshi

Śateshu śaradâm patyau bhuvah Śrîśāna-varmañi.—v. 21.

The above verse gives the year 611 (600+11) of a particular era, the name of which is not mentioned. But there is little doubt that it must be assigned to the Vikrama era, which makes it equivalent to A. D. 554. The reasons in support of this, are simple. King Mâdhavagupta, we know from the Aphaṣḍ inscription,⁹ was a contemporary of king Harshadeva, or Harshavardhana, who reigned approximately from A. D. 606 to 647. So Mâdhavagupta must have lived in the first half of the seventh century A. D. The Maukhari king Îśānavarman to whose reign this inscription belongs, was a contemporary

¹ When I was engaged in deciphering the inscription, a reading together with an impression of the same appeared in a Hindi monthly, called the *Sarasvatî*.—1322 B. S., pp. 80-86.

² *Annual Report of the Lucknow Provincial Museum, for the year ending 31st March, 1915*, p. 3.

³ *Ibid.* for the year ending 31st March, 1916, p. 3 (Appendix D, p. 8.)

⁴ *Fleet's Gupta Inscr.*, pl. XXII.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 223-26 ; 226-28.

⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 221-23.

⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 228-30.

⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 219-21.

⁹ *Fleet's Gupta Inscr.*, pp. 203-4.

of king Kumâragupta,¹⁰ the great-grandfather of Mâdhavagupta, as the Aphaś inscription represents him to have fought with the former. So it stands to reason that the date of Īśānavarman must be placed earlier than the first half of the seventh century. Now, in order to get a date that would be earlier than the first half of the seventh century, we are constrained to refer the year 611 to the Vikrama era. No other era can give us a date slightly earlier than the time of Harshavardhana. Our conclusion is also not opposed to the palæographical considerations.

In the *Annual Report* of the Lucknow Museum,¹¹ it was suggested that, "Taking *atirikta* (see the verse quoted above) in the sense of superfluous, the other possible meaning will be 589." Now, according to Mr. Burn, some coins of Sarvavarman, son and successor of Īśānavarman, bear the date A. D. 553¹². If we accept this, we have to reject the year 611 (A. D. 554), which our inscription gives for Īśānavarman; for unless we do so, the dates of the son and father overlap each other, which is contrary to the natural course of things. If we reject the year 611, we have got to accept the only other 'possible' date, which is 589 Vikrama era, i. e. A. D. 532. But before we do so, it is important for us to know for certain, whether the coins of Sarvavarman actually give us a date and whether that date is equal to the Christian year 553. Through the kindness of Mr. R. D. Banerji, I had occasion to examine the hoard of Maukhari coins (discovered in the Fyzabad district)¹³ now deposited in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. I am sorry to say that the date-marks on the coins of Sarvavarman (as well as of other Maukhari kings) have totally disappeared and as such it is impossible to say at which particular date those coins were issued. So it is better not to infer anything from them and hazard a doubtful reading that may or may not be correct. I may also add that Mr. Banerji is also of the same opinion, and I am sure that will be the opinion of all who examine the coins with any care. I therefore feel inclined to reject the date given by Mr. Burn for Sarvavarman's coins, and accept the year 611 as the only possible date at which the inscription belonging to the reign of Īśānavarman might have been incised.¹⁴

The Āsirgaḍh seal gives a genealogy of the Maukhari princes down to Sarvavarman.¹⁵ The present inscription adds one more name to the Maukhari list. This is Sūryavarman, another son of Īśānavarman. But it omits the name of Sarvavarman. The inscription opens with two laudatory verses in honour of the god Śiva. Then follows the usual genealogy beginning with Harivarman, the first king of the dynasty (v. 4). From him was born Ādityavarman. He was a pious man, and frequently performed sacrifices (vs. 6-7). Īśvaravarman was his son (vs. 8-10). From him was born Īśānavarman, who was, as it were, the beaming moon in the firmament of subordinate kings (*rājanrājaka-maṇḍalāmvaraśāśi*—v. 11). The 13th śloka, which gives a description of the conquests of Īśānavarman, is very important. It runs as follows :—

Jitvāndhrādhīpatiṃ sahasraganīta-tredhāḥkṣharatvārṇanam
Vyāvalganniyutātīsamkhyaturagān bhāṅktvā rāṇe Sūlikām
Kṛtvā chāyatimochitasthalabhuvo Gauḍān samudrāśrayā—
Nadhyāśishā natakṣitīśācharaḥ aḥ śimhāsanam yo jīti

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 203.

¹¹ For the year ending 31st March, 1915, p. 3, foot-note.

¹² *J. R. A. S.* 1906, pp. 848-49.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Before examining the coins I was of opinion that the chronogram yields the year 589—*Vaṅṭya-Sāhitya Parishat-Patrikā*, 1323 B. S., p. 289. But now I give it up.

¹⁵ *F. G. I.*, p. 220.

From the above it follows that Śānavarman defeated in battle the king of the Andhras, and the Śūlikas and the Gauḍas who were all compelled to accept his sovereignty. When he was ruling the earth, his son Śāryavarman was born. One day when the prince was out a-hunting, he lighted upon an old temple of Śiva, which he caused to be reconstructed (v. 20). The building was finished in the rainy season of the year 600 exceeded by 11, when Śānavarman was the lord of the earth (v. 22). The poet of the inscription is Raviśāmti, son of Kumārasāmti, an inhabitant of Garggarākāṣa (v. 23). The name of the engraver then follows. It was incised by Mihiravarman.

The most interesting point of the foregoing summary is Śānavarman's victory over the Andhra king, the Śūlikas and the Gauḍas. The old Andhra empire had now perished; so it is not quite certain what is signified here by the mention of an Andhra king. Who the Śūlikas were, is also not known. According to Fleet, they are identifiable with the Mūlikas, mentioned in the *Bṛīhat-saṃhitā* (XIV, 48, 23). Fleet places them in the north-western frontier.¹⁶ The tribe or country *mūlaka*, mentioned in the Nāsik cave-inscription of Balāśri,¹⁷ mother of the Andhra king Śrī Śātakarṇi Gotamiputra, is identified with Mūlikā by Prof. Rapson.¹⁸ In former times the letters *Sa* and *Ma* were often interchangeable. So it might be that the Śūlika stands here for the Mūlika or Mūlaka. The defeat of the Andhras is also mentioned in a mutilated inscription¹⁹ of the Maukhari king Śvaravarman, father of Śānavarman. The portion in which the name of the man who defeated them was mentioned, is broken. But it is probable that the allusion is to their defeat by the armies of king Śvaravarman. This is clear from the Hārāhā inscription. It is apparent from the verse quoted above that Śānavarman's glorious undertakings preceded his sitting on his father's throne i. e. they took place when his father was still ruling. This creates a strong presumption in favour of what is stated above, that probably the defeat of the Andhra king, mentioned in the mutilated Jaunpur inscription, is to be assigned to the reign of Śvaravarman. It is interesting to note that the name *Gauḍa* occurs for the first time in the new inscription from Hārāhā. We do not as yet know what local dynasty was ruling in Bengal in the sixth century A. D. But the conquest of the province by the Maukharis undoubtedly signalises the extinction of Gupta rule in Bengal.

I think, it is necessary here to point out that the discovery of this dated inscription of the Maukharis settles the chronology of the several undated Maukhari inscriptions hitherto discovered. The Jaunpur inscription, as it belongs to the reign of Śvaravarman, father of Śānavarman, must be put earlier than the year A. D. 554 the only known date at which Śānavarman was ruling. It may be safely placed in the last quarter of the fifth or the first quarter of the sixth century. For the three other undated inscriptions which are on the Bṛābar and Nāgārjunī Hills an unusually late period is suggested by Mr. C. V. Vaidya.²⁰ According to him the Maukhari princes mentioned in them are to be assigned to a date later than that of Harsha. But the letters of the inscriptions of Anantavarman are older in form even than those of the Hārāhā inscription. The tripartite *ya* which is a characteristic of the Kushān and the Early Gupta alphabets,²¹ is used promiscuously along with its later developed form, in the Hārāhā inscription. But in the inscriptions of Anantavarman only the tripartite form of *ya* is to be met with. This is a clear indication that they are of considerably earlier date.

¹⁶ *Ante.*, 1893, p. 186.

¹⁷ *Epi. Ind.*, VIII. pp. 60, 62.

¹⁸ *Catalogue of Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, p. XXXI.

¹⁹ *Vīndhyādreṣṭh prathirandhrāmandhrapātinī śaṃkṣipareṣṭhīlam*—Fleet's *Gupta Inscr.*, p. 230.

²⁰ *Jour. Bomb. As. Soc.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 244-5.

²¹ Bühler's *Indian Palaeography* (English Translation), p. 48; c. f. Bühler's *Tafel*, IV, Vols. XI—XII and XIII, 32.

JOHN FAITHFULL FLEET.

BY L. D. BARNETT.

INDIAN STUDENTS have suffered a grievous loss by the death of Dr. J. F. Fleet, C.I.E., which took place on the 21st February last. He had been for some time past in enfeebled health, suffering especially from an affection of the lungs; but he maintained his interest in his favourite studies until a few weeks before his death. His departure is deeply mourned by all who have known him; and the sorrow of his friends in England will be equally shared by those in the Presidency of Bombay, for it was there that he spent most of the thirty years of his duty as an official of the Indian Civil Service, happy years of vigorous youth and manhood spent in faithful work for the welfare of the Indian people and for the advancement of the studies in which he was the acknowledged master. Often in his later years he used to speak with tenderness and admiration of his old friends the Kanarese peasantry, and recall the days that he had spent among them, listening after office hours to their tales and recording their ballads. A capable and wise administrator, as well as a profound and successful investigator of scientific truth, he leaves behind him a record of work supremely well done.

John Faithfull Fleet, the son of John George Fleet, of Chiswick, and his wife Esther Faithfull, was born in 1847, and educated in London at the Merchant Taylor's School. In 1865 he was appointed to the Indian Civil Service, and in preparation for his work in India studied at University College, London, among other things learning Sanskrit from Theodor Goldstücker. He arrived in Bombay in 1867, and entered the Revenue and Executive Branch of the Service. His official career may be briefly summarised. He became successively Assistant Collector and Magistrate, Educational Inspector for the Southern Division (1872), Assistant Political Agent in Kolhapur and the Southern Maratha Country (1875), Epigraphist to the Government of India (1883), Junior Collector, Magistrate, and Political Agent at Sholapur (1886), Senior Collector (1889), Commissioner of the Southern and Central Divisions (1891-1892), and Commissioner of Customs (1893); he retired in 1897. With his official work his scientific and literary studies went hand in hand. He applied himself at once to the investigation of the epigraphic records of the Bombay Presidency, and speedily proved himself to be possessed of all the qualities needful for this work. His mind was vigorous, exact, and acute, his judgment sober and judicious; he had a deep and accurate knowledge of the Sanskrit and Kanarese languages and literatures, and of astronomy and epigraphy; and he handled details with consummate mastery. His early papers in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* already showed these qualities, and marked him as a coming leader of epigraphic and historical studies. From its foundation in 1872 onwards he took a keen interest in the *Indian Antiquary*; he was its joint editor with Sir Richard Carnac Temple from volume XIV to volume XX, and many of his most valuable papers appeared in it. He published for the India Office in 1878 his "Pāli, Sanskrit and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions," a useful and scholarly collection, which however was eclipsed in 1888 by his "Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and their Successors," forming volume III of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, a splendid piece of work from every point of view, which by establishing the epoch of the Gupta dynasty in A. D. 319-320 laid the key-stone of Indian chronology. Another very valuable work was his "Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts in the Bombay Presidency," which was published in 1895 as volume I, Part I, of the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*; in this he put together in orderly arrangement the vast amount of data collected by him from epigraphic and literary sources which bear on the history of those ancient kingdoms. After his return to England he devoted himself with characteristic energy to his favourite studies. He became in 1907

Honorary Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, which in 1912 awarded him its Gold Medal; and he published numerous papers and notes in the *Journal* of the Society, besides occasional contributions to the *Epigraphia Indica* and other publications. That the sciences of Indian chronology and epigraphy now stand on firm scientific bases is mainly due to him; and it is a noble monument to his life's work.

JOHN FAITHFULL FLEET AND THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY

BY RICHARD C. TEMPLE.

I have always looked on my old friend, John Faithfull Fleet, as one of the chief founders of our present knowledge of ancient and mediæval Indian history, and as I was intimately connected for some years with his work in this *Journal* I should not be doing justice to his memory if I failed to draw attention to the extent to which we are indebted to his invaluable researches for what we can say we know accurately on the subject. Any kind of study that would throw light on the history of India was of absorbing interest to him—whether it related to epigraphy, chronology, historical geography, philology or literature—and whenever he handled any special point he did it with a thoroughness and a painstaking accuracy that from the first commanded my respect and admiration.

This *Journal*, now in its 47th year, was founded, amid many gloomy prognostications as to its prospects on the part of Indian scholars, in 1872, by Dr. James Burgess, who also has recently passed away. Fleet was connected with it from its very first year and my own connection began in 1879. Soon afterwards, in 1883, I began to help him with the reproduction of his epigraphical plates. In 1884 the state of Dr. Burgess' eyesight obliged him to contemplate giving up his editorship and it was taken on by Fleet and myself in 1885. For the next seven years we conducted it jointly, Fleet being for that period its principal contributor. In 1892 he also gave up the editorship and since that date it has fallen to me to carry it on, sometimes alone and sometimes with coadjutors. But though Fleet was not again associated with me as an editor, he never ceased to take an active interest in the *Journal* and contributed to its pages in his own valuable way from time to time, his very last article being by a curious coincidence an obituary notice of our old mutual friend, Dr. James Burgess.

Before going into the details of Fleet's connection with the *Indian Antiquary*, I cannot do better than transcribe here a note he left behind him on two points in his work which gave him the greatest satisfaction, especially as it shows wherein he thought it would prove of most value in the future.

"There are two things in connection with my work, which have always given me great gratification.

"One is that it was I who led my friend, the late Professor Kielhorn, to take a share in working on the inscriptions of India. As we all know, his great speciality was the study of Sanskrit grammar, with the help of the oral tradition accessible only by residence in India, to supplement the written books: and he devoted himself almost entirely to that as long as he remained in India. But I had aroused his interest in the inscriptions, by occasionally consulting him on difficult points of interpretation. That led him to recognize the great importance of them, as regulating, by the details and dates which they furnish, everything about the ancient history of the country that we can learn from tradition, literature, coins, art, architecture or any other source.

"From soon after his retirement in 1881 he applied himself largely to epigraphic work; with the result that he gave us, not only critical and valuable editions of many inscriptional texts, but also lists, with abstracts of contents, of all the published inscriptions of Northern and Southern India from about A. D. 400 onwards. And in doing that, he did quite as much as any one has done towards placing the science of Indian epigraphy on a sound basis.

"The other matter is in connection with my settlement of the initial year of the Gupta era. As I have made clear in my introduction to the volume of the Gupta inscriptions, I could not have determined this point without the help of the late Mr. Shankar Balkishan Dikshit. It rested on the exact determination of the equivalents of the dates given in some of the inscriptions. At that time we could only calculate Hindu dates approximately, with results which might or might not be correct, and so could not give any certainty. I was then in charge of the Sholapur district and was in camp at Barsi towards the end of 1886.

"Mr. Dikshit, who was then an Assistant Master in the English school at that town, came to my tents and made himself known to me. He had seen one or another of my articles on the matter in question which had excited his interest: and he came to me because he was able to take the matter to its conclusion. I soon found that that was the case. He was well versed in astronomy, both Hindu and European, and was in fact, a joint worker with other people in the making of almanacs. And he made the calculations, some of them very laborious, which enabled me to prove that the first Gupta King began to reign in A. D. 320. The matter, moreover, did not end there. At my request, Mr. Dikshit published an explanation of the process by which we could calculate the exact Christian date of any given Hindu lunar date by means of tables which had been published by Professor Kero Lakshman Chhatre, a well known mathematician and astronomer.

"This aroused general interest in this line of research, and led to the publication of other processes and tables by Professor Jacobi and by Mr. Dikshit himself in collaboration with Mr. Sewell, by means of which we can now deal satisfactorily with Hindu dates of all kinds, no matter how complicated the details of them may be.

"I have not much more to say. If life were long enough, I should like to re-edit up to date almost everything that I have published. In all the lines of research in which I have worked, our progress was for a long time very tentative: indeed, in some respects it still is so. In such circumstances, it is impossible to avoid making mistakes: and I have written much that I should like to correct, and some things which I should like to cancel altogether. However, I doubt if I shall ever see my way to doing much in that direction: new points of urgent interest arise so constantly that it is difficult to go back on past ground, except in the way of incidental and sometimes quite tacit correction. I can only express the hope that writers who may wish to quote me will look to my later writings in preference to the earlier ones."

One of the interesting things that command our attention from a survey of Fleet's contributions to this *Journal* is that it discloses the history of Indian epigraphical research almost from its commencement as a systematic study. The very first note he contributed relates to the clearing of inscriptions covered with paint and oil after the Indian fashion, so that they may be properly read and reproduced.

In the same first volume Fleet published a Canarese inscription with a translation and lithographed text. In 1873 he had a note on Sanskrit and Canarese Inscriptions, foreshadowing the great work that he performed in subsequent years. In 1874 occurs the first of a long series of philological notes: it was on the Sanskrit name for the ring finger, *anāmikā*. In 1875 he had an article on an old Canarese Inscription without a plate, but it was in this year that he commenced his splendid series of Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions critically edited, together with disquisitions on the dates, pedigrees and facts disclosed. These papers were accompanied by printed texts and illustrated by reproductions of the originals by William Griggs (who has now too passed away) from Fleet's facsimiles, or from facsimiles made under his superintendence, with extraordinary care and accuracy. In this year he began with 8 of these inscriptions and carried on the series till

1891, by which time he had given 196 of them to the world of Oriental scholarship. From 1875 till 1892 he took a large share in the contributions to the *Indian Antiquary*, making it the chief journal dealing with Indian epigraphy.

In 1876 Fleet commenced a long series of critical notes and contributions on writings directly purporting to relate to Indian History with an article on the *Chronicle of Toragal*, which was followed by a criticism of Dr. Rice's Western Chalukhya Grants of Kirttivarman in 1879, a subject to which he returned in 1881. It was in 1879 also that we saw the beginnings of his long and all important studies in Indian Chronology in most interesting notes on the use of the term *samvat* for "a year," controverting older ideas thereon: on the Chalukhya Vikrama Varsha (era); and on the dating of inscriptions in the years of the King's reign in South India, this last being a long disquisition. In 1881 he began to record notes on newly found inscriptions on stone and copper-plates. Later on he induced owners of the latter to place them in his hands for decipherment and publication.

In 1883 he began to give to the world the results of his researches in two important directions—firstly, the study of Indian Eras, commencing with an article of moment at the time on "the Nomenclature of the Principal Hindu Eras, especially the Sāka and Vikrama", and secondly, notes on local historical geography, a subject he considerably developed later on. Philological observations relating to the meaning of technical terms used in inscriptions also claimed his constant attention at this time. He further produced in this year an historical disquisition on the Ganga Dynasty in Southern India, then but little known.

In the volume for 1884 was made public a great service to Indian epigraphy and history. At much expense and labour, and as the result of exceptional skill and patience, faithful facsimiles of the Pillar Edicts of Aśoka at Delhi and Allahabad had been taken by Fleet and those working under his superintendence. These were reproduced in the *Indian Antiquary* with the accuracy that always distinguished the work of Griggs and transcripts of them were given by Bühler in the Devanāgarī character, settling the question of the actual text for good and all.

From this year Dr. Burgess ceased to be Editor and this *Journal* passed into the hands of Fleet and myself with the volume for 1885. Fleet was now its principal contributor, carrying on vigorously his Sanskrit and Canarese Inscriptions and his notes on geography, chronology, history and philology, with occasional articles on palaeography and epigraphy. He also commenced in this year his long series of notes and articles on coin legends, as illustrating statements in inscriptions and literature, with those of the Guptas, and on Canarese Ballads, text, translation and music. In the seven years 1885-1891 he filled the *Journal* with article after article and note after note on the above subjects, by way of direct contributions or of criticism of the work of contemporary writers. Any kind of information which could throw light on the story of ancient India at once claimed his earnest attention and he read and expounded it out of the fullness of his own knowledge thereon. He thus produced in 1886 his first speculations on the Epochs of Indian Eras, commenting on the Gupta Era, on the Sāka Era in 1888, and on the Gupta-Valabhi Era in 1891. In 1887 he began his Calculations of Hindu Dates, carrying them on at times till 1891 and producing altogether 48 of them. In this matter he did not confine himself to the doings of peoples and kings, for in that year he enquired into the dates of Sankarāchārya and the poet Rājasekhara. In 1888 he printed an article, of great importance for the time, on the Summary of Results for the Epoch and Origin of the Gupta Era—results achieved by the combination of the work of skilled Indian epigraphists and European

astronomers, involving prolonged and immense labour. The year 1889 found Fleet engaged in another line of epigraphic study of much consequence in its way to historical research :— the critical examination of ancient forgeries of grants. Of these he produced in time a considerable number, with reasons for his opinions on them. The seals of royal grantors in epigraphical documents and the pedigrees disclosed by inscriptions, seals, coins and literary works were necessarily constantly in his mind, and in 1890 he published what was at that date an important note on the Ehitari Seal of Kumâragupta II. and the Gupta Pedigree.

After the volume for 1891 had been issued Fleet ceased his connection with the *Indian Antiquary* as a Joint Editor, and it fell to myself to continue the *Journal*, but it will be seen that I have been able to record above sufficient to show that his efforts had made it by that time the principal exponent of Oriental research in private hands, and beyond doubt the chief vehicle for the publication of Indian epigraphical studies. Although Fleet continued to help the periodical in his own line of study, the character it had acquired as essentially an historical and epigraphical publication had perforce to change by reason of his retirement from a share in its conduct and also for the reason that the Government of India had begun to take the direction of study of epigraphy into its own hands. At great risk and cost to its proprietors, Fleet and myself, the *Indian Antiquary* had trained and maintained for years, under Fleet's direction, a private staff for the purpose of discovering, collecting (a very delicate matter), and reproducing in facsimile, epigraphic records of all sorts. It was this fact that made much of what we were able to publish available to scholars and others interested in Indian historical research. When, however, the Government stepped into the field, fresh documents and evidence naturally went into the hands of its own servants through the agency of local officials instructed to collect and forward them to certain Government offices. An official *Journal* was started in 1891 for the purpose of publishing them—the *Epigraphia Indica*, and in time the private staff of the *Indian Antiquary* had to be broken up. However, after some negotiation, the *Indian Antiquary* became in 1894-5, through its *Supplement*, now the *Epigraphia Indica*, the official channel for the publication of the Government's collections under the editorship of Government officers, and has remained such ever since.

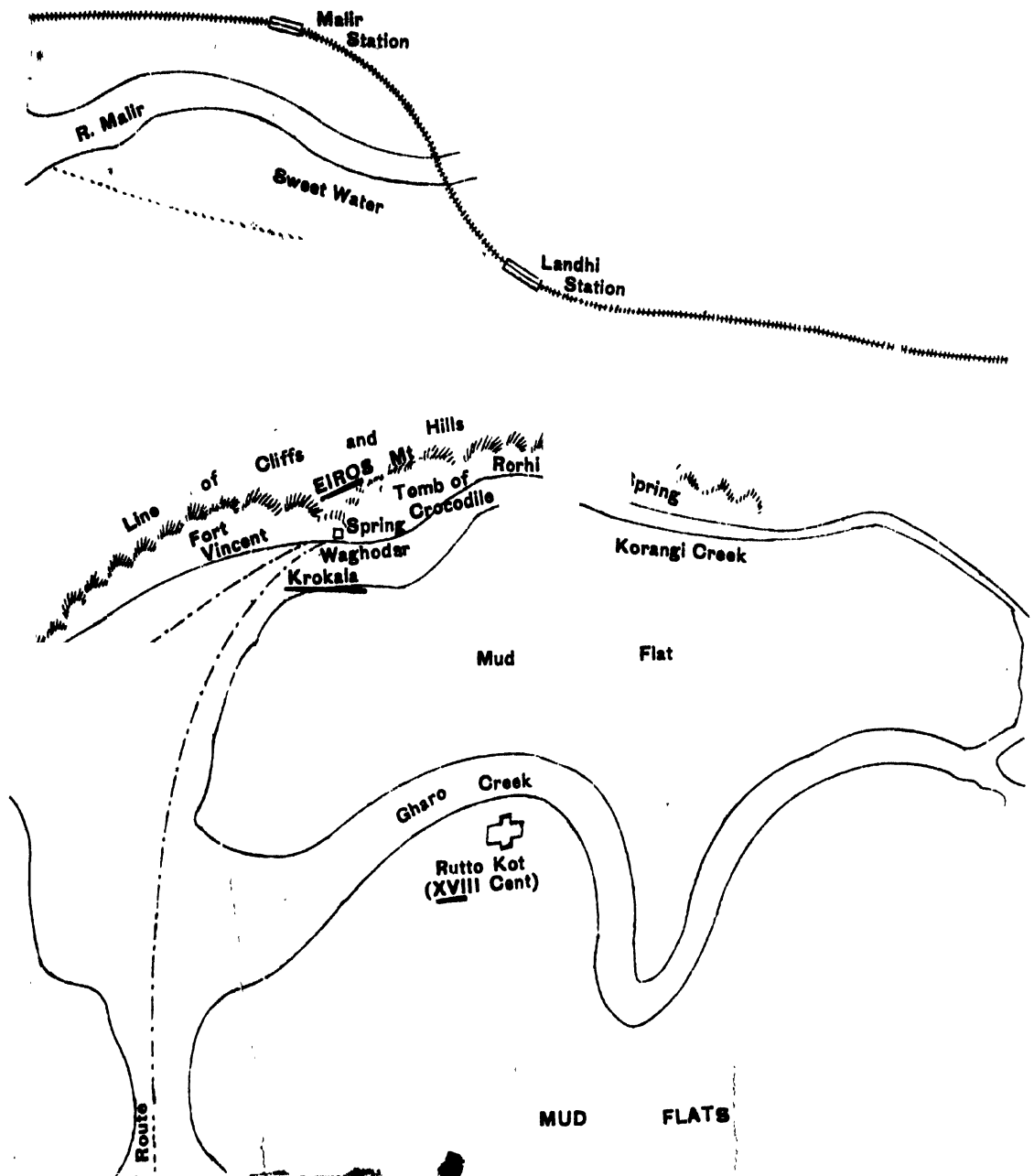
Although Fleet's contributions after 1891 related to his favourite subject (including epigraphy, chronology and philology), ancient Indian topography and historical geography formed the chief part of them, and between 1892 and 1910 he produced a great series of articles and notes on ancient place names and the identification of their sites. He also wrote for me obituary notices of three mutual friends of long standing—Shankar Balkishan Dikshit, who died in 1898 while yet a young man, and Sir James Macnabb Campbell in 1903, and finally, just before his own death he published this year an account of the oldest of them all, Dr. James Burgess, the founder of the *Indian Antiquary*.

I do not like to say much more. It is natural to find, after 33 years of close association, in my capacity of editor-proprietor of this *Journal*, with many scholars and writers of mark on Indian subjects, that the great majority have passed away or have ceased to be able to contribute largely, and that the work must now be handed on to a younger band of men devoted to the same class of studies. It may be a mistaken judgment, out of old friendship and association, but I have always regarded Fleet as in the forefront of the pioneers who have shown the way to the rising generation of scholars desiring an accurate knowledge of the ancient and mediæval history of the Indian Empire. I can only hope that the generation yet unborn, which will be able to pronounce a detached and well proportioned judgment on all of us, will be of the same opinion.

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MISCELLANEA.

NOTES ON SIND.

I

The Position of Mt. Eiros.

It is often considered that the task of identifying the stations along Alexander's route borders so nearly on the impossible that mere conjecture will do for the purpose of argument. For instance, Mr. V. A. Smith is quite willing to assume that Hyderabad corresponds with the position of Patala, though he does not believe it. It will be something gained therefore if we can fix some points.

Alexander's great difficulty in leaving India was to arrange for water supply across Karachi Taluka and Baluchistan, i. e., the *bārdni* limestone area north-west of the Indus delta. Similarly Nearchus with the fleet had to take every precaution, and one may be very sure—and the authorities are clear—that from his base in the delta Alexander explored the route to the west very carefully before setting out.

Now where is water available in the Karachi Taluka? In the River Habb, the western frontier of Sind, in the bed of the Lyari (by excavation), in the bed of the Malir (by excavation) and at Rerhi from springs at the foot of the cliff. In the neighbourhood of Rerhi is a fissure specially sacred to a crocodile and still known as Wāghodar, the crocodile's doorway. Of the antiquity of the cult of the crocodile in the delta of the Indus there can be no doubt, nor can there be any doubt of the fact that Krokala really means the "crocodile's place"—for the name is not given as a local name.

Now the identifications proposed are these:—

Eiros == Rerhi.

Krokala == Wāghodar.

Songales == Songal, the name of a Makān north of Karachi.

The accompanying maps fully bear out the descriptions in Arrian.

Then the first harbour after Rerhi, the large and commodious Alexander's Haven, is Ghizri Creek, the mouth of the river Malir. It was protected by an island which has now become "tied." The subsoil water around the lower course of the Malir River is very brackish, as sea water percolates through this sandy soil. The bay sheltered by the island of Domai must be Karachi Harbour lying under the lee of Manora, and water would be obtained by sending fatigued parties inland to dig in the bed of the Lyari.

These identifications appear to be exact. Now Krokala was 120 stadia—"following the windings of the coast"—from the mouth of the river. This distance (fourteen miles) corresponds almost exactly with that of the Khudi "creek", a creek which is in reality a huge lagoon. Now the Khudi creek is the sea-ward end of the abandoned Khānwah, a canal which was once a bed of the Indus. Again Alexander knew of two mouths of the Indus, of which the "right" one was too treacherous for use by his fleet. It follows then that the Khānwah was the "left" branch and the Khudi estuary, the lake in which bathing resulted in "Sind sores."

One can only conclude then that the Gharo creek was the "right" arm, that Bhambhor was the island of Killoutis and that Patala was somewhere near Gujo, where the Khauwah and Gharo channels bifurcated.

G. E. L. CARTER.

BOOK-NOTICES

AITIHĀSIKA RĀSA SAṂGRAHA. BY VIJAYA DHARMA SĪRI. Fasciculi I and II, (1916-17); pp. 96 and 74 resp. Bhavnagar, Saraswati Press. (In Gujarātī).

The Series which the distinguished Jain Acharya Vijaya Dharma Sīri is inaugurating with the two fasciculi mentioned above for the publication of Jain *rāsas* possessing some historical value, is certain to be welcome to different classes of readers: the student of Jain religion and literature, the student of Old Gujarātī, and the student of the mediæval history of Gujarat and Rajputana. The Series promises to throw a new and considerable light on a very important section of the vernacular literature of the Jains in Western India, which has been so imperfectly known to this day, and in particular to help to establish what real value these *rāsas* have in connection with the history of

the periods and personages to whom they refer and which place they are to be given in the classification of the materials for the mediæval history of India.

That the Editor himself wishes to consider this legendary literature chiefly from an historical point of view, is borne out not only by the title given to the Series, but also by the introduction to the first fasciculus, and still more by the erudite notes given in illustration of names of persons and places occurring in the texts. These notes, teeming as they do with references to historical works and inscriptions—often inedited, discovered by the Editor in the course of his *vihāras* through Rajputana or Gujarat—, and supplying as they do names and dates in an accurate form, constitute, perhaps, the most useful and genial part of the work. Each fasciculus is divided into three parts: the first

containing an abridged prose translation of the particular *rāsas*, illustrated by the notes mentioned above, the second containing the poetical texts, and the third containing lists of obsolete or difficult words occurring in the texts, with renderings in modern Gujarātī. The edition of the texts does not claim to be critical, it is merely a faithful copy of the manuscripts, but as these are for the most part accurate, the absence of philological criticism is not much felt. The language of the *rāsas* is Old Gujarātī, and the works contained in the first two *fasciculi*, with which we are concerned, were composed between *Samvat* 1589 and 1741.

Of course, it could not reasonably be expected that all the works which form the subject of the Series should be equally important from the historical point of view. The fact that the *rāsas* selected for publication are defined as *aitihāsika* in the title given to the Series, does not mean anything except that the personages described or mentioned in them are historical. But the particulars given of the life of these personages are not always so. In most cases the account is fantastical and full of supernatural facts, miracles, etc., which may be believed by the devout Jain, but are mere rubbish to the critic. The *rāsas* contained in the first *fasciculus* are six, and they deal with the subjects following:—

1. *Kocara Vyavahāri Rāsa*. Composed by Guṇa Vinaya in *Samvat* 1687. It contains a legend concerning Kocara, a Viśv Poravāja of Salakhānāpura (near Anāhilapura Pāṭana), who became lord of twelve villages and proclaimed the *aṃhāri* (prohibition of killing any animal) throughout this territory. The legend appears to be altogether fantastical, but a Desalaharā Sājana Śī of Khambhāta, who has a principal part in the legend, and other Desalaharās of Delhi, who had in their service a bard (*yācaka*) De Pāja, are historical persons ages, as shown by the Editor in a note.

2. *Rasa Ratna Rāsa*. Composed by Jaya Candra Gaṇi in *Samvat* 1654. It contains a biographical account of Rāya Candra Sūri, his predecessor Samara Candra, and Samara Candra's predecessor Pārīva Candra. The last mentioned Acharya—who was the founder of a separate *gaccha*—died in *Samvat* 1612, whilst Rāya Candra took the *dīkṣā* in *Samvat* 1626. The fact that the *rāsa* is almost contemporary with the personages it describes, makes it particularly reliable and gives the account a character of authenticity.

3. *Sumati Sādhu Sūri Vivāhālō*. By Lāvanya Samaya (*Samvat*-century 1500). A short biography of Ratna Śekhara Sūri's pupil Sumati Sādhu Sūri, who lived in *Samvat* 1494-1551. Sumati Sādhu

was born at Jāura, in Mewar, and the mention of this place, which is now in ruins, gives the Editor an opportunity for inserting an erudite note on the remains, which he has explored.

4. *Bhīma Cōpātī*. Composed by a pupil of Kīrti Sāgara Sūri in *Samvat* 1742. A eulogy of Bhīma Sāha, a pious Poravāja of Āsapura (near Dūgarapura), with special reference to a pilgrimage which he, in the function of *saṅghapati*, made to Dhulevājī (Kesarīyājī).

5. *Khemā Haṇḍiyā nō Rāsa*. Composed by Lakṣmī Ratna in *Samvat* 1741. A legend of a *seṭha*, Khemō of Haṇḍō, who relieved the population of Cāpanēra during a terrible famine under the reign of Muhammad Begarō.

6. *Rāya Candra Sūri Guru Bāramāsa*. A small poem in the form of a dialogue between Rāya Candra—the protagonist of the *Rasa Ratna Rāsa* mentioned above—and his sister, who by describing to him the different beauties and pleasures obtaining in the twelve months of the year, tries to dissuade him from his intention to take the *dīkṣā*.

The second *fasciculus* is all dedicated to a single work, called the *Yasobhadra Rāsa*, composed by Lāvanya Samaya in *Samvat* 1589. In the introduction to the work (pp. 4-16), the Editor gives a short biographical account of this Jain poet, who was born at Ahmadabad in *Samvat* 1521, and of his productions, which are all poetical works and not less than 30 in number. He was, of course, a monk, and his lay name, previous to his initiation was Lahū Rāja. A valuable work of Lāvanya Samaya—the *Vimala Prabandha*—had already been brought to light by Maṇi Lāla Bakora Bhāi of Surat (*Samvat* 1970). The present work falls into three parts, or *khaṇḍas*, of which the two first contain the life of Khimarśi and Balibhadra, two disciples of Yasobhadra Sūri, and the third the life of Yasobhadra Sūri himself. Considering that Lāvanya Samaya wrote over 500 years after the time in which his protagonists lived—Yasobhadra died *Samvat* 1029—it is no wonder if his account is inaccurate and altogether fantastical. In this respect the work has no value whatever, historically. But there are many other *rāsas* in existence, which, when brought to light, will be found to better justify the title of *aitihāsika* which Vijaya Dharma Sūri has given to his *Rasa Samgraha*. We know that the third *fasciculus* is already in the press, and let us express the hope that the learned Jain Acharya may continue the publication through many more *fasciculi*, and soon enable us to have a deeper and sufficient insight into this interesting section of the Jain literature.

L. P. TESSITORE.

KĀVYAMĪMĀṢĪ OF RĀJASEKHARA, edited by
Mr. C. D. DALAL, M.A. and R. ANANTAKRISHNA
SHASTRY, Baroda, 1916. Price Rs. 2.

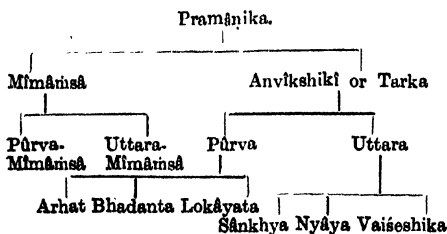
Oriental scholars will ever remain grateful to the Government of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwad of Baroda for the publication of this new series—Gaekwad's Oriental Series—the first volume of which is the work under review. The editors have discharged their duty creditably—the edition being a critical one and the introduction and notes valuable.

The author is identical with the Rājasekhara whose name is famous for his dramas, Karpūramūrti-jarī, Bālarāmāyana, &c. He calls himself *Yāgyavalkya* (born in the *Yāgyavalkya* family) and very often introduces it at the end of a discussion on a topic as '*iti Yāgyavalkya*' or '*neti Yāgyavalkya*.' This style in a work of known authorship and of known date is a tangible refutation of the theory that the *sūtras* in which phrases like *ityāha Balarāmanah, iti Boddhāyanah, iti Vātsyāyanah, neti Kauṭilyah*, &c., occur should not be logically ascribed to those *āchāryas*.

The work under review is a treatise on *alankāra*. But it is not a guide for the proper appreciation of *rasa*, *guṇa*, and figures of speech of classical Sanskrit poetry. It is rather a handbook for the guidance of the poets themselves. Hence it mentions the *flora, fauna*, etc. to be described in connection with the different seasons and countries. Thus has been introduced a brief *resumé* of geography with an account of the colours of the people of different parts of India—a subject which is to be compared to the statements in the *Bhāratanāṭya-sāstra* (J. A. S. B. 1909, pp. 359-60). It discusses the question of plagiarism and how far it may be allowed and sums it up thus:—

नास्त्वचौरः कविजनो नास्त्वचौरां बलिगृजनः ।
स नन्दति विना वाच्यं यो जानाति निगूहिसुम् ॥

It mentions the local peculiarities of Sanskrit and Prakrit pronunciation. The question of the use of the various dialects as the vehicle of poetry has been solved thus:—*राधा ते [काव्यपुरुषस्य] शरीरे संस्कृतं मुखं, प्राकृतं बाहः । जघनमपभ्रंशः । पैशाचं पादौ, उरो मिश्रम्* (p. 6). Now what is this *mishram* (mixed) represented as the breast of the embodiment of poetry? Is it not a mixed language like the Gāthā of the Buddhists or Senart's "Mixed Sanskrit" of Inscriptions? In connection with the bearing of the various branches of learning to poetry it classifies *Arthaśāstra*, *Nāṭyaśāstra* and *Kāmasūtra*, under one head—*Rājasiddhānta* (p. 37). The systems of philosophy have been classified thus:—



[See p. 4 and pp. 36-7]

Interesting also is the classification of poets under ten heads:—*Kāvya vidyāśāntaka* (novice in the art of poetry). *Hridayakavi* (one who keeps his poems concealed in his own heart). *Anyāpadeśī* (a shy poet publishing his poems under a pseudonym). *Mahākavi*, *Kavirāja*, *Āvesika* (inspired), etc. (pp. 19-20). It gives a sidelight on kings and their patronage to arts and sciences. A king "should have a special chamber for testing literary compositions. . . . In (its) middle there should be an altar. . . . Here the king should take his seat. On its northern side should be seated Sanskrit poets and behind them *Vaidika*s, *logicians*, *Paurāṇika*s, *Sūrtas*, physicians, astrologers and such others; on the eastern side the *Prākṛita* poets, and behind them actors, dancers, singers, musicians, bards and such others; on the western side the [*Apabhraṃśa*] poets and behind them painters, jewel-setters. . . . and such others; and on the southern side *Paśāṇa* poets and behind them. . . . ropedancers jugglers, wrestlers and professional soldiers. . . . A king should hold assemblies for the examination of the works of poets. He should patronize poets, become the *Sabhipati* (president) like the ancient kings, *Vāsu-deva*, *Sātavāhana*, *Sūdraka* and *Sīhasānka*, and honour and give donations to the poets, whose works stand the test. Assemblies of learned men (*Brahma-sabhas*) should be held in big cities for examining practical and scientific works; and the successful should be conveyed in a special chariot and should be crowned with a fillet. Such assemblies for examining in poetry were held in *Ujjayini*, *Kālidāsa*, *Meṇṭha*, *Amara*, *Ripu*, *Sāra*, *Bhāra*, *Haricandra* and *Chandragupta* were examined here. *Pāṭaliputra* was the centre for examinations in sciences. It was after passing from here that *Upavarsa*, *Varsha*, *Phāṇi*, *Pingala*, *Vyādi*, *Vararuchi*, and *Patanjali* got fame as *Śāstra*kāras.

Novel also is Rājasekhara's idea of the *Kāvya-purusha* and his bride *Sāhityavidyārādhi*.

Apart from these and other original matters (e. g. divine origin of poetics; promulgation of poetics; its position in literature &c.) the work is also interesting for its charming style. Though aphorism-like and terse, its prose is vigorous, exceedingly charming and pleasing to the ears.

Little did our author dream, when he inserted in his work (p. 27)

“खयाता नराधिपतयः कविश्रयेण

राजाश्रयेण च गताः कवयः प्रसिद्धिम् ।

राज्ञा समोऽस्ति न कवेः परमोपकारी

राज्ञो न चास्ति कविना सृष्टः सहायः ॥”

that he will find a *paramopakāri* in the person of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwad who will ever be praised by all lovers of Sanskrit literature for this act of literary patronage.

SURENDRANATH MAJUMDAR SASTRI.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE MYSORE ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT, FOR THE YEAR 1916, BANGALORE. By RAO BAHADUR R. NARASIMHACHAR, M.A.

It is gratifying to note that the Archaeological Department of the Mysore Government has maintained its best traditions by its manifold activities during the period under review. The Report which

gives a brief but illuminating summary of its works does great credit to the Department as well as to the Government to whose unstinted patronage it owes its existence and steady progress.

The structures and the records whose accounts are published for the first time in the Report under review, are many in number and of great importance to the students of Indian History. It is impossible to give a full account of them; but we may refer to a few specimens in order to give an idea of the importance of the new finds.

Two temples at Turuvêkere, described and illustrated in pp. 1-2, and the Chennakesava temple of Tandaga (p. 4, pl. V.) are good models of structures of the Hoysala style, a peculiarity of the last being that 'every architectural member and piece composing the structure bears an inscription giving its position, direction, etc. in the building.' A small neat temple at Jambitige (p. 9) built in 1783, is remarkable for its sculptures; and we are told that 'every inch of space is carved with figures, etc., on the outer walls and inner walls, too, of the *Sukhandasi* (vestibule). By far the most remarkable discoveries of the year, were, however, made at Sringeri, one of the four places where the great Sankarâchârya established *mathas* or monasteries. The historical account of the *math*, occupied by the disciples of Sankarâchârya down to the present day by a regular succession of *Svâmis* is as interesting as it is instructive. We are told that there are three families which receive special honours even now at the Sringeri *matha*, because their progenitors helped Sâyana in the composition of the commentaries on the Vedas. (p. 12). The most remarkable of the more than forty temples at Sringeri is the artistically executed Vidyâ-Sankara temple described and illustrated in pp. 12 and ff. and plates I, VI, VII and VIII. The temple was probably erected in the 14th century, but its plan is *unique*, it being apsidal at both the ends. The formation of its tower is peculiar, and its outer walls have, from the bottom, friezes of (1) horses, (2) elephants, (3) lions, (4) *purânic* scenes, etc. and (5) dwarfs, with a few camels here and there in the first frieze. Above the frieze of dwarfs comes a row of large figures, about 104 in number, of a variety of deities including those of Kalki, Parasurâma, Garuda, Hanûmân and Vyâsa. (?) It is very accurately observed in the Report that the temple as far as it goes is a veritable museum of sculptures for the study of Hindu iconography. The sculptured monolithic pillars, with lions and riders must be looked upon as remarkable productions. On the whole it may be said without any hesitation, that Mysore Archaeological Department has laid the students of Indian art and iconography under a debt of gratitude by bringing this temple to the notice of the public and it may be confidently expected that a monograph on the temple will shortly be published in order to give a full and adequate account of this artistic treasure.

We need not dwell longer upon the rich discoveries made at Sringeri, including, besides the temples, 50 new inscriptions, 200 *sanads*, 150 coins and a large number of palm-leaf manuscripts. Some of the temples found at other places are also remarkable and add to our knowledge in various ways.

As regards the records, discovered during the year, the most ancient are the two sets of copper-plates, one of Konkanivarma or Avinita and one of his son Durvinita. Almost all the earlier inscriptions of this dynasty including those of the

two sovereigns have been declared to be spurious by competent authorities (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII, Appendix p. 20 ff.). As regards the present inscription of Konkanivarma, the author of the Report tells us that barring a few orthographical errors, there does not appear to be any clear indication of the record being spurious' (p. 44). He is, however, more definite about the inscription of Durvinita and styles it as a genuine record of about 500. A.D. on the strength of its language, orthography and palæography.

The other inscriptions discovered during the period under review belong to the Nolambas, the Châlukyas, the Cholas, the Silâhâras of Karâd, the Rattas of Saundatti, the Hoysalas and the Vijayanagar dynasties. Of these, the long inscription of about 80 lines, found at Belgaum district and recorded in the reign of the Silâhâra Chief Vijayâditya, is of considerable importance. It is a fine specimen of Kannada verse and probably furnishes a later date for Vijayâditya than has hitherto been known.

Many of the *sanads* discovered at Sringeri *math*, are of considerable interest and importance from an historical and social point of view. Several of them recognise the full powers of the *Svâmi* to order enquiries into the conduct of the disciples and to punish the delinquents; others are addressed to local officers telling them that the Mârkas, a class of *Sûdras*, should be warned against adopting the customs and observances of the Brâhmanas, that the Devângas should not be permitted to wear the sacred thread and that no interest higher than 12 p. c. per annum should be allowed to be demanded.

In conclusion, reference must be made to the discovery of a series of very interesting correspondence between the authorities of Sringeri *math* and Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan. They throw a flood of light on the relation subsisting between these Mahomedan rulers and their Hindu subjects. Special importance attaches to the letters of Tipu Sultan inasmuch as they seem to disprove, or in any case modify the too generally accepted hypothesis of his bigotry in religious matters and want of toleration towards the Hindu religion. Altogether 28 letters of Tipu have been discovered at Sringeri, and in every one of them, Tipu gives expression to the high regard in which he holds the *Svâmi* of the *math* and entreats him to pray for the welfare of himself and his kingdom and to send him his blessings. We also learn from these letters, that when the *svâmi* informed Tipu how the Marathas raided Sringeri, killed and wounded many Brâhmanas and other people pulled out the goddess *Śaradâ* and carried off everything found in the *Math*, and asked for Government help in the shape of money and things to enable him to reconsecrate the image of the goddess, the Sultan replied thus:—

"People who have sinned against such a holy place are sure to suffer the consequences of their misdeeds at no distant date in this Kali age in accordance with the verse.

Hasadbhîh kriyâtê karma rudadbhîranubhâyatê,
'people do evil deeds smiling, but will suffer the consequences weeping.' The Sultan at the same time enclosed an order to the Asaf of Nagar directing him to give on behalf of Government 200 *rahati* in cash and 200 *rahati* worth of grain for the consecration of the goddess *Śaradâ* and to supply other articles, if desired, for money. (p. 74.)

R. C. MAJUMDAR.

A THIRD JOURNEY OF EXPLORATION IN CENTRAL ASIA, 1913-16.

BY SIR AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E., D.Sc., D.LITT.

(Continued from p. 118.)

BY September 5 we had reached the head of the main Hunza Valley over the Kermin or Rich Pass. Crossing two days later the border of Chinese Turkistan on the Mintaka Pass (15,430 feet) I found myself restored to ground familiar from my two former journeys. But how easy the previously followed routes seemed by comparison with our recent tracks! Since leaving the Kashmir Valley we had crossed altogether fifteen passes, between 10,000 and 17,400 feet in height. The total marching distance covered during these five weeks was over 500 miles; and of this nearly four-fifths had needs to be done on foot.

Rapid as was my descent down the Taghdumbash Valley to Tashkurghan, I could use it for fresh surveys of antiquarian interest. It must suffice here to mention an ancient canal of large size, famous in local lore but abandoned for long centuries, which had once brought fertility to extensive areas along the right river-bank, now almost wholly desert. We could trace its remains, in places remarkably well preserved, for a distance of over 40 miles, from Dafdār to below Toghlān-shahr. There, opposite to Tash-kurghan, still as in ancient times the chief place of Sarikol, I found also ruins of Buddhist shrines which had previously escaped me.

On leaving Sarikol for Kashgar I followed for a couple of days the main caravan route through the mountains. I was here on the track of Hsüan-tsang, the great Chinese Buddhist pilgrim whom ever since my first journey I claim as my patron saint. So it was a special satisfaction when on crossing the high plateau of the Chichiklik Maidan, already under fresh snow, I found conclusive evidence that a badly decayed enclosure, now worshipped as a sacred site by Muhammadans and used as a burial-place for unfortunate wayfarers, represents, as I had previously conjectured, the remains of an ancient hospice which Hsüan-tsang described as a place connected with a sacred Buddhist legend.

Beyond this our routes divided. Lal Singh moved off by rapid marches in order to reach, *via* Yarkand and Khotan, that portion of the main Kun-lun range along which I was anxious to have our triangulation of 1906 extended as far as possible eastwards. My heavy baggage was despatched to Kashgar by the usual route *via* Ighizyar under Afrazgul and Shams Din. I myself set out due north with the second surveyor in order to reach the same goal by a new route, across the Merki Pass and down the valley of the Kara-tash or Beshkan River which receives most of the eastern drainage of the great glacier-clad range of Muztagh-ata. Owing to special difficulties this important valley had never been explored in its whole length. In the spring and summer the narrow gorges of the Karatash River are rendered quite impassable by the big floods of the melting glaciers. By the time these floods subside in the autumn, heavy snow on the Merki Pass equally closes the route to traffic. In the spring of 1906 I had sent my late surveyor, plucky Rai Ram Singh, to descend the valley, but his attempt was completely baffled. Chance showed more favour to me now. An exceptional succession of early snowfalls had stopped the melting of the glacier ice just in time to allow of my passage while the Merki Pass (14,500 feet), though deep under snow, could still be traversed with laden yaks. But even thus the descent through the river gorge for two long marches proved a very difficult and in places risky business. The constant crossings of the river tossing between sheer rock walls could not have been safely effected without opportunely secured Kirghiz camels, and none but such hardy local camels accustomed to

gives a brief
works does ground could have negotiated the boulder-strewn narrow tracks leading elsewhere along the foot of these precipices.

By September 19 we had safely emerged from the last of these gloomy defiles, and two days later a 40 miles' ride through fertile plains carried me back to Kashgar. There I had the great joy of being received once again, after seven years' absence, by my old and ever-helpful friend, Sir George Macartney, under the hospitable roof of Chini-bagh, now much enlarged and rebuilt as befitted its new dignity as a British Consulate-General. The two busy weeks passed in those familiar cheerful surroundings would certainly not have sufficed for all the heavy work which the organization of my caravan demanded, had not the watchful care and often proved prevision of my kind host aided me in every direction.

In due course there arrived twelve fine camels from Keriya, accustomed to desert work and selected by Hassan Akhun, my experienced old camel factotum, who was now about to embark on the third of our long expeditions into the "sea of sand." Other faithful old Turki followers, too, were glad to take their place again in my caravan. I had been delighted to see again at Kashgar my devoted Chinese secretary and friend, Chiangssu-yeh, who had proved so valuable on my second journey. Since then he had been rewarded by being appointed Chinese Munshi at the Consulate-General. But notwithstanding this comfortable berth, I think he would have been glad to rejoin me had not his increasing years and a serious affection of his ears warned me against accepting the sacrifice and risks which such a step would have involved for my old companion.

Li-ssu-yeh, the shrivelled-up weakly young man whom Chiang provided for the post of camp-literatus, turned out to be a poor substitute, as I had apprehended from the first. But there was no other choice at Kashgar. Wholly absorbed in the task of treating his ailments, real and imaginary, with every Chinese quack medicine he could lay hold of, and as taciturn and inert as a mummy, Li was useless for the manifold scholarly and practical labours in which Chiang had engaged with such cheery energy. But anyhow he managed to indite my Chinese epistles, and he did not play me false in my dealings with Chinese officials.

For this negative virtue I had reason to feel specially grateful. The revolution of 1911 had greatly changed many aspects of Chinese officialdom even in this distant province, and scarcely for the better. A series of assassinations of Mandarins and petty outbreaks fomented by unscrupulous office-seekers had during 1912 seriously disturbed the peace of the "New Dominion," though they were confined to the numerically weak Chinese element, and left the mass of the people, respectable Turki Muhammadans, in their characteristic unconcern. It had been due largely to the wise counsels and moderating influence of Sir George Macartney, who for many years past has enjoyed wide and richly deserved respect among all classes, that the province had escaped complete anarchy. Under the influence of a somewhat stronger régime at headquarters things had become more settled before the time of my return. But it was difficult not to realize that the so-called revolutionary movement in Hsin-chiang had in various respects adversely affected the general type of officials in power. Some of the best qualities of the old local Mandarin world, including regard for scholarly aims and labours, had manifestly been discarded, while the beneficial effect hoped for from "Western learning" and republican methods was still conspicuous by its absence. There was only too much justification for Sir George Macartney's shrewd warning that I could not safely reckon upon finding always the same favourable disposition at Chinese Yamens, which had facilitated my explorations so much during previous journeys.

After a stay which reunion with the kindest of friends, Sir George and Lady Macartney, and the glorious autumn season had combined to render most pleasant, I left the Kashgar Consulate-General on October 9 for my first winter's work in the desert. Its main goal was the region around the dried-up Lop-nor, in the extreme east of the Tarim Basin, and the whole length of the Taklamakan, that great sea of drift-sand over 600 miles in a straight line, separated me from it. A variety of considerations obliged me to revisit Khotan, and once there I was bound to proceed by the only possible route which skirts the southern edge of the Taklamakan. Much of the ground to be traversed there was already familiar to me from my previous expeditions, and for this reason I was all the more eager to use whatever chance of new routes the limits of time left me on my way to Khotan.

This induced me to move first due east to the oasis of Maral-bashi along the foot of the steep and barren mountain chain which forms here the southernmost rampart of the Tien-shan. It had in its main part remained so far unsurveyed, but reports, previously collected, seemed to indicate that an old route, now but vaguely remembered in local lore, had during earlier periods of Chinese domination skirted the foot of that chain and been in use for traffic instead of the present high "road," recte caravan track, leading much further south along the actual course of the Kashgar River. The accurate survey now effected confirmed that tradition and proved the existence of a series of small ruined sites echeloned along a line of some 160 miles and dating from pre-Muhammadan times. The ground occupied by them on the gentle desert glacis of the hill chain is now wholly without water. There were also other physical observations of interest to be gathered, clearly pointing to desiccation within historical times, and not explainable by the fact that the winding bed and inundation marshes of the Kashgar River were found to have at one period, perhaps relatively recent, approached that desert glacis in places more closely than they do at present. We had met with serious trouble about water, no drinkable supply having been found on three successive marches. This served as a suitable preparation for difficulties to be faced on our desert travel ahead.

By October 18 we were glad to reach the fields and fruit-gardens of Maral-bashi. The survey of some badly injured Buddhist ruins in the vicinity and of the curious canal system by which the oasis obtains the major portion of its by no means abundant irrigation from the Kashgardarya here approaching its end, occupied me for a few days. But in the main my short stay was taken up with careful preparations for the attempt I planned to make my way to the desert hills of the Mazar-tagh on the lower Khotan River by a short cut through the Taklamakan. I knew well the formidable obstacles and the risks presented by the wide intervening belt of absolutely waterless drift-sand desert. But by sending all baggage, except an absolutely necessary minimum, to Khotan by the caravan route *via* Yarkand; by reducing in the same way my camp to a few indispensable followers, and keeping most of our fine camels for the transport of water in my six galvanized iron tanks and the very numerous goatskins I had brought from India, I could hope safely to overcome the difficulty about water. The advent of the cold season would help our brave camels to face a long fast from grazing and water.

Apart from the attraction presented by the short cut and the fascination of such a desert cruise, there was an important geographical task to justify the enterprise. Our surveys of 1906 had shown reason for the belief that the Mazar-tagh hills, then traced for some 20 miles into the Taklamakan, belonged in geological structure to an ancient range which started at an angle from the outermost Tien-shan near Mara-bashi and once extended across the

Taklamakan in a south-easterly direction. The way in which the bold island-like hills to the east of Maral-bashi have been carved out and isolated by the manifest action of wind-driven sand prolonged through endless ages left little doubt as to how the continuity of that assumed ancient hill range had been broken up. But only actual survey of the ground could supply definite proof.

On October 25 I left Maral-bashi with six hired camels, all I could secure, to act as a "supporting party" to lighten the loads of our own on the initial stages of the desert journey, and three days later we reached the last of those sand-scoured hills in the desert southeastwards, known as Chok-tagh. From a lake near it, which inundations from the Yarkand River feed, but which we found brackish at its end, Hedin had started in May 1896 on that bold journey through the sandy wastes eastward which ended with the destruction of his caravan and his own narrow escape. Steering a south-easterly course we forced our way for three trying marches into the sea of dunes. Closely packed and steep from the start, they grew steadily higher and invariably rose in a line running diagonally across our intended direction. By the second day all trace of vegetation, dead or living, was left behind, and an endless succession of mighty ridges, with not a patch of evel sand between them, faced us. The ridges to be climbed soon reached 200-300 feet in height, and progress became painfully slow with the heavily laden camels. Careful levels taken along our track showed an aggregate ascent of some 400 feet over a single mile's distance, with corresponding descents even more trying to the camels.

It was by far the most forbidding ground I had ever encountered in the Taklamakan. By the evening of the third day the hired camels of the "supporting party" had either broken down completely or showed serious signs of exhaustion. Next morning I ascended the highest dune near our camp, and carefully scanning the horizon saw nothing but the same expanse of formidable sand ridges like huge waves of an angry ocean suddenly arrested in movement. There was a strange allurements in this vista suggesting nature in the contortions of death. But hard as it seemed to resist the syren voices of the desert which called me onwards, I felt forced to turn northward. Though we men might have struggled through, I should probably have had to incur the needless sacrifice of some of our brave camels which were to be the mainstay of our transport for the winter's explorations, besides the loss of indispensable equipment. It was as well that I took that hard decision in time: for by the third day after there sprung up a violent 'Buran' which, by its bitter cold, proved most trying even where fuel was abundant, and if met with amidst the high sand ridges would have brought us to a stand-still and caused serious suffering and risks.

Sorry as I was to give up the effort two interesting discoveries had already rewarded it. Again and again we had come between the high dunes upon patches covered with minute but easily recognizable fragments of rock flakes of the wind-eroded hill range once extending right through to the Khotan River. Elsewhere, fully 30 miles from the nearest traceable bed of the Yarkand River, a small belt of eroded ground displayed on its surface abundant remains of the Stone Age, proving occupation by a Palæolithic settlement of what is now absolutely lifeless desert. Neolithic arrow-heads turned up on similar ground nearer to Chok-tagh.

After crossing the Yarkand River behind that hill chain we fortunately secured ponies from a grazing-ground, and were thus enabled to push on rapidly through hitherto unsurveyed tracts of riverine jungle, largely dead, to where, near Gorachöl, the last dried-up offshoots of the Kashgardarya bed lose themselves. Thence, with fresh animals, we gained

the delta of the Khotan River by a route not previously surveyed. It showed me the great change which, since my passage of 1908, had taken place in the river's terminal course. A series of rapid marches by the Khotandarya, then completely dry, carried me back to the end of the Mazar-tagh range I had first visited in 1908. There I found the transport and labourers ordered ahead from Khotan duly awaiting me, and was able by resumed spade-work to secure interesting archæological results at the ruined fort. Besides additional written records of Tibetan times there came to light remains of a Buddhist shrine, immediately below the alleged Muhammadans saints' tombs, from which the desolate desert hill derives its present designation. Thus the continuity of local worship, so important a feature in the history of Asiatic religious beliefs, received another striking illustration.

On November 21 I regained my old haunts at Khotan town, and was cheered by a warm welcome from my old local friends. A brief halt necessitated by manifold practical arrangements was used also to gather such antiques as my old friend the Indian Aksakal Badru'd-din Khan, now rewarded by the title of Khan Sahib for his help in the past, and others had collected for me from Yotkan, the site of the ancient Khotan capital, and from the desert sites which Khotan "treasure-seekers" are in the habit of annually searching. On November 28, I left the familiar base of my former expeditions to resume the long journey eastwards. There was still a marching distance of close on 700 miles separating me from Lop-nor, and it was essential for the work planned in that desert region that I should reach it in time while the winter cold lasted and allowed water to be transported in the convenient form of ice.

But rapid as my progress had to be I could not forego such convenient opportunities for archæological work as familiar sites near my route still held out. Thus we recovered some interesting fresco remains from the ruin of a Buddhist shrine which had come to light since my last visit in the area of tamarisk-covered cones of sand north of Domoko, near which Hsüan-tsang's *Pi-mo* (Marco Polo's *Pein*) must be located. From the Niya oasis, which was reached on December 9, I revisited the fascinating sand-buried settlement in the desert northward below the pilgrimage place of Imam-Jafar-Sadik. Abandoned to the desert since the third century A.D., it had yielded plenty of important relics and records in the course of my former explorations. But owing to the deceptive nature of the dune-covered ground and other reasons, it had not been possible to exhaust it completely. It did not disappoint me now either. By a close search of previously unexplored ground to the south-west of the main portion of the ancient oasis we discovered more ruined dwellings of the same early period hidden among the high tamarisk-covered sand-cones. The employment of a large number of diggers rendered rapid clearing possible, also in the case of certain structures which before had seemed too deeply buried in the sand for complete exploration. Thus, apart from furniture, household implements, etc., we recovered a further collection of Kharoshthi documents on wood, written in the Indian language and script which had prevailed in official and Buddhist ecclesiastical use from Khotan to Lop-nor during the first centuries of our era.

It was a particularly curious discovery when, not far from the still traceable dry river-bed, we came upon the remains of a large and remarkably well-preserved orchard, where the carefully arranged rows of various fruit trees and the trolis-carried vines, though dead for many centuries, could be examined in almost uncanny clearness. It was not surprising to find there also the rafters of a foot-bridge, once spanning the river, still stretched out across its dry bed. It had meant a week's constant work under high pressure, and it

was only by the light of bonfires that the final excavation of the large structure was finished, which in 1901 we had called the Yamen. It was a curious chance that just its last room, which then had baffled us by its deep sand proved to contain those "waste papers," i.e., wooden records, of the office, we had before vainly hoped for. It seemed like a farewell gift of the ancient site which I had somehow come to look upon as my own particular estate, and I found it hard to tear myself away from it.

No appropriate return was possible to the dead. But at least I could do something for those living who were nearest. My renewed visit to this ground had allowed me also to make observations of direct geographical interest concerning changes in the terminal course of the dying Niya River, etc. Among these I had noticed the instructive fact that cultivation at the tiny colony of Tulkuch-köl, established at the very end of the present river-course, below Imam-Jafar-Sadik's Ziarat, had recently been abandoned, not from want of water, as the usual theory might have suggested, but, on the contrary, owing to a succession of ample summer floods which carried away the canal-head, and with which the locally available labour could not cope. My resumed excavations had brought a large *posse* of able-bodied labourers to the spot. So when I had come back with them from the ruins and was leaving, they were set to work to raise a new barrage across the deep-cut flood-bed, and thus secure water for the little canal, a couple of days' work. As I deposited the small sum needed for their wages with the Mazar Shaikhs, the task was carried through with a will.

From the end of the Niya River I led my caravan through unexplored desert, with high sand ridges in places, and more of salt encrusted and often boggy ground, to the Endere River. Thence we had to follow the old caravan track to Charchan, which we reached by December 28. It was bitterly cold in the desert, with minimum temperatures down to 50° (Fahr.) below freezing-point. But there was compensation in the exceptionally clear weather, which allowed us to sight day after day the grand snow-clad rampart of the main Kun-lun range far away to the south. At most seasons it remains quite invisible from the caravan track connecting Charchan with Niya and Keriya. In 1906 numerous peaks on it had been triangulated by Rai Ram Singh, and with their help we could now map our route to Charchan and onwards, far more accurately than had been previously possible.

At Charchan I found the oasis distinctly increased since my last visit, and was able to pick up nine additional hired camels badly needed for the work ahead in the Lop region. But the news received about events which were said to have occurred at Charkhlik, its chief inhabited place, was by no means welcome. A band of Chinese "revolutionaries," *recte* gamblers and adventurers, had a short time before started for that place from Charchan, and was reported to have attacked and captured the district magistrate of Charkhlik, besides committing other outrages *en route*. The Chinese sub-divisional officer of Charchan had been helpless to prevent the outbreak, and was evidently sitting on the fence. He considerably provided me with two introductions for Charkhlik, one to the unfortunate Amban, assuming that by any means he had regained freedom and authority, and the other for the leading spirit of the "revolutionaries," whom he shrewdly guessed to have been installed in office instead of him.

We left Charchan on New Year's Eve, 1914, and did the desert journey to the western border of the Lop district by seven long marches, mainly through the jungle belt on the left bank of the Charchan-darya, which was a route new to me. Splendidly clear weather favoured us, and so did the severe cold, which had covered the river and its marshes with strong ice. We did not meet with a single wayfarer, which struck me as strange at the time. On

approaching the jungle belt of Vash-shahri, an outlying little colony of Lop, we found the route guarded by a large party of armed Muhammadans, who at first mistook us for a fresh batch of "revolutionaries" (many of the Chinese had taken to masquerading in queer European clothes). But Roze Beg, the headman of Vash-shahri and an old acquaintance, soon recognized me. From him I learned the queer story how the little band of "gamblers" from Charchan had captured the hapless Amban, all the local Muhammadans first deserting him, and then looking on with placid indifference when some days later their magistrate was cruelly put to death by the bandits, after having been forced to disclose the place where his official moneys were hidden. The leader of the band had set himself up as Amban *ad interim*, and was duly obeyed by the local chiefs, Roze Beg himself included. Fortunately his régime proved shortlived, and there was no need of my introduction to him either; for within a week a small detachment of Tungan Government troops had arrived from far-away Kara-shahr in the north, under a capable young officer. Stealthily introduced at night into the oasis by the same adaptable Begs, they found little difficulty in surprising the "revolutionaries," most of whom were killed in their sleep, and the rest captured. So tranquillity once more ruled at Charkhlik, and Roze Beg was now engaged in laying an ambush for more "gamblers" expected to come from Charchan, in ignorance of the turn their affairs had taken. In this loyal task he duly succeeded within a day of my passage.

On January 8 I arrived at Charkhlik. It was from this modest little oasis, the only settlement of any importance in the Lop region, representing Marco Polo's "City of Lop," that I had to raise the whole of the supplies, labour, and extra camels needed by our several parties for the explorations I had carefully planned during the next three months in the desert between Lop-nor and Tun-huang. I knew well the difficulties which would attend this task even under ordinary conditions. But now I found them greatly increased by the preceding local upheaval and all its consequences. The irruption of the "revolutionaries" and its subsequent repression by the Tungan troops, who had "by mistake" killed even the few Chinese subordinates of the legitimate Amban, had left no Chinese civil authority whatever, and in its absence no effective help could be hoped for from the easy-going Lopliks and their indolent Begs. The trouble about adequate supplies and transport became all the more serious as the passage of relatively large bodies of Tungan troops sent to operate against the numerous "revolutionary" elements which were known to lurk among the Chinese garrisons of Keriya and Khotan, threatened completely to exhaust the slender resources of Charkhlik.

The six days' stay I was obliged to make at Charkhlik in order to secure at least a portion of my requirements through the help of a few old Lop friends, was thus an anxious time for me. I greatly chafed at the delay, little realizing at the time what a boon in disguise the revolutionary disturbance had been for me. Fortunately I was able to use my stay also for some profitable archæological labour. While executions of captured rebels, requisitions for the troops marching on towards Keriya, etc., kept the little oasis in unwonted animation, I managed to search two small sites near by on the river but beyond the southern edge of cultivation, which previously had escaped me. From ruined Buddhist shrines there I recovered remains of Sanskrit manuscripts on birch-bark, palm-leaf, and silk, fragmentary but of special interest as suggesting import from India by the direct route which still leads from Charkhlik across the Tibetan plateaus to the south.

On the last day of my stay I had the great satisfaction of seeing R. B. Lal Singh safely rejoin me after fully four months of separation. After leaving me in September in the mountains of the Muztagh-ata range he had pushed on and started triangulation of the main

Kun-lun range from near Kapa by the middle of October. The work carried on at great elevations and on ground devoid of all resources implied very considerable hardships. But my indefatigable old travel companion faced them with his often proved zeal and succeeded in extending his system of triangles, based on Ram Singh's work of 1906, eastward for over five degrees of longitude before excessive cold and heavy snowfall obliged him to stop it in the mountains. Thus a net with numerous carefully fixed stations and exactly observed angles to many high peaks had been carried well beyond the actual Lop-nor marshes and linked up at the other end with the Indian Trigonometrical Survey. Not satisfied with this achievement, Lal Singh had then continued survey work with the plane-table towards Tun-huang, taking special care to obtain many height observations by mercurial barometer, etc., along his route through those inhospitable snow-covered mountains. After reaching Nan-hu he had struck through the desert north and returned by the track leading along the southern shore of the ancient dried-up salt sea of Lop. The difficulties of this track, the only one through the Lop desert, which now, as in Marco Polo's time, is practicable for caravans, were illustrated by the fact that Lal Singh's party found no ice yet formed at the most brackish of the springs along it, and consequently suffered much from the want of drinkable water.

By 15 January 1914 I left Charkhlik for Miran, two marches off to the east, where in 1907 I had made important discoveries among ruins which mark the site of the earliest capital of the " Kingdom of Shan-shan or Loulan," corresponding to the present Lop region. Apart from abundant records found in a fort of the Tibetan period I had brought to light in two ruined Buddhist shrines of far earlier date wall paintings of great artistic interest, strikingly reflecting the influence of the Græco-Buddhist art of Gandharva and some almost Hellenistic in character. Owing to the shortness of the time then available for a task presenting exceptional technical difficulties, we had in 1907 been able to remove the frescoes from only one of these temples, that remarkable series forming the " angel " dado which was exhibited in 1914 in the new galleries of the British Museum together with other selections from my former collections. Of the paintings adorning the walls of the other shrine only specimens could then be safely taken away, and the subsequent attempt made to save the rest was frustrated by the tragic fate which struck my old assistant Naik Ram Singh with blindness at this very place.

I had special reason to regret this when on my renewed visit I found that a portion of the fresco frieze, representing an interesting Buddhist legend, had been broken out by a later visitor in a clumsy fashion which must have spelt serious injury if not loss. But the very interesting frescoed dado with its cycle of youthful figures, representing the varied joys of life, set between graceful garland-carrying putti, had fortunately escaped under the cover of sand with which the interior had been filled in as a precautionary measure, and this we now were able to remove intact with all needful care. It proved a delicate task, which greatly taxed the trained skill of Naik Shams Din, my " handy man," and under the icy blasts to which we were almost continually exposed the work was particularly trying. I used the fortnight's stay necessitated by these labours also for a careful search of the adjoining desert belt north, where hidden away amidst tamarisk-covered sand cones we discovered shattered ruins of two more Buddhist temples of somewhat later date, and secured from them stucco sculptures and other relics of interest.

(To be continued.)

THE HISTORICAL POSITION OF KALKI AND HIS IDENTIFICATION WITH YASODHARMAN.

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I

HIS HISTORICAL POSITION.

In 1913, while examining the *Puranic Chronicles*, I felt sure, looking at the methods of the *Purāṇas*, that Kalkī, like any other name of the *Puranic Chronicles*, was a historical personage. I gave expression to this view in that year.¹

Theses of this paper.

Now, in the light of further study of the Puranic data, I am in a position to say (1) that the historical position of Kalkī can be proved and (2) that his identification can probably be established. I should, however, like to make it clear at the start that the first thesis is independent of the second, and the success or failure of the second does not affect the first.

Purāṇas place Kalki in the end of Post-Andhra Period.

The *Purāṇas*, after closing the *Andhra Chronicles*, give details of foreign dynasties, and after characterising their oppressive rule, state that (a) all these Mlechchhas having been struck by Kalkī would be scattered (V.),² or that (b) they were destroyed by Kalkī (M.).³ He is thus mentioned as the last name in the list of dynasties and dynasts.⁴ After the above detail the *Purāṇas* describe the bad condition of the people in the closing period of Kali. Then follows the Puranic summing-up of their historical chronology, ending in 498 A. D. (which I have discussed elsewhere).⁵ It is thus apparent that the *Purāṇas* clearly indicate that Kalkī flourished in the end of their chronological period, called by them 'the post-Andhra period' ending in 498 A.D.

Kalkin mentioned like any other Historical Person in the Chronicles.

Kalkī is the last person mentioned in their historical chronicles. Like any other historical figure of the 'Future Kings' of the Kali Age, he is also put in the future tense. In the Chronicles he is not deified: he is mentioned as an ordinary person.

Purāṇas employ past tense for Kalki.

We have not, however, to depend on the general system of the *Puranic Chronicles* for our conclusion. The *Purāṇas* clearly say that he *did* flourish.⁶

The *Vāyu* in the description of the *avatāras* says that Kalkī, Vishṇu-Yāsas by name, of the family of Parāśara, "although an ordinary man *was born* (संज्ञते) of a portion of the Deity." "He *flourished* (अभवत्) in Kaliyuga."⁷

The *Matsya* says 'the Buddha was born as the ninth (*avatāra*). Kalkin, "Vishṇu-Yāsasa,"⁸ the leader of the Pārāśaras, will be the tenth' incarnation at the close of Kali.⁹

¹ *Ante*, Vol. XIII, p. 265, n. 6. The date indicated there for Kalkī can no longer be maintained in view of the results of my recent studies.

² कल्किनोपहताः सर्वे भुञ्ज्यासास्यन्ति सर्वशः । 37-390. ³ कल्किनानुहताः सर्वे 272-27.

⁴ M., 272 20—27.

⁵ See my paper on Chronological Summary in the Puranic Chronicles, *J. B. O. R. S.*, 1917.

⁶ गात्रेण चन्द्रसमः पूर्णं कलियुगेऽभवत् । *Vāyu*, 36, 111;

ततः काले व्यतीते तु स देवोऽन्तरधीयत । *Matsya*, 47, 255 :

⁷ *Vāyu* 36, 104—111.

⁸ Against *Vishṇu-Yāsa* of V. and Br. The *Bhāgavata* improves on this mistake of the *Matsya* and makes Kalkī, a son of Vishṇu-Yāsas !

⁹ *Ch.* 47. 247—8.

(Then follows a description of his conquests). "Time having passed that king (or god, *déva*) disappeared" (47-255).

The references in the past tense prove that the writers of the Puranic data knew these details as facts of the past, although in accordance with the system of the *Purāṇas* they sought to describe the event by future verbs.¹⁰

It would be absurd to suppose that all the details of the conquest, birth-place and family of Kalkî given in the *Purāṇas* are mere figments of imagination. We accept the historical position of Ajâtaśatru, Udâyin, Chandragupta, Chânakya, etc., when their actions and details in the *Purāṇas* are put in the future tense. There is no reason why we should not accept that of Kalkî also, and especially so when all the earlier *Purāṇas* clearly employ past tense about him, though only occasionally. His claim to be an historical personage is, therefore, stronger than that of others.

Kalki and Kali.

The data about Kalkî are comparatively late; they appear for the first time in the *Purāṇas* which are works posterior to 498 A.D.¹¹ The *Yuga-Purāṇa* of the *Garga-Saṃhitâ*, which ends Kali with the Yavanas (cir. 188 B.C.),¹² does not mention Kalkî. In the *Puranic Chronicles*, after mentioning the rise of Kalkî and the end of the foreign houses,¹³ a description of the condition of the people at the close of Kali (Sandhyâ-period) is given in almost the same terms as in the *Yuga-Purāṇa*.¹⁴ New history up to the post-Andhra period was interposed and the two data were mixed up and read together when the details of Kalkî in the Incarnation Chapter were prepared, and he was placed in the end of Kali; while according to the old chronology of the *Purāṇas* he ought to have been placed in the *Kṛita Yuga*. This dating in the end of Kali might be due to the confusion suggested above or to a belief that the conquests of Kalkî brought about a new era. Kali according to the old calculation of the *Purāṇas* ended in 188 B.C.¹⁵ But as the 3rd, 4th and 5th centuries were very bad times, owing to political conditions, Kali was supposed to be still running. Kalkî's rise gave new hopes. But the hoped-for good days were not permanent. After Kalkî (ततोऽव्यतीति कल्कौ) the *Purāṇas* record again bad days¹⁶ and Kali was regarded as continuing and an indefinite period of duration was given to it. It is evident that the position once taken up by the *Purāṇas* as to the age of Kalkî with reference to Kali was soon given up.

The chapter dealing with the *Chronicles* places him at the end of the post-Andhra rulers, and makes him the very last historical person of the Puranic record. And as it gives 498 A.D. as the last date for the post-Andhra period and 512-612 A.D.¹⁷ as the century ending that period, Kalkî's rise has to be dated about 498/512 A.D.

Confirmation of Puranic data of Kalki by Jain data.

Since writing the above a new datum has been kindly brought to my notice by my friend Mr. Nagendranatha Vasu, which confirms beyond the shadow of a doubt

¹⁰ For explanation of the Future Kings of the *Purāṇas* see my separate paper on the Bṛihadhrathas to be published shortly in *J. B. O. R. S.*

¹¹ The reference in M. Bk. is avowedly borrowed from the *Vāyu*.

¹² See my paper on Chronological Summary (*J. B. O. R. S.*, 1917).

¹³ *Matsya*, 272. 20-27; 27-32. The *Vāyu* interposes as a footnote a number of minor and local dynasties and dynasts between these foreign houses and Kalkî. This is apparently later, as the local dynasties are unknown to the *Matsya*.

¹⁴ I have published this chapter in my *Brahmin Empire*.

¹⁵ See my paper on the Chronological Summary.

¹⁶ *Vāyu*, Ch. 36, V. 117; *Brahmāṇḍa*, Ch. 73, V. 118.

¹⁷ See *Chronological Summary*.

my reading of the Puranic data with regard to the historical position and date of Kalki. The Jaina Society called the *Bhâratiya Jaina-Siddhânta Prakâsinî Samsthâ* published last December (1916) a Hindi translation of the Jaina *Hari-Vamśa Purāṇa* at Mr. Vasu's Viśvakosha Press, Calcutta. The author of this *Purāṇa*, Jinasena-sûri, a Digambara of the Punnāga-gaṇa or Saṅgha,¹⁸ and the pupil of Kîrti-sēṇa, dates his work in the year 705 of the Saka era,¹⁹ while king Indrāyudha was ruling in the North. Śrī-Vallabha in the South, Vatsarāja at Avantī and the victorious Vira-Varāha in the Sūrya-maṇḍala. The mention of these contemporary kings leaves no doubt as to the correctness of the date 705 Saka as found in the MS.²⁰ The work therefore is of the definite date of 783-784 A.D.

Jinasena, in his work, gives a chronology since the death of the Mahā-vîra on the authority of Jaina chronologists (*Kālaviddhîr-ulāhṛitam*). This chronology covers details for 990 years. The last king in the chronology is Ajitañjaya of Indrapura (Indore ?) and the one before him is King Kalki (Kalki-rāja). The years for Kalki and Ajitañjaya are not given, but King Kalki is placed after dynastic totals which aggregate to 990 years.²¹ But in another place, about 50 verses later, Jinasena says (60. 552-53) that Kalki flourished 1000 years after the Mahā-vîra and that he was a terrible persecutor of the Jain religion. According to the *Kalki-Purāṇa* one of Kalki's chief missions was to suppress Jainism. Thus the identity of the Puranic and the Jaina Kalki is established. And he, according to the Jaina chronologists of the 8th century of the Christian era, lived 1000 years after the Mahā-vîra.²¹

Jinasena's date for Kalki agrees with Purāṇas.

Now Jinasena's date of the Mahā-vîra's *Nirvāṇa* differs a little from that given by the *Pattāvalis*. He places it 605 years before the Saka king, or 605 years before the Saka

¹⁸ He is not the same as Jinasena the author of the *Ādi Purāṇa*, for the latter belonged to the Sena-Saṅgh. This has been pointed out by Pandit Nathuram. See Mr. Vasu's *Introduction*, p. 8.

¹⁹ शाकेष्वब्दशतेषु समसु दिशे पञ्चोत्तरेषूत्तरम् । पातीन्द्रायुधनामि कृष्णनृपजे श्रीवल्लभे रक्षिणाम् । 66-53. *Introduction* by Mr. Vasu, p. 8.

²⁰ *Introduction* to the translation of the *Hari-Vamśa* by Mr. Vasu, p. 11.

²¹ Ch. 60. 488-93.

वीरनिर्वाणकाले च पालकोऽत्राभिषिद्यते ।
 लोकैऽवन्ति सुतोराजा प्रजानां प्रतिपालकः ॥
 षष्टिर्वर्षाणि तद्वाङ्मं ततो विजयभूभुजाम् ।
 शतं च पञ्च पञ्चाशत् वर्षाणि तदुदीरितम् ॥
 अस्वारिशत् पुरुषानां भूमण्डलमखण्डितम् ॥
 त्रिंशत् पुष्पनिबाणां षष्टिर्वस्त्रमिनिर्वायः ॥
 शतं रासभराजानां नर बाह(र)न(र)मप्यनः ।
 अस्वारिशत्ततो द्वाभ्यां अस्वारिशच्छतद्वयम् ॥
 भद्रवाणस्य तद्वाङ्मं गुप्तानां च शतद्वयम् ।
 एकविंशत् वर्षाणि कालविद्विरुदाहृतम् ॥
 द्विअस्वारिशवेवातः कल्किराजस्य राजता ।
 ततोऽजितस्त्रयो राजा स्थाद्विप्रपुरसंस्थितः ॥

My friend Babu Nanigopal Majumdar draws my attention to Mr. Pathak's quotation, *ante*, Vol. XV, p. 141. There we find the readings मुण्डानां instead of पुरुषानां, भद्रवाणस्य for भद्रवाणस्य and एकविंशत् for एकविंशत्. The latter thus gives details for 1000 years.

of his movement is testified by the remark that the object of his undertaking was to do good to the people,⁴⁰ although the undertaking entailed a cruel procedure.⁴¹

8. He along with his following enacted the last act of his life-drama (*nishāda*) and died between the Ganges and the Jumna.⁴²

9. His career of conquest covered 25 years.⁴³

IDENTIFICATION.

Now who was this great hero ?—He was a patriotic and religious Napoleon of India in the late 5th and the early 6th century A.D. No character seems to have left a deeper mark on the latter period of the *Purāṇas* than he. We know his name: *Vishṇu-Yaśas*; we know his place of origin and rise—Rajputāna; we are reasonably sure of his date—the end of the 5th century A.D.; we know his conquests—from the Dravidian South up to the Northern regions, from the Western Ocean up to the Khasi country (Assam), including the subjugation of the Huns.

In view of these data, we can propose with some confidence the identification of *Vishṇu-Yaśas* with *Vishṇu*-(*Vardhana*)-*Yaśas* (*Dharman*) of Malvā.

Name.

'*Vardhana*' is a title generally imperial, e. g., *Harsha-Vardhana*, *Aśoka-Vardhana*. *Vishṇu* of *Vishṇu-vardhana* and *Yaśas* of *Yaśo-dharman* have been joined together. Both these might have been assumed after conquests, as they imply great prowess and possibly a religious significance. *Kalki* was probably the original name. The title of '*Vishṇu-Vardhana*' was assumed certainly later than that of *Yaśo-dharman*. In inscriptions on the Mandasore columns of victory which were engraved after all the conquests, have only *Yaśo-dharman*.⁴⁴ But the inscription of the year 589 of the Mālava era has also *Vishṇu-Vardhana*.⁴⁵

Religious aspect of the Career.

Vishṇu-Yaśo-dharman claims to have rescued the land from irreligious and wicked kings 'of the present *Yuga*' who had transgressed the path.⁴⁶ He also claims to have undertaken 'his task for the good of the people (*lokopakāravratā*)⁴⁶ and that he did not associate with the rulers of that *Yuga*⁴⁷ and brought about the time of Manu, Bharata, Ālarka and Māndhātṛi.⁴⁷ In his lifetime his history was regarded as sacred, as 'destroyer of sins'⁴⁸ and himself as 'home of *dharma*.'⁴⁹ His Brahman Viceroy is also described to have brought about the *Kṛita* Age in the kingdom.⁵⁰ These claims tally with the Puranic description of the religious aspect of *Vishṇu-Yaśas*' career. The claims coupled with the assumption of the style *Vishṇu* and the overwhelming military glory would warrant the *Purāṇas* in regarding him as 'an emanation of a portion of god *Vishṇu*.'

⁴⁰ लोकाहितार्थाय V. 36-103. धर्मनायाय (*Bhāg.*)

⁴¹ कृत्वा वीजावशेषान् मर्षं कुर्यात् कर्मणा V. 36-114.

तेषां प्रजाविसर्गश्च स्थविः संभविष्यति *Bhāg.* 12-2-22.

⁴² V. 36-116.

⁴³ पञ्चविंशति वैतसा । विनिघ्नन् सर्वभूतानि मातृषामेव सर्वशः

V. 36-113.

⁴⁴ Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, 146.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 153.

⁴⁶ Fleet, p. 146 (line 2 of the column inscription).

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, line 3.

⁴⁸ अरितमयहरम्, line 8.

⁴⁹ धर्मस्याचं निरुक्तः *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ Fleet, p. 151, line 17 of the Mandasore Stone Inscription.

The Conquests.

The conquests also tally: the conquests from the Lauhitya (Brahmaputra) river to the Mahendra mountain and from the Himalayas near the Ganges to the Western Ocean, of Vishṇu-Yāsodharman, agree with the conquests of Kalkī as detailed above. Both have the subjugation of the Hūṇas to their credit.

The Date.

The dates in both cases also agree. Vishṇu-Yāsodharman defeated Mihirakula who would come after Toramāṇa and Toramāṇa's date is shortly after Budhagupta, 484-85 A.D. (*F. GI.* p. 159). Mihirakula was defeated by Yāsodharman in *Kashmir* (see App. B). The defeat of Mihirakula would be at least 15 years after 484 A.D., as his father's (Toramāṇa's) time is about 484. Thus or shortly after 499 A.D. the defeat of Mihirakula could be possible. It is definite from the *Mandasor Inscription* of 533-34 A.D. that the victory was attained some years before 533 A.D. When the undated column inscription was engraved, the conqueror had not assumed the lofty title of *Vishṇu-Vardhana* as in the latter. The latter bears evidence of a peaceful administration which had already lasted for sometime, as the victory is said to have ended Kali by his good government. The undated inscription mentions Mihirakula's defeat. Therefore the date of Mihirakula's defeat in Kashmir would be more than a few years before 533 A.D.⁵¹

Lineage.

Vishṇu-Yāsodharman is declared in the inscription⁵² to have had no lineage. Likewise Vishṇu-Yāsas is the son of an ordinary man. Both are said to have built empires.⁵³

The points of identity are so striking that the conclusion seems to be nearly irresistible that Vishṇu-Yāsas is no other than Vishṇu-Yāsodharman.

Value of the reclamation of Vishnu-Yasas' history.

The identification, if correct, explains and confirms the inscriptions of Vishṇu-Yāsodharman. But the establishment of the historical existence of Kalkī, apart from the question of his identification, reclaims a lost chapter of Indian History, which is as important as that on Chandragupta Maurya, Pushyamitra or Saṅkarāchārya. The social and religious effects on Hindu Society produced by the movement of Kalki must be admitted to have been tremendous, in view of the joint testimony of the Jaina and Brahmanic records.

APPENDIX A.

The Two Jaina Chronologies.

The old *Gāthās* given in the Jaina documents⁵⁴ give 470 years from the death of the Mahā-vīra to the end of Saka and the birth of Vikrama, and 488 years down to the coronation of Vikrama (or 58 B.C.). The reckoning given by the Digambara author Jinasena gives a somewhat different order of chronology. But a comparison between the two shows that although the two are based on independent traditions, they come to the same conclusion as to the length of time.

⁵¹ If we accept the date given by Guṇabhadra, Kalkī's career would fall between 503-543 A.C.

⁵² No ancestry is given in the inscriptions. Notice "स्वगृहपरिसरावज्ञया," etc., in the column inscription and the proud expression आत्मवशः (lines 5-6) in the stone inscription "who is his own lineage."

⁵³ The above inscriptions say that he assumed the title of *Samrat*, *Rājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*.

⁵⁴ *Ante*, Vol. II, p. 363; *ante*, Vol. XX, p. 347; also in the Śvetāmbara books *Tītha-gulīya-Payanna* and *Tīrthoddhāra-Prakīrṇa* (cited by Vasu in his Hindi *Viśvakosha*, II, 350.)

(The Pattāvali Chronology.)

Pālaka, 60 years.

The Nandas (the first of whom, as I have shown, conquered Avanti⁵⁵), 155 years.

The Mauryas, 108 years.

Pushyamitra, 30 years.

Balamitra and Bhānumitra, 60 years.

Nahavāṇa, 40 years.

Gardabhila, 13 years; Saka 4 yrs.

Pre-coronation years of Vikrama 18 yrs.

total .. 488

(Jinasena's Chronology.)

Pālaka, 60 years.

Vijaya (the conquering kings,) 155 years.

The Purudhas or Muruṇḍas⁵⁶ ruled over 'the whole of the country' for 40 years.

Pushyamitra, 30 years.

Vasumitra and Agnimitra,⁵⁷ 60 years.

Rāsabha Kings, (Gardabhilas) 100 years.

The Naravāhas (Naravahanam) 42 years.

total .. 487

The period given by Jinasena's chronology to the Mauryas (Purudhas') is too short, 40 as against 108 years of the Prākṛita *Gāthās*. The latter place the end of the Maurya rule in Western India (326 B.C.—108) about 218 B.C. or 18 years after Aśoka, which is likely. But the former would date it before the reign of Aśoka, which would be absurd. This difference of (108-40) 68 years has been adjusted by giving to the Gardabhin-Nahavāṇa period (100+42) 142 years as against the 75 (40+13+4+18) years of the Nahavāṇa-Vikrama period of the *Gāthās* (142-74=68).

In the Jinasena chronology the Saka rule of 4 years is included in the Gardabhin period. Possibly both were considered as belonging to the same stock. The *Purudhas*, however, like the *Gāthās*, treat them separately.

The most noticeable feature of the Jinasena chronology is that it places Nahavāṇa (=Nahapāṇa) in 100 B.C.—58 B.C. as against 133 B.C.—93 B.C. of the *Gāthās*.⁵⁸

APPENDIX B.

Defeat of Mihirakula.

About Mihirakula's defeat there are two sources of information. Yuan Chwang says that the king Bālāditya (the Gupta king) defeated him and set him free on the recommendation of his own mother, to let him retire to Kashmir. In the inscription of Mandasor on the victory columns Yaśodharman is related to have defeated and humbled Mihirakula. On the basis of these two data Mr. Vincent Smith comes to a conclusion that there was a confederacy of "the Central Indian Rajas" and Bālāditya for the deliverance of their country from the oppressive rule of the Huns. The supposed confederacy has no evidence whatsoever behind it; it is a mere creation of imagination. Having created this imaginary confederacy Mr. Smith calls the description of the conquests of Yaśodharman "boasts," because 'Hiuan Tsang gives the sole credit for the victory over the Huns to Bālāditya, King of Magadha.' The conclusion is vitiated by the creation of a confederacy while in fact there was none. Dr. Hoernle points out the mistake and gives sound reasons to accept the inscription as the best possible and thoroughly trustworthy evidence (*J.R.A.S.* 1909, 92-95).⁵⁹ But Dr. Hoernle rejects the Chinese datum about the victory of Bālāditya over Mihirakula as a mere romance. Dr. Hoernle seems to think that the victory of one excludes that

⁵⁵ *J. B. O. R. S.* 1,107.

⁵⁶ A corruption of *Mayuras* or Mauryas. *मुमुक्षुमन्त्रिदत्त* denotes their imperial rule.

⁵⁷ To be read as agnimitra and vasumitra in view of the *Mālavikāagnimitra* and the *Purudhas*.

⁵⁸ *J. B. O. R. S.* 1,102.

⁵⁹ The mistaken view has been persisted in. See V. Smith, *Early History*, New ed., pp. 318-20.

of the other.⁶⁰ The point however clears up when we notice the fact that the two data refer to two victories in two distinct places. The Chinese pilgrim describes that Mihirakula invaded Magadha and under that pressure the populace and the king exerted themselves and defeated the invader, after which he was allowed to retire to Kashmir. The inscription, on the other hand, indicates that Mihirakula paid respect "to the two feet" of Yaśodharman in the Himalayas (Kashmir).⁶¹ The two data relate to two events, and not to one and the same. Possibly Mihirakula had already annexed Kashmir before he invaded Magadha and it is also possible that he retained his sway up to Gwalior after his Magadhan defeat.⁶² The *Mandasor Inscription* refers to the past achievements of the Huns over the Guptas. Hence it seems likely that Yaśodharman's claim of making the Himalayas easy of access refers to a period later than Mihirakula's defeat by Bâlāditya. The *Mandasor Inscription* treats the subjugation of Mihirakula as an act separate from his *digvijaya*, whose route is broadly given. The *Purāṇas* also do not enumerate the Huns in the list of Kalki's conquests (*digvijaya*). The defeat of Mihirakula could very well be beyond the *digvijaya* period, that is, beyond 498 A.D.

APPENDIX C.

Summary of results and the Kalki Chronology.

431—473 A.D.—End of the Gupta power in Western India.

473 or 503 A.D.—Kalki's rule begins.

Circ. 485—Toramāṇa.

498 or 528 A.D.—Kalki's conquests of the Mechehhas and others (*digvijaya*) completed.

498-99 A.D.—The Siddhānta year of the astronomers⁶³ (Āryabhaṭa, b. 476 A.D. at Pāṭaliputra).

498-533—Mihirakula's defeat after 498 A.D. Peaceful reign of Kalki (at least down to 533 A.D., possibly longer).

Columns of victory erected at Mandasor.

Assumption of the style of *Vishṇu-Varṇana*.

Possibly Kalki regarded as having brought about *Kṛita* Age.

Old age of Kalki, about 80 in 533.

Inscription of 533-34 A.D. at Mandasor.

Circ. 543 A.D. (?)—Death of Kalki.

Purāṇas not continued further.

Kali regarded as yet running.

784 A.D.—Jinasena writes about Kalki.

⁶⁰ J.R.A.S., 1909, 98.

⁶¹ Mihirakula's defeat is described in verse 6 which also says that the claim of affording a 'fortress' defence was also taken away from the Himālaya. (*GI*, p. 146).

⁶² It ought to be noticed that the tract from Gwalior to Kashmir is outside the limit of Yaśodharman's conquests defined in verse preceding the defeat of Mihirakula: from the Brahmaputra to Mahendra (on the east) and from the Himalayas near the Ganges to the Western Ocean (not from E to W and N. to S., as summarised by Fleet, 145-46). This shows that the *digvijaya*, as completed, excluded Mihirakula's dominions, and also that the expedition against Mihirakula was undertaken last.

⁶³ Their selection of the year 499 A.D. might have been due to some astronomical observation, and the political and astronomical landmarks might have coincided. But as it was not uniformly adhered to by the astronomers, the selection was more likely due to the importance of political events. It is possible that both political and astronomical events might have contributed to the selection both by the astronomers and the *Purāṇas*.

THE KADAMBA PRAKRIT INSCRIPTION OF MALAVALLI.

BY DR. A. VENKATASUBBIAH, M.A., PH.D.; BANGALORE.

THIS is published by Mr. Rice in Vol. VII of his *Epigraphia Carnatica* as No. 264 of Shikarpur Taluq; for literature connected with it see under No. 1196 of Lüders' *List of Brâhmî Inscriptions* which forms the appendix to Vol. X of the *Epigraphia Indica*.

I here wish to point out that this inscription has been wrongly understood and translated so as to yield the meaning that **Sivakhadavamman** was a king of the Kadambas and that he made the grant recorded in the inscription. This is wrong as can be seen by a reference to the original text (P. 252, VII, *Epigraphia Carnatica*; p. 326 of the Kanarese text in the same volume) which reads as follows:—

Vaijayanti-dhamma-mahârâjâdhirâjê patikata-saujjhâyi-chachcha-parô Kadambânâṃ rājâ Siva[khada]vammaṇḍ Mânavya-sagôttêna Hârîti-puttêna Vaijayanti-patinâ puṇṇadattittî soteṇa parityakthêṇa manasâ . . . pisa mâtulâya bhiṇṇam dattam.

"The king of the Kadambas, Dharma-Mahârâjâdhirâja of Vaijayantî, who studies the requital (of good and evil) as his sacred text—having heard that [they] were formerly granted by Siva[khada]vammaṇḍ, of the *Mânavya-gôtra*, a *Hârîtiputra* and lord of Vaijayantî—there were granted, a second time, with composed mind to the maternal uncle of . . . pi . . . "

The language of the inscription is not very grammatical: the nominative *Kadambânâṃ rājâ* is not connected with any verb: the neuter singular *dattam* has for subject, or is connected with, the masculine plural *puṇṇôchitâ ggâmâ*: and similarly we have *êṭe gâmâ diṇṇam*. In spite of these and other irregularities, there can be no doubt, it seems to me, as to which word the instrumental singular *Siva[khada]vammaṇḍ* goes with. It should, naturally, be taken with the following instrumental singulars *Mânavya-sagôttêna Hârîti-puttêna Vaijayanti-patinâ* and not with the preceding nominative singulars ending with *Kadambânâṃ rājâ*. Nor can we say that, in spite of the nominative case, the words ending with *Kadambânâṃ rājâ* should be taken as qualifying epithets of the instrumental *Sivakhadavammanâ*; for, in this case, this latter word would be qualified by *Vaijayanti-dhamma-mahârâjâdhirâjê* [for . . . -râjêṇa] and also by *Vaijayanti-patinâ*, of which one would clearly be superfluous. The only correct way therefore is to keep the nominative singulars apart from the instrumental singulars and to translate the passage as I have done above.

This passage was originally translated by Mr. Rice as follows (*op. cit*; p. 142 of Translations):—

"By the Dharma-Mahârâjâdhirâja of Vaijayantî, versed in the views he has adopted on the sacred writings, rājâ of the Kadambas, Siva[skanda]varmmâ, of the *Mânavyagôtra*, a *Hârîtiputra*, master of Vaijayantî"

This translation of Mr. Rice was the original source for the mistaken statement that **Sivakhadavamman** was a king of the Kadambas; this statement has passed by the notice of Dr. Fleet (*J. R. A. S.*, 1905, p. 304) and Prof. Rapson (*Catalogue of Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*; p. LIII), who have touched upon this inscription and has even found a place in Dr. Lüders' *List of Brâhmî Inscriptions* referred to above and in the index thereof.

What has gone above must thus have made it clear that **Sivakhadavamman** was not a king of the Kadambas and that he was not the donor of the grant recorded in this inscription: on the contrary, the inscription, as I make it out, distinctly states that he was

¹ For an improved translation, which, however, still repeats the mistake about *Sivakhadavamman* being a king of the Kadambas, see footnote 3 on p. 23 in Mr. Rice's *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*.

the donor of the 'former grant' (*puvva-datti*) referred to therein. Now, the inscription No. 263 of Shikarpur Taluq (No. 1195 of Lüders' *List*) which is engraved on the same pillar as, and immediately precedes, this inscription, records the grant of the village Sahalāṭavi to **Konḍamaṇa** of the *Kauṇḍinya-gotra*, the ancestor of the donee in No. 264. The village Sahalāṭavi too is no doubt the same as the village Sahalā which was one of the thirteen villages granted by No. 264. Nevertheless, the 'former grant' of No. 264 can not refer to the grant recorded in No. 263; for, No. 263 states that the grant is made by **Vihukaḍḍa-chutukulananda Satakanni**, of the *Mānava-gotra*, a son of *Hārītī* and lord (*rājan*) of *Vaijayanti-pura*, and that the subject of the grant is but one village—Sahalāṭavi; while No. 264 names the donor of the 'former grant' referred to therein as **Sivakhada-vamman** and by employing the words *biṭṭyaṃ dattaṃ . . . puvvōchitā gṛāma* says that the subject of that grant were the thirteen villages—Sahalā, Sōmapaṭṭi, Kōṅṇinagaram, etc., named therein. We must therefore² assume that at some time between the making of the grants recorded in Nos. 263 and 264, **Sivakhadavamman** made a grant to **Konḍamaṇa** himself or to his descendant of the twelve villages Sōmapaṭṭi, Kōṅṇinagaram, etc., in addition to the village of Sahalā which having been already granted to **Konḍamaṇa** by **Vihukaḍḍa-chutukulananda Satakanni** was in the donee's possession and enjoyment. These villages in course of time must have passed out of the possession of the descendants of **Konḍamaṇa**³ and the king of the Kadambas, hearing of this, granted the same again to them.

This **Sivakhadavamman** must have been a *Sātakanni*: for not only did he supplement the grant made by **Vihukaḍḍa-chutukulananda Satakanni**, as we saw above; but he is also styled like the latter, a *Mānava-sagōtra*, *Hārītīputra* and lord of *Vaijayanti*. In all probability, he is the same as the prince **Sivakhada-Naga-siri** whose name occurs in conjunction with that of **Vihukaḍḍa-chutukulananda Satakanni**, in a *Banavāse* inscription, No. 1186 of Lüders' *List*. (See also the index of personal names attached to that *List*.)

It is thus clear that **Sivakhadavamman** was not a king of the Kadambas; this name therefore must be deleted from the list of Kadamba kings.

A point worthy of note is that the unnamed king of the Kadambas already appears here with their characteristic *biruda*—*pratikṛita-svādhyāya-charchā-pāra* (in its Prakrit form); he is not however styled a *Mānava-sagōtra* and *Hārītīputra* as the later⁵ Kadamba kings are.

It is also interesting to find that this inscription (i.e. Sk. 264) quotes the following Prakrit stanza, which has not so far been recognised as such:—

Uktaṃ khaṇḍho

Vīvakammā Bahmaṃ dejjam (read Bahma-dejjam) sē Kadambēsu vidhamâtē |
Vīsasattu chātu-vejjam siddhitam nigama-viditam cha. ||

This stanza being a quotation must have been composed before the time of the inscription (c. A. D. 250). It is therefore not unlikely that the Kadambas had acquired a renown for giving *brahma-dēyāni* long before the time of the inscription. The verse is also interesting as furnishing a specimen of the inscriptional Prakrit which was employed for verse about 230 A. D.

² Otherwise, if one wants to maintain, as Mr. Rice seems to do (p. 6. of Introduction to Vol. VII, *Epigraphia Carnatica*) that the 'former grant' referred to in No. 264 is that recorded in No. 263, one will have to assert that the composer or engraver of the former inscription has made a mistake as regards the name of the donor and as regards the number of villages granted. In view of the fact that No. 263 was there before the eyes of the composer and engraver, it seems most unlikely that such a mistake could be made. Mr. Rice's view seems to me therefore to be most improbable.

³ **Konḍamaṇa** and his descendants seem to have been priests officiating at the temple at *Matṭapaṭṭi*; and the villages granted seem to have been intended mainly for the maintenance of the temple.

⁴ The occurrence of this *biruda* which is characteristic of the Kadambas only, as well as the express mention by the inscription of *Kadambāṇam rāja* prove conclusively—if proof were needed—that this is a Kadamba inscription. Dr. Fleet's doubts on this point (*loc. cit.*, p. 304 footnote) should therefore be considered to be baseless.

⁵ See for example *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. V, Bl. 245; Vol. VII, Sk. 29; Vol. IV, No. 18, etc.

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA

BY V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T.; MADRAS.

(Continued from p. 124.)

The Romance and Sati of his Queen.

The accomplishment of Muttammâl's object, therefore, would mean not merely her self-sacrifice, but the murder of an infant. A strong objection, therefore, arose against the queen's resolution, and this was focussed and strengthened by the able queen dowager, Maṅgammâl, a woman of remarkable individuality and character, who, as we shall see presently, left an indelible influence in the history of Madura. It is not improbable that Maṅgammâl's endeavour against the *sati* of her daughter-in-law was inspired by a feeling of jealousy at her superior reputation; but the real fact seems to have been her sincere horror at the death of the only heir expected, and her real solicitude for the welfare of the kingdom. But Muttammâm was obstinate; and at length a compromise was arrived at, by which she was to be permitted to ascend the pyre after giving birth to her child.

The child that was born under such singular circumstances was christened Vijaya Raṅga Chokkanâtha. On the fourth day of his entrance into the world, his mother who had more affection to her dead lord than her living child, and who had performed large charities in order to expiate the crime of delay in her *sati*, found that no preparation was made for her departure. She therefore took a large draft of rose water, thereby inviting a severe cold, which, owing to her delicate health, soon put an end, as she wanted, to her life. So ended the tender romance of her short wedded days.

CHAPTER IX.

THE MUGHAL SUPREMACY.

Vijaya Raṅga Chokkanâtha (1689-1731.)

SECTION I.

Regency of Maṅgammâl.³⁰

Vijaya Raṅga Chokkanâtha was scarcely three months old, when he was proclaimed king. The actual administration of the realm naturally devolved on his guardian and grandmother Maṅgammâl. The Queen Regent was one of the most remarkable women, who have distinguished themselves in Indian History and cut an undying figure in the rock of fame by the individuality of their character and the greatness of their achievements. No sovereign of the Madura line, except Viśvanâtha I and Tirumal Nâik, has gained such a lasting remembrance in the memory of mankind. The kindly disposition and charitable deeds of Maṅgammâl, in fact, so much engaged the affections and gratified the hearts of the people that, even today, almost every choultry, every road, every tank and temple in the Districts of Madura and Tinnevely, is attributed to her liberality. The range of her charities, says an enterprising chronicle, extended from Kâśi to Comorin and the sphere of her reputation from the heaven to the earth. An exceedingly interesting,

³⁰ The events of the regency of Maṅgammâl are not well known owing to the loss of Jesuit letters from 1687 to 1699. The account given here is based only on indigenous chronicles. As Maṅgammâl was a mere regent, inscriptions during her regency are sometimes in the name of her grandson, e.g., the Tiruppuḍaimarudûr grant of 1695.

if imaginative,³¹ story is current in regard to Maṅgammāl, which at once gives an adequate idea of the remarkable affection she commanded among her contemporaries, not only at Madura but abroad. It is a story illustrative of the generosity of the Queen-Regent and the parsimony of a contemporary king of Mysore. A few months before Maṅgammāl's³² death the Mysore monarch, a miser, had died and gone to hell, while his crown was inherited by a more miserly son. About the same time, a Vaṇṇia merchant of Mysore died and was carried by the agents of the god Yama, but on reaching the city of death they were told that a wrong man had been brought by them. The Vaṇṇian was therefore about to be taken back to the earth, when the royal sufferer, who was undergoing the tortures of hell, recognised him as a former subject and took advantage of his return to the world of life to send a message to his son, the then king! The penitent and fallen chief said that, while he was ruling Mysore, he had amassed an abundance of wealth, but instead of spending it on behalf of the people he had buried it. No thought of charity or benevolence had ever entered into his mind and the result was his terrible fate. On the other hand, Queen Maṅgammāl of Madura had done innumerable acts of benevolence, and the beings of heaven were erecting triumphal arches to receive her and honour her. The repentant chief therefore asked the merchant to proceed to his son, take the buried treasure out, and expend³³ it in charities, so that he might be emancipated from the trials of hell. The Vaṇṇian, the story continues, did so, and a lesson was learnt by all future kings.

The general events during her regency.

Such was the golden opinion that Maṅgammāl inspired in her own days. What Tirumal Nāik did in regard to architecture she did in regard to roads and choultries. The one was famous for his architectural monuments, the other for her philanthropic labours. The one appealed to the artistic instinct in man, the other to his heart. The former again dazzled men by his splendour, the latter won them by her generosity. And yet Maṅgammāl's claim to greatness consisted not merely in her generous nature or her benevolent virtues. Endowed with many masculine virtues, she proved a politician of no mean talents. For a space of seventeen years³⁴ she conducted the affairs of State in such excellent spirit that her regency became, if not a model of good government, at least strong enough to secure order within the state and victory abroad. She had a certain vigour and independence of character which ensured the security of her reign and the discomfiture of her enemies. The circumstances under which she found herself in power were more gloomy

³¹ The Telugu Record of the *Carnatic Governors from Tirumal Nāik onward*.

³² Maṅgammāl died in 1705 and Chikka Dēva in 1704. The latter is thus clearly the person referred to.

³³ The story, of course, is a myth and has been invented by a fertile imagination to contrast the liberality of Maṅgammāl with the parsimony of the contemporary Mysore ruler, Chikka Dēva Rāja, (1672-1704) who, in spite of his victories, introduced a number of vexatious taxes, and never broke his fast every day till he deposited two bags of pagodas in the treasury out of the revenues. See Wilks *Mysore*, I, 63; Rice I, 306 to 369.

³⁴ 1689-1705. The *Hist. Carna. Govrs.* attributes her reign to S. 1617-1635, i. e., A.D. 1685-1713, from Yuva to Nandana. The *Pand. Chron.* says that she was regent from Raudri for 12 years. It does not specify particularly the date. The *Supple. MS.* agrees with the *Hist. of Carna. Govrs.*, which assigns 19 years from Pramōduta to Vikramz. Kali Kavi Rayan's chronicle, with its usual vagueness, attributes 8 years to her regency and further says that she was the sister of Vijaya Raṅga! The Telugu chronicle says that she ruled from 1707-1725. This is wrong. Epigraphy shows that she came to power before 1690. (Sewell's *Antiquities* II, 85.)

than encouraging. We have already seen how, during the reign of her husband Chokkanâtha, the affairs of Madura had, thanks to the attacks of the Marathas, the Mysoreans and the Maravas, drifted into confusion and anarchy, and how the king, in despair of emancipating himself and his kingdom from the foul designs and intriguing cliques of his adversaries, died of a broken heart. We have also seen how his young and gallant son, Raîga Kṛishṇa Muttu Virappa, endeavoured to retrieve the losses sustained by his father, to restore and re-establish a settled government, and to extend the name and extent of Madura to what they were in the time of Tirumal Nâik. But before he could fully accomplish his task the hand of death, we have already seen, snatched him away during his 22nd year. The real work of consolidation, therefore, devolved on Maṅgammâl. And she proved not unequal to the task. Her remarkable vigour made her regency, when compared with that of her predecessors, one of tranquillity and progress. During the period of 15 years during which she swayed the destinies of Madura, she waged, as we shall see further on, four wars,—the first with Travancore, the second with Tanjore, the third with Mysore and the fourth with the Maravas; and from these she either came out successful or at least with the satisfaction that the interests of Madura did not suffer.

The Mughal Invasion.

True her regency was clouded by a misfortune in the form of Mughal invasion for the first time into South India and the consequent necessity on her part to pay the penalty of a suppliant kingdom. But this was due to the exigencies of the times, not to her incapacity. Any other ruler in her place would have had the same fate. Moreover the domination of the Mughal did not introduce any new feature in South Indian History. It was a mere case of change of masters. The Sultan of Bijapur had been for the previous thirty years the suzerain, and in his place there came the Maratha, and now there was the Mughal Emperor. Madura was equally subordinate to all of them. To bow to the majesty of the Empire and to purchase the immunity of the kingdom from war was therefore a service rather than disservice. Any other course would have meant disaster. The very victories which Maṅgammâl gained later on were due to this timely recognition of imperial supremacy.

A legend about Mangammal.

Such were the general features of the reign of Maṅgammâl. As has been already mentioned, the first thing that strikes the historian who reviews her regency is the intense solicitude she felt for the welfare of the people, which began to display itself immediately after her assumption of the reins of government. A strange story, and not an improbable one, ascribes her liberality to an alleged act of indiscretion on her part. On one occasion, when she was in a forgetful mood, she put betels into her mouth with her left hand.³⁵ An extremely orthodox woman, Maṅgammâl regarded this as a serious breach of the moral code, and summoning the orthodox men, who thronged the throne in those days, she narrated her error and asked by what means she could repair it; and her soft and credulous disposition listened with earnestness to their proposal that she should, in order to purify herself, undertake on a large scale the construction of public works! The consequence was a period of busy and philanthropic activity

³⁵ Vide *Hist. Carna. Govrs.* and the Telugu *Carna. Lords* which is more detailed. A typical charity of Maṅgammâl is described in the Telugu grant of Bâlakṛishṇa Mahâdânapura wherein she gave a whole *agrahâdram* to Brahmans in 1700. (*Antiquities*, II, 4.). And to a certain Subbayya Bhâgavata for a feeding institute in 1701 (*Ep. Rep.*, 1911, p. 15); etc.

hardly equalled by the reign of any other sovereign of the Nâik dynasty except Tirumal Nâik. Roads and avenues, choultries and water booths, temples and tanks, rose without³⁶ number; and a loving and wonder-struck people echoed the praises of one who, though a woman, asserted her claim to high eminence in history. Imagination came in course of time to triumph at the expense of honest admiration and an admiring posterity attributed to her a chain of roads³⁷ and choultries from the distant Kâsi to the Cape,—a pardonable exaggeration which had its basis in the fact that in addition to her works of charity in her own kingdom, Maṅgammâl built a choultry for the pilgrims in the sacred city of Hinduism.

Her toleration.

Though the ruling passion of Maṅgammâl was a sincere attachment to the gods of Hinduism, and though in her religious policy she was entirely directed by the arts of orthodox flattery, yet the great queen was not so bigoted or narrow-minded as to persecute those who embraced other religions. She had an enlightened understanding of the value of religious toleration, and endeavoured to be impartial in her treatment of the different religions. In 1692, for instance, she permitted her ward and grandson to make an endowment to a Muhammadan for the maintenance of a mosque (*Antiquities*, II, p. 7). Again when she heard that Father Mello of the Jesuit Society was seized and imprisoned by the Sêtipati, her indignation was awakened and she insisted, with success, on his immediate release. On another occasion,³⁸ the Jesuit missionary, Father Bouchet, who had heard of the liberal ideas of the Queen-Regent, paid a visit to her, and though he was not favoured with a personal interview, he received the solemn assurance that the Christians would be free from the mischief of fanatics and the ravages of thieves. The missionary was treated with the respect and the courtesy due to his position and person, and even honoured with a procession which escorted him, with much *éclat*, to his station. In 1701, again, she sanctioned a grant of lands near Trichinopoly for a Musalman *dargah* at Penukoṇḍa for an alleged successful prophecy in the Tanjore affair.³⁹

The Mughal Advent 1693.

In her foreign policy Maṅgammâl was, as has already been mentioned, both cautious and as a rule successful. With a calm mind, which saw clearly the possibilities and impossibilities of her arms, she guided the State in such a way as to obtain the maximum of gain with the minimum of sacrifice. This aspect of her policy is clear in her ready subjugation to the superior might of the Mughal Empire. In the year 1693, a formidable army under

³⁶ The *Telugu Chron.* says that she built choultries at the distance of every *kāṭam* (10 miles), dug tanks, and erected water-booths at the distance of every five *nāḷikas* (7 miles), and wells, with brick work and stone steps, at the distance of every *nāḷika* (1½ miles). All these being completed, it says she built a handsome choultry at Kâsi.

³⁷ *Madura Gaz.*, p. 54. Taylor thinks that Maṅgammâl's charity might be due to her repentance for some amorous escapade. See his *O. H. MSS.* II.

³⁸ Taylor's *O. H. MSS.* II, p. 227. It is said that the missionary saw the Da avâi, Narasappaiya evidently, and not the Queen. Narasa was a very orthodox man and had dismissed certain bombardiers out of service on discovering them to be "Farangis," i. e., European Christians. He however gave a warm reception to the Father, and took the presents the latter brought to the Queen and induced her to be generous as usual. The presents were a two-feet terrestrial globe, and nine-inch glass globe, magnifying and burning glasses mirrors, etc.

³⁹ See *Ma tr. Ep. Rep.*, 1911, p. 90. Mr. Krishna Sastri believes that the Tanjore affair here mentioned was probably the alliance with it against Mysore. The inscription mentions a Vîra Vênkaṭa Dêva as suzerain, and Mr. Krishna Sastri, instead of seeing that it is a formal affair, makes the mistake of reconciling this with Vênkaṭa II of the Chandragiri dynasty!!

the command of the celebrated Zulfikar Khan, the general who was entrusted with the task of capturing Jinji and its illustrious Maratha occupant, Râja Râm, the brother and successor of Sâmbâji, burst as a sort of diversion into the south, with a view to collect the tribute of the various tributary kingdoms. Till 1650 the South Indian powers had acknowledged the supremacy of the Deccan Sultans. The Marathas then obtained by their sword the right of collecting the tributes. With their head-quarters at Jinji, they succeeded, for the space of a generation, in extorting the allegiance of the South Indian powers; but in 1688, the ambition of Aurangzeb, which had not only extinguished the Pathan kingdoms of Bîjapur and Golkonda, but compelled the Maratha ruler Râja Râm to flee from his native country and take refuge at Jinji, desired to bring the various powers of South India directly under the Empire. It was with this intention that Zulfikar Khan, who was besieging "the Eastern Troy" from 1690 onward, carried his army in 1693 further south. As might be expected, his march was a triumphal progress. The Maratha ruler of Tanjore, Shahji, readily obeyed and paid tribute. The turn of Madura then came. Maïgammâl knew that the opposition against the Mughal arms would be suicidal; that far from procuring her independence it would mean ruin. Further north, even the powerful Chikka Dêva had conciliated the Mughals. Nearer, Tanjore had just submitted. Both traditions and present circumstance, therefore, both self-interest and precedent, told Maïgammâl that she must yield. She therefore readily acknowledged the Empire and paid the tribute of a suppliant vassal. It is not known, however, how much she had to pay. Indeed Maïgammâl did not only make the best of a trying situation, but positively made it a source of service and advantage to her. She seems to have utilized the arbitration and the resources of the Empire against Tanjore, whose encroachments into her territory did not cease. The *Bundela Journal* says that, in 1697, Zulfikar Khan led a second expedition into the South, and that "when he arrived near Tanjore, the Zemindar of Trichinopoly sent a considerable offering, with requests of assistance to recover several places which the Raja of Tanjore had taken from him". Zulfikar Khan complied with the request, and obliged Tanjore to restore them.⁴⁰

Her wise policy towards the Mughal Empire.

That she wisely endeavoured to acknowledge the imperial suzerainty and availed herself of it when attacked by enemies is clear not only from the incidents already described but from an event which took place in 1702. Niccolas Manucci⁴¹ tells us that, on April 20, 1702, she sent a letter to the Deputy Nawab of the Carnatic, Dâ'ûd Khan, just then besieging the English in Madras,⁴² requesting him "to undertake in person to assist her in the war

⁴⁰ Scott II, p. 93. "The Raja of Trichinopoly was an infant, and the power of the State vested in his mother, a woman of great abilities who conducted affairs with masculine courage." It is not improbable that an invasion of the South by a certain "Mulla" in 1696 referred to in the *Tanjore Gazr.* p. 42, refers to this expedition. Zulfikar Khan led a similar excursion in 1700. *Ibid*, p. 96.

⁴¹ See *Storia do Mogor*, Vol. III, p. 411.

⁴² For Dâ'ûd Khan's dealings with the English, Manucci's part therein, and other details, see *Madras in Olden Times*, Vol. I, p. 375-406; *Storia do Mogor*, III, 384-414. Dâ'ûd Khan completed the work of Zulfikar Khan in the conquest of the Carnatic. In 1702 he captured Vellore, the last remaining possession of Râja Râm in the south. See *Storia do Mogor*, III, p. 421, and 486-7, Manucci gives a description of the Vellore fort, its ditch with its enormous crocodiles, and the practice of the people in throwing themselves into the ditch as a sacrifice for their sins, or sacrificing buffaloes, cows and goats. Dâ'ûd Khan threw the thieves of Vellore into the ditch as a thank-offering for his success. For an account of Vellore under the Muhammadan chiefs, see Taylor's *Rest. MSS.* II. It contains some very curious and interesting facts, but is not germane to our purpose.

she was obliged to wage against the Prince of Aurapaliam (Uḍayâr-pālayam), another tributary of the Moghul. This man had already seized some of her towns. The letter stated with much exaggeration the iniquity of the Rajah's proceedings, and was fitted with humble words and prayers intended to influence the general to come to her aid. With it came some very fine presents to be sent on to Aurangzeb, some for Dâ'ūd Khan and some for the *diwan*. They consisted in a number of valuable trinkets and precious stones for the king, 20,000 rupees in silver coin for the general, and 10,000 for the *diwan*—a metal with more virtues in the eyes of these gentry than the most polished orations or the most loquacious tongues". Manucci proceeds to say that, most probably on account of the siege of Madras, Dâ'ūd Khan wrote to her regretting his inability to respond to her prayer, but sent her a few troops.

The earnest endeavour on the part of Maṅgammâl to keep in good terms with the Empire at any cost is clear in another incident which took place at the end of 1702. Dâ'ūd Khan had driven the Marathas completely from the Carnatic by that time, and Aurangzeb wrote to him "to force payment from the Rajah of Tanjore, the Queen of Trichinopoly, and some other neighbouring princes, of the tribute they had hitherto paid to the Mah-rattas." These sums were to be in addition to the tribute previously collected by him from these princes. In his order the emperor set forth his reasons for making such a demand. Of these, the principal was that he had disbursed enormous sums in the conquest of the Marathas and in rescuing these kingdoms from a state of never-ending pillage. It was a matter of justice, therefore, that they should bear a cost of the imperial war with the Marathas. In conformity with these orders, Dâ'ūd Khan demanded an enhanced tribute from Tanjore and Trichinopoly, besides a contribution of 300 and 100 elephants respectively to the Empire,—to replace those that had been lost during the war. Both the rulers pleaded poverty in vain. But they knew that the Mughal's object was, as Manucci says, to dispoil them and "to become the master of all their territories and their treasures." They had therefore to purchase their safety by furnishing to the Mughal General, "not the number of elephants he claimed, but as many as could be found in their states and belonging to their subjects."⁴³ After all, the Mughal did not give them efficient protection. For in May 1704,⁴⁴ the Marathas who, by this time, were penetrating into every corner of the Mughal Empire, raided the Carnatic, conquered the fortress of Serava, once the capital of Carnatic Bijapur and now an imperial possession, once again; entered the country adjoining the territories of the kingdom of Trichinopoly and "realised a very large sum as tribute;" and then proceeding to Tanjore, sealed an alliance between the Maharashtra and the colony by the celebration of the marriage of the Tanjore princess with the son of Râmachandra Pant, the great statesman in whose hands the administration of the Maratha affairs had been entrusted by Queen Tara Bai.

The Mysore invasion of the Koṅgu Province.

It seems that, immediately after her submission to the Empire, Maṅgammâl had to defend her kingdom against a formidable invasion of the Mysoreans. It is to the great credit of the Mysore king, Chikka Dêva Râya, that while the other kingdoms of South India were tottering down, he was able to bring about an expansion of his kingdom. With rare diplomatic genius he persuaded the Mughals, who had seized Bijapur and organized its dependent possessions in

⁴³ *Storia do Mogor*, III, p. 423-4.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, p. 503.

the Carnatic into the new Mughal province of Sera⁴⁵, to sell Bangalore and its neighbourhood, which they had just seized from King Shahji of Tanjore, to himself for three lakhs of rupees. Assiduously cultivating an alliance with Aurangzeb, Chikka Dêva proceeded to extend his territories in directions that would not interfere with the Mughal activities. He deprived, for instance, Bednore of many of its districts. Above all, he invaded the possession of Maṅgammāl, and carried devastation into the disputed areas of Salem and Coimbatore. Almost all the Polygars of Koṅgu Nāḍ yielded,⁴⁶ and agreed to pay the *peshkash* in future to Srīrangapaṭṇam instead of Madura. Not contented, the Mysoreans under Daḷavāi Kumāra Rāya were soon at Trichinopoly itself. The Nāik capital was besieged, and Kumāra Rāya vowed that he would never return to Srīrangapaṭṇam without capturing the city. The Daḷavāi, however, had more enthusiasm than success. An irruption of the Marathas into Mysore in the North necessitated the despatch of a large part of his army to Srīrangapaṭṇam; and as a result of this, he had (apparently) to abandon the siege and return to Mysore. It is not improbable that Narassappaiya, the Daḷavāi of Maṅgammāl, took advantage of the diminution of the Mysore army to take the offensive and compel its retreat, thereby recovering much, if not all, of the lost territory.

The War with Travancore.

The war with Mysore was followed in 1698 by a war with Travancore.⁴⁷ The Rājās of Travancore had, ever since its subjugation by the Vijayanagar Emperor Achyuta Rāya, saluted the Madura flag and paid tribute. But during the troublous times of Chokkanātha, the then ruler Ravi Varma availed himself of the exhaustion of Madura to violate the faith of the previous engagements and withhold the tribute. In the time of Rāṅga Kṛishṇa there was a reaction, but once again, on the death of that monarch, the king of Travancore became disaffected and imperious. This attitude kindled the anger of the queen-regent. She immediately set military operations on foot, and in 1697, despatched a punitive expedition into the Western kingdom. After a laborious march, the Nāik army reached, by way of the rocky defile north of the cape, the town of Korkuḷam, identified by Nelson with Quilon, whither the forces of Travancore had already marched with a view to check the enemy. When the two armies lay opposite to each other, the Rāja of Travancore proposed that, in case his adversary co-operated with him in the overthrow of some of his ministers who had opposed his authority and insulted his dignity, he would surrender the place and agree to pay tribute. The Vaḷugas agreed; the obnoxious ministers were either taken and executed or exiled, and it remained for the Travancore ruler to fulfil his promise. He ceded the town, but he had evidently resolved on treachery from the very beginning. As soon as the forces of Madura occupied the town and felt themselves secure, they were suddenly attacked before they had time to gather, and were almost cut down to a man. A few fortunate men escaped to carry the tale of disaster. The revengeful spirit of Maṅgammāl was at once aroused to a pitch of fury. Mustering all her resources she organized a new and more powerful expedition under the command of the ablest general, Narasappaiya. The course of the war is uncertain, but we know that Narasa succeeded in avenging the recent disgrace, ravaged Travancore,

⁴⁵ Rice, I, p. 367-8. Wilks. I ⁴⁶ See Appendix *The Coimbatore Pāḷayams*, for details.

⁴⁷ From 1661 to 1677 the Travancore king was one Adityavarma. He and his relatives were murdered in 1677 and his niece Umayama Rāni became regent. Her administration witnessed a disaster in a Muhammadan raid, the raider establishing himself in Trivandrum itself. He was however driven out eventually by the General Kēraḷavarma. The regent's son Ravivarma attained age in 1684 and was then crowned. He ruled till 1718 and it was in his time that Maṅgammāl invaded the realm. See *Antiquities*, II, 239.

and besides gaining enormous spoils, compelled the Raja to pay the arrears of tribute and guarantee its future payment. The spoils of the war included some fine cannon, which were taken by the Daḷavāi and planted in the bastions" of Madura and Trichinopoly.⁴⁸ The later Mr. Nelson instituted inquiries about them, but he was unable to definitely ascertain their fate!

War with Tanjore, 1700-1.

After the conclusion of peace with Ravi Varma, Maṅgammāl was compelled to declare war against King Shahji of Tanjore. With true Maratha ambition, he had been gradually encroaching into the Madura territory, and annexed a number of villages along the banks of the Kāveri. He had also instituted frequent raids into the Madura kingdom for the sake of spoils. The vigilance of the Toṇḍamān and the martial valour of the Sēṭupati baffled many a time the Tanjorean invaders; but Maṅgammāl could not brook the continuance of such a state of things. She therefore ordered Narasappaiya, as soon as he returned from his Travancore expedition, to take steps against Tanjore, Narasappaiya was at first on the defensive. Either the exhaustion of his army or the requirements of economy dissuaded him from an extensive programme and offensive enterprise. He therefore simply stationed his forces on the Southern banks of the river, with a view of checking the detached irruptions of the Tanjore cavalry. The agility and activity of the latter proved more than equal to the slowly moving army of the Vaḷugas. The depredations into Madura continued, and Narasa had to take firm and immediate steps to chastise the insolence of the Maratha. Not caring to engage the foes before him, he took the route direct to Tanjore. By slow and cautious march he soon found himself in the vicinity of the Maratha capital. Sudden floods of the tributaries of the Kāveri prevented an effective opposition on the part of the Tanjore general, and the army that came to meet the invaders was practically exterminated. There was at once a panic in the city. The king was alarmed and the people were in despair. Shahji felt that the disaster must be due to the inactivity and treachery of his minister, Vanoji Pandit.⁴⁹ Rightly or wrongly he held him to be the author of the trouble and threatened him with instant death, if the enemy were still suffered to progress. Vanoji Pandit vowed to sacrifice his life, if he did not make the enemy abandon the march and return to Trichinopoly in the course of a week. The shrewd minister depended for success, not on a new muster of forces or a new organization of the army, but on the enemy's love of money. In his view every person in the Madura kingdom had a price, and he resolved to coax Maṅgammāl and her Daḷavāi by heaps of coins to conclude peace. But the necessary sum was not forthcoming. The treasury was empty and the king unsympathetic. But to the desperate situation of the minister, the ways and means were not wanting. Poor people were compelled to part with their meagre hoards, and merchants were menaced to disgorge their profits. Everybody in the pay of Maṅgammāl was then made richer. The queen herself was satisfied by a big war indemnity. Her ministers were equally gratified, and above all, the father of Narasappaiya, a person whose love of money amounted to a passion, had full satisfaction! The result was that the Madura army was in a week on its way to Trichinopoly. The life of Vanoji Pandit, as well as the kingdom of Tanjore, was safe.

(To be continued.)

⁴⁸ For an account of Trichinopoly and its fort in 1719 by Father Bouchet, see Moore's *Trichinopoly Manual*, 130-131. He points out that the fort was the finest between Cape Comorin and Golkonda, that it was impregnable in the eyes of the people, and that its double wall, with its 60 towers, had 130 pieces of cannon mounted on it. The population, he says, was 300,000.

⁴⁹ He was the same as the Śrī Vanaji Paṇḍitar, an inscription of whom, dated 1686-7, is found at Paṭṭukkōttai fort, saying that he conquered all Sēṭupati territory as far as the Pāmbunār. (*Tanj. Gazr.*, p. 43.) We cannot say how far the Madura accounts are credible.

MISCELLANEA.

THE MAHIMNASTAVA AND ITS AUTHOR

This celebrated hymn is ascribed generally, though not unanimously, to Pushpadanta, a king of the *Gandharvas*. This is on the face of it a legend, —a figment of a clever brain who evidently meant to express his great veneration for the poem by associating with a 'lord of celestial musicians' and adding a few spurious verses to that effect at the end. A solitary commentator, Dechyāmātya, however, brings it back from heaven and preserves a tradition of its having been written by the celebrated Kumarilabhaṭṭa (*Descriptive Cat. of Govt. Oriental Library, Mysore*, No. 11120.) As to its probable age, Aufrecht (*Oxf. Cat.* p. 131) could not trace its verses earlier than the time of Ujjvaladatta, who quotes the line गतं रोहिण्यं तं रिमयि-बुभुक्षुस्य वपुषा under I. 48 and 99. This is of little value, for a commentary itself by Vopadeva (Bhandarkar's sixth *Rep.* No. 433) carries us further back.

An earlier quotation is to be found in Sarvānanda's *Tikṣarvasva* (*Triv. Sans. Series*, Part I, p. 17), which was written soon after 1159 A.D. But a clear solution of both age and authorship is perhaps to be found in the following passage of सोमदेव's यज्ञ-हितलक्षम्, (*Kavyamālā* Ed., Part II, p. 255) written in A. D. 959.

“अन्यथाभूतस्वातन्त्र्यात्—आस्तातवाप्यदपि तावदतुल्य-
कक्षमैवैवर्मोदिवरपदस्य निमित्तभूतं । त्वच्छेकस्योपि भगवच्च
गतोवसानं विष्णुः पितानह्युतः किमुतापरस्य ॥ इति रथःशोणी
यन्ता शतधृतिरमेन्द्रो धनुरधो रथाङ्गे चन्द्राकौ रथचरणपाणिः
शर इति । दिग्बलोस्ते कौयं क्षिप्रतृणमाडम्बराविधिर्बिधेयैः
क्रीडन्त्यो न खलु परतन्त्राः प्रभुधियः ॥ इति च महाहल-भावि-
तम् ॥ ” “रथःशोणी” is verse 18 of the hymn, and as there is nothing to show that it was a later interpolation, the whole hymn must have been written by one *Grahila*.

D. C. BHATTACHARYYA, M.A.

BOOK NOTICE.

Intercourse between India and the Western World from the earliest times to the fall of Rome. By H. G. RAWLINSON, M.A., I. E. S. Cambridge; at the University Press, 1916.

THE book has been very much praised on all hands, and, I think, rightly so. And it is a matter of great surprise to find a Professor of English writing such a well-informing and interesting book on such a difficult antiquarian subject. There can be no doubt that it supplies a long-felt want and that it will be very widely read both by Europeans and Indians, especially as it is written in a popular style. The book can certainly, on the whole, be safely recommended for general perusal. The author has evidently taken great pains to make himself acquainted with almost all that has been written on the subject by various scholars and antiquarians and has as a rule wisely used his power of discrimination where there is a divergence of opinion among the experts. The book, in short, is all that a most intelligent and painstaking layman can put together.

The book, however, is not entirely without faults, and if they are eradicated in the second edition, the necessity for which we have no doubt will be felt before long, it will leave nothing to be

desired. Here I shall refer only to these points to which attention has not already been drawn in its reviews elsewhere. On p. 85, the author says: 'Perhaps the latest reference to them (Yavanas) occurs in the inscription of the Āndhra queen Bālaśrī, A.D. 144; who boasts that she rooted the "Śakas, Yavanas, and Pahlavas" out of the Deccan for ever,' and mentions in a footnote that this inscription is at Karla. Here he has fallen into three blunders. In the first place, the name of the queen is not Bālaśrī but Balaśrī. Secondly, the person who rooted out these foreigners is not this queen, but her son Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi. And, thirdly, the inscription is not in a cave at Karla but at Nasik. The diacritical marks sometimes are not properly used. Thus for *Tāgara* (p. 19) we should have *Tagara*, for *Anurādhapur* (p. 152) *Anurādhāpur*, for *Pāduka* (p. 168) *Pāduka*, and for *Pātika* (p. 87) *Patika*. The expression 'the rape of Sītā in the *Rāmāyaṇa*,' (p. 141) does not bespeak the author's close acquaintance with Vālmīki's work or even its accurate translations. The word 'unsurmountable' occurring on p. 159 must be a misprint for 'insurmountable.'

Y. R. GUPTA.

A THIRD JOURNEY OF EXPLORATION IN CENTRAL ASIA, 1913-16.

BY SIR AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E., D.LITT.

(Continued from p. 144.)

SIMULTANEOUSLY I had to push on preparations for the explorations which were to take our several parties into the waterless desert north and north-east of the extant Lop-nor. It was some help that the small colony of Lopliks, formerly living at Abdal, whom a slow impulse is gradually turning from semi-nomadic fishermen and hunters into somewhat casual agriculturists, had since 1908 transferred their homesteads to the patches of land now again irrigated from the stream of Miran. But apart from their exceedingly scanty resources and the struggle with their evasive cunning, I had another source of worry to face during those anxious days. Within a week of my arrival at Miran, I received a letter from Sir George Macartney bringing serious news. From the headquarters of the provincial Government at Urumchi an edict had issued ordering the district authorities to prevent all surveying work on our part, and in case of any attempt to continue our explorations to arrest and send us under escort to Kashgar "for punishment under treaty." There is neither room nor need here to discuss the probable motives of this intended obstruction, or the alleged regulations by the General staff of the Chinese Republic quoted in explanation. I knew that the intercession of our Minister at Peking had been immediately invoked from Kashgar by my ever-watchful friend and protector. But that help could make itself felt only after months. In the meantime I should have to contend, if not with an attempt at forcible interference, yet with Chinese passive obstruction easy enough to apply in my circumstances and particularly dangerous to my plans. Soon there arrived a copy of the edict from the officious Amban at Kara-shahr, whom I had previously asked for a Mongol interpreter. I could gauge the force of the import and language when I saw the sallow face of my poor shrivelled Chinese secretary turning a livid grey as he read through the document and explained it.

Evening after evening as I came back from the day's work at the ruins I looked anxiously among my indolent Lopliks for the first signs of the feared passive resistance to my plans which would have so well suited their natural bent. But fortunately the expected prohibition from Charkhlik never came. As I found out later, I owed this lucky escape to the opportune "revolutionary" outbreak. It had disposed of the original district magistrate before he could take any action. His rebel successor, who had taken charge of the Yamen and found the orders there, had more urgent and profitable business to attend to before he was killed himself. And subsequently the military commandants, in strict observance of Chinese official convention, had carefully abstained from looking into civil affairs, and kept the Yamen papers sealed up until the new Amban had arrived from Urumchi and taken charge of the seal of office. But what a relief it was when I had safely collected all I needed and could set out for the waterless desert where I should know myself completely protected from any risk of human interference! Great as were the difficulties and risks from lifeless nature to be faced there, I was buoyed up by the assurance of freedom for the timely execution of my plans.

On January 23 I had started Lal Singh northward by the Tarim to Tikenlik, where he was to pick up the seven strong camels I had asked Abdu'r-Rahim, the hardy hunter from Singer and our old guide in the Kuruk-tagh, to provide. Thence he was to carry out an exact survey of the ancient river-bed and its branches by which the waters of Konchedarya

once reached the area, now wholly desiccated desert, south of the Kuruk-tagh foothills, where Hedin in 1900 had first discovered the ruins of the "Lou-lan" site. The latter was to be our rendezvous. Surveyor Muhammad Yakub Khan, some days later, was sent off with five camels by the desert track to Tun-huang in order to carry a series of exact leveling operations from the eastern end of the great salt-encrusted basin which marks the ancient dried-up Lop Sea, towards the termination of the Su-lo Ho drainage.

My own tasks included the excavation of any ruins which the intended exploration of the dried-up delta of the "Kuruk-darya" and the search for the ancient Chinese route once leading eastwards from Lou-lan might reveal. In order to assure adequate time for the latter rather hazardous task and for the survey of the unexplored north and east portions of the great salt-encrusted sea-bed, which, there was reason to assume, that ancient route must have passed through or skirted, it was essential to effect excavations rapidly, and therefore to take along as many labourers as I could possibly manage to keep supplied with water, *recte* ice. What with big loads of ice sufficient to assure minimum allowances of water for thirty-five people for at least one month, with food supplies of one month for all and of an additional month for my own people, and what with the indispensable outfit of furs, felts, etc., to afford protection in the wintry desert exposed to icy gales, the thirty camels I had succeeded in raising, including our own, were by no means too many. It goes without saying that everybody had to walk, and that the labourers had to help by the carriage of light loads.

It was a great relief when, on February 1, I had safely started this big column for the desert north-eastward. Next day we took up our water-supply in the shape of big blocks of ice packed in bags from a terminal lagoon of the Tarim. Thence four marches brought us to my immediate goal, a large ruined fort which had first been sighted by Tokhta Akhun, my faithful old Loplik follower, apparently in 1910, when he returned from the Lou-lan site after guiding there Mr. Tachibana, the young Japanese explorer. By clearing the substantial dwellings within, we recovered plentiful relics in the shape of architectural wood-carvings, implements, coins, etc., these proved occupation to have ceased here about the same period, early in the fourth century A.D., as at the "Lou-lan" site. Wind-erosion had deeply scoured the ground outside, but had not succeeded in more than breaching in places the very solid enclosing rampart built of alternate layers of brushwood fascines and stamped clay, after the fashion of the ancient Chinese *Limes*. A well-marked dry river-course near the fort was easily traced by the rows of fallen dead trees once lining the banks, and the direction clearly proved it to have been a southern branch of the ancient Kuruk-darya ("the dry river"), which once had carried water to the Lou lan site.

By following up this river-course we came upon a second and smaller fort, and a reconnaissance north of it soon led to the discovery of the scattered remains of an extensive settlement. The dwellings, built of timber and wattle after the fashion of those at the Niya site, had suffered greatly through the erosive action of wind-driven sand. Yet, where consolidated refuse heaps had helped to protect the original floors, we found ancient records on wood and paper in Kharoshthi and another Indian script, as well as in Chinese and Early Sogdian, besides very interesting and well-preserved remains of furniture, personal equipment, fabrics, and the like. There could be no doubt that this settlement, too, had been occupied down to the beginning of the fourth century A.D., and by people sharing the same well-developed civilization due to the mixture of Indian, Chinese, and Western influences which my finds of 1906 at the Lou-lan site had illustrated.

The exact antiquarian evidence here obtained has its special value, because it enables us to date a variety of physical features which I could observe in the immediate vicinity of the ruined settlement. They throw fresh light on the hydrography and early occupation of this part of the Lop-nor region during historical times and those immediately preceding them. For the latter the abundant finds of stone implements, such as Neolithic arrow-heads and jade celts, which were picked up from the eroded surface of the ground near these ruins afforded a very useful guide. The fact that these finds of stone implements continued over most of the wind-eroded ground up to the Lou-lan site had a significant bearing on the so-called "Lop-nor problem," the discussion of which has long been carried on without an adequate basis of surveys.

It was similarly important that on the two long marches which brought us there we met a succession of ancient river-beds all lined by rows of dead Toghrah (wild-poplar) trees, and clearly recognizable by their direction as having branched off from the "Dry River" skirting the foot of the Kuruk-tagh. It was plainly a considerable delta, not a large terminal lake, which had existed here during the historical times accessible to antiquarian evidence, and our new surveys have shown how far it extended south and south-west. Finds of Chinese Han coins and of small metal and pottery fragments of undoubtedly the same historical period mingled freely with those of the Stone Age, just on the ground where (according to a recent theory) we ought to have been crossing the position assumed for the Lop-nor of the epoch when Lou-lan was occupied.

It was long after nightfall on February 10 that we struggled through to the old Chinese station marked by the chief ruins of the Lou-lan site. It was very trying ground we had to cross all day, cut up by wind erosion into an unending succession of narrow and steep clay terraces all running east-north-east to west-south-west, the direction of the prevailing wind, and very difficult for the camels to pass. From our base camp at the foot of the familiar Stupa ruin I pushed out reconnaissances into the unknown desert to the east and north-east, while keeping my diggers at work on deeper deposits of refuse, etc., which had escaped attention during the stress of our previous visit. Among the numerous finds of ancient documents on wood and paper which rewarded this clearing, I may specially mention one, unfortunately fragmentary, which shows a script as yet unrepresented among all our former collections. The rest were in Chinese, Kharoshthi, and the Iranian language known since my finds of 1906-07 as Early Sogdian.

Quite as interesting to me were the series of close observations I was able to make on ground immediately adjoining the ruins, as to the levels at which the process of denudation and wind-erosion had been arrested from time to time by a temporary return of moisture and desert vegetation affording protection to the soil. These clearly showed that the process, striking as its effects everywhere are, had been neither constant nor uniform during the sixteen hundred years which have passed since the abandonment of the station. Hence a mere line of levelling carried across areas which wind-erosion has affected in such different ways, could not, in the absence of dateable marks in the shape of structural or other remains, be expected to yield reliable outlines of the hydrographic configuration of the ground at earlier periods.

But the chance for more exciting work came when I could follow up what the reconnaissance surveys, carried out particularly by Afrazgul Khan, my young Pathan surveyor, with great zeal and intelligence, had revealed towards the north-east. There on ground wholly untouched by human feet for so many centuries, I had hoped to find ruins near what

I conjectured to have been the line of the earliest Chinese route leading into the Tarim Basin from Tun-huang and the extreme west of China proper. A succession of important discoveries soon confirmed that hope. On the top of a large clay terrace or *mesha*, rising steeply some 35 feet above the eroded ground level, I came upon most interesting remains of an ancient burial-ground. On the sides of the mound graves had been partially exposed and destroyed by wind-erosion undercutting the banks and causing them to fall. But the top of the *mesha* had been safe from this destructive agent, and there we found a series of large grave pits which yielded a rich antiquarian haul in quite bewildering confusion.

Mixed up with human bones and fragments of coffins there emerged here in abundance household implements of all sorts, objects of personal use such as decorated bronze mirrors, wooden models of arms, Chinese records on paper and wood, and, above all, a wonderful variety of fabrics which delighted my eye. Among them were beautifully coloured silks, pieces of rich brocade and embroidery, fragments of fine pile carpets by the side of coarse fabrics in wool and felts. It soon became evident that these remnants of garments of all sorts had been used for wrapping up bodies, perhaps partially embalmed. I could not have wished for a more representative exhibition of that ancient Chinese silk trade which we know to have been a chief factor in opening up this earliest route for China's direct intercourse with Central Asia and the distant West, and which had passed along here for centuries.

A variety of very interesting problems as to the origin of designs, etc., usually attributed to Persian art of the Sassanian period, had been raised by the fine decorated silk fabrics I had discovered on my former journey in the walled-up cave temple of the "Thousand Buddhas" near Tun-huang. Here a mass of far older and dateable materials was coming to light to help to solve these problems. I soon realized, from various indications, that the contents of these pits must have been collected, before the final abandonment of the Chinese military station of Lou-lan, from older graves which wind-erosion or some similar cause had exposed or was threatening. Consequently the relics, here saved in obedience to a pious custom still prevalent among the Chinese, could safely be assigned to that period of the rule of the Han dynasty, which followed the first expansion of Chinese trade and power into Central Asia about the close of the second century B.C. There was no time then to examine the wealth of beautiful designs and colours making a feast for my eyes. But I felt that in this utter desolation of the wind-eroded clay desert, where nature was wholly dead and even the very soil was being reduced, as it were, to the condition of a skeleton, there had opened up a new and fascinating chapter in the history of textile art. It will take years to read it in full clearness.

My satisfaction was equally great when, after a long and fatiguing tramp from our base, I found myself by nightfall at a large walled enclosure near to where one of the dry river-beds passing the Lou-lan site seemed to merge in the hard salt expanse of an ancient terminal marsh. We had struck the fortified *castrum* which, as close examination soon showed, had served as a *point d'appui* for Chinese missions and troops where they first reached Lou-lan territory after having crossed the salt-encrusted dry lake-bed and skirted its absolutely barren north shores. Its walls, built with regular alternate layers of clay and carefully secured reed fascines, and remarkably well preserved after two thousand years' exposure, showed constructive features in closest agreement with those observed in the westernmost extension of the ancient Chinese border wall, which I had discovered and explored in 1907 in the desert of Tun-huang.

There could be no doubt that the fort dated, like the Tun-huang *Limes* itself, from the first military advance of the Chinese into the Tarim Basin, about 104 B.C., and that it represented, as it were, the bridge-head of the desert route by which that advance was made possible. I had become so familiar with that ancient *Limes* and the technical skill displayed in its construction that I could not help rejoicing at the way in which this work from the hands of the same old Chinese engineers had withstood the attacks of that most formidable enemy in this region, wind-erosion. The walls of reed fascines had nowhere been seriously breached, while inside the circumvallation the force of the wind has worked terrible havoc, scouring out big hollows down to 20 feet and more below the ground-level and reducing a large central structure to a bare clay terrace strewn with scattered débris of timber. Under the shelter of the north wall, however, refuse heaps had survived, and these yielded Chinese records on wood and paper.

Beyond this fortified Chinese station other remains were traced. Of these it must suffice to mention a small ruined fort which occupied a commanding position on the narrow top of a precipitous clay ridge fully 100 feet high. It had evidently served as a stronghold and look-out post for some chief of the indigenous population of Lou-lan. Of the type, habits, and civilization of the Lou-lan people, as the Chinese found them on the first opening of the route through the desert, the Han Annals have preserved some curious notes. The accuracy of these was illustrated in a most striking fashion by the examination of the graves covering the other end of the clay ridge. Here we found the bodies of men and women, probably members of the old chief's family, in a truly wonderful state of preservation, due, no doubt, to the absolute dryness of the climate and the safe elevation of their resting-places. The peaked felt caps of the men decorated with big feathers and other trophies of the chase, the arrow-shafts by their side, the simple but strong woollen garments fastened with pins of hard wood, the neatly woven small baskets holding the food for the dead, etc., all indicated a race of semi-nomadic hunters and herdsmen, just as the Chinese describe them.

It was a strange sensation to look down on figures which but for the parched skin seemed like those of men asleep and to feel brought face to face with people who inhabited, and no doubt liked, this dreary Lop-nor region in the first centuries A.D. The features of the heads closely recalled the *homo alpinus* type, which, judging from my anthropometric records, worked up by Mr. T. A. Joyce, still supplies the prevalent element in the racial constitution of the indigenous population of Chinese Turkestan and is seen in its purest form in the Iranian-speaking tribes near the Pamirs. The general appearance of these Lou-lan people seemed curiously to accord with the significant juxtaposition in which small bronze objects of Chinese origin were picked up on the slope below the little fort together with stone implements. There were indications elsewhere, too, suggesting that the interval separating the latest Neolithic period in Lou-lan from the advent of the Chinese may not have been a very long one.

Apart from their direct interest, the discoveries here briefly indicated had a special importance by furnishing me with a safe starting-point and some guidance for the difficult task still before us, that of tracing the line of that famous ancient route through the forbidding desert eastwards. But it was impossible to set out for it at once. Incessant toil in the waterless desert with constant exposure to its icy winds had exhausted our Loplik labourers, hardy plants as they were and pleased with the rewards I gave them. When the last digging at the outlying ruins to the north-east had been done, I had to take them back

to our Lou-lan base camp, whence they could return in safety under Ibrahim Beg's guidance to the world of the living.

The season's initial sand-storm which had broken with full fury on the preceding night and which the Lopliks attributed to the wrath of the dead we had disturbed, made this march exceptionally trying, apart from the risks of straying, which the semi-darkness involved for the men. To my great relief I found Lal Singh safely arrived after accomplishing his survey tasks in the west on a circuit of some 400 miles. He had been duly joined by that plucky hunter, Abdu'r-Rahim, who with his life-long desert experience and his magnificent camels brought fresh strength for our column. It may serve to illustrate the stamina of his animals, bred and reared in the Kuruk-tagh, that the baby camel to which one of them gave birth at the Lou-lan site subsequently traversed with us all those waterless wastes of salt and gravel unharmed and almost throughout on its own legs.

Together we moved then north to the Kuruk-tagh in order to secure for our hard-ried camels a few days' rest with water and grazing at the salt springs of Altmish-bulak. The new route followed on the three days' march allowed me to examine more burial-grounds on the gravel glacia which overlooks the ancient riverine belt, now dried up and eroded by the wind. Their remains proved very helpful for explaining my previous finds east of the Lou-lan site. But even more welcome was the four days' halt at Altmish-bulak. Its springs, saline as they are, gave our brave camels their first chance of a real drink after three weeks, and on the reed beds around them they could gather fresh strength for the hard task still before them. After the dead world we had toiled in, this little patch of vegetation seemed delightful, too, to us humans.

After replenishing our ice supply and taking a carefully arranged store of fuel, we started on February 24 for our respective tasks. The one allotted to Lal Singh was to survey the unknown north-east shores of the great salt-encrusted basin, which represents the fullest extension of the dried-up ancient Lop-nor, and the barren hill ranges of the Kuruk-tagh overlooking them. I myself accompanied by Afrazgul and Shams Din proposed to search for the ancient Chinese route where it left the edge of the once inhabited Lou-lan area, and to trace it over whatever ground it might have crossed right through to where it was likely to have diverged from the line still followed by the desert track, which leads from Tun-huang along the southern shore of the great dried-up Lop Sea towards Miran. It was a fascinating task after my own taste, combining geographical and historical interest, but one attended also by serious difficulties and risks.

From what I knew of the general character of the ground before us, it was certain that we could not hope for water, nor over most of it for fuel to melt our ice with, before striking the Tun-huang caravan track, a matter of some ten days' hard marching judging from the approximately calculated distance. There was a limit to the endurance of our brave camels, and with the heavy loads of ice, fuel, and provisions which had to be carried for the sake of safety, I could not expect the animals, already hard tried by the preceding week's work in absolute desert, to remain fit for more than ten to twelve days. It was impossible to foresee what physical obstacles might be met and might delay us beyond the calculated measure of time in this wilderness devoid of all resources and now more barren, perhaps, than any similarly large area of this globe. And there remained the problem how to hit the line of the ancient route and to track it through on ground which long before the dawn of historical times had ceased to offer any chance for human occupation. For a careful search of any relics left behind by the ancient traffic, which had passed through what the Chinese Annals vaguely

describe as the terrible "desert of the White Dragon Mounds," there would be no time. Much, if not most, had to be left to good fortune—and, combined with what hints I could deduce from previous archæological and topographical observations. Fortune served me better than I had ventured to hope.

Physical difficulties soon presented themselves as we made our way south through and across a perfect maze of steep clay terraces, all eroded by the same east-north-east wind which had sculptured the usual *yardangs* of Lou-lan, but of far greater height. Having thus regained the vicinity of the terminal *point d'appui* above mentioned of the ancient route, I soon found confirmation for my previously formed conjecture that the initial bearing of the route lay to the north-east. It was marked by the almost completely eroded remains of an outlying indigenous camping-place and of an ancient watch-tower of the type familiar to me from the Tun-huang *Limes*, which I opportunely discovered on towering terraces at the very edge of ancient vegetation. We had reached here the extreme eastern limit of the area to which the waters of the Kuruk-darya had once carried life. Beyond there were no ruins to guide us. The desert eastwards was already in ancient times as devoid of plant or animal life of any sort as it now is. As we left behind the withered and bleached fragments of the last dead tamarisk trunk lying on the salt soil, I felt that we had passed from the land of the dead into ground that never knew life—except on the route to be tracked.

As we steered onwards by the compass across absolutely barren wastes of clayey *shor*, detritus or hard salt crust, chance helped us in a way which at times seemed almost uncanny. Again and again finds of early Chinese copper coins, small metal objects, stone ornaments and the like gave assurance that we were still near the ancient track by which Chinese political missions, troops and traders had toiled for four centuries through this lifeless wilderness. It is impossible to record here exact details of all such finds. But I may at least briefly mention two thrilling incidents which by their nature helped greatly to raise the spirits of my men and filled them with superstitious confidence in some spirits' safe guidance. At the time they made me to feel as if I were living through in reality experiences dimly remembered from some of Jules Verne's fascinating stories I had read as a small boy.

Thus, on the third day of our march, when the last traces of ancient desert vegetation had long remained behind, we suddenly found the ancient track plainly marked for about 30 yards by over two hundred Chinese copper coins strewing the dismal ground of salt-encrusted clay. They lay in a well-defined line running north-east to south-west, just as if some kindly spirit among those patient old Chinese wayfarers, who had faced this awful route with its hardships and perils, had wished to assure us that the bearing I was steering by was the right one. In reality they must have got loose from the string which tied them and gradually dropped out unobserved through an opening in their bag or case. The coins were all of the Han type, and seemed as if fresh from some mint. Some 50 yards further on in the same direction we came upon a similar scattered heap of bronze arrow-heads, all manifestly unused and looking as if newly issued from some arsenal of Han times. Their shape and weight exactly agreed with the ancient Han ammunition I had picked up so often along the *Limes* of Tun-huang, which was garrisoned during the first century before and after Christ. The way in which the coins and arrow-heads had been allowed to remain on the ground suggested that they had dropped from some convoy of stores in Han times which was moving at night-time and probably a little off the main track but still in the right direction.

Next day's long march brought another discovery equally stirring and useful. We had followed our north-easterly course across easy ground of bare clay and mica detritus

when it approached at a slant a forbidding belt of salt-coated erosion terraces clearly of the type to which the Chinese of Han times had applied the graphic designation of "White Dragon Mounds." I knew it foreboded the close vicinity of that ancient sea-bed encrusted with hard crumpled salt which I was anxious to steer clear of as long as possible, on account of the terrible surface it would present for our poor camels' feet. They were sore already and the painful process of "re-soling" had to be resorted to night after night. I was just preparing to climb the prominent *mesha* which had served as our guiding point and to use it as a look-out, when we found on its slopes Chinese coins, soon followed by quite a collection of metal objects, including bronze ornaments and a well-preserved dagger and bridle in iron. Evidently the terrace had served as a regular halting-place, and a careful inspection of the ground ahead suggested that it had been used for this purpose, because at its foot was the first piece of ground level and tolerably clear of salt which travellers would strike after passing through the forbidding maze of "White Dragon Mounds" and the dried-up sea-bottom beyond.

I had to decide whether I was to strike across the latter now or to skirt the ancient sea-shore by continuing the north-east course, which threatened to take us further and further away from where we hoped to find water. It might have meant a *détour* of days, and the interpretation I put on our lucky find encouraged me to avoid this by heading straight for the dead salt sea. That evening we had reached its shore-line, and the crossing effected next day proved how wise the change of direction had been. The march across the petrified sea, with its hard salt crust crumpled up into knife-like small pressure ridges, was a most trying experience for camels and us men alike. But when this weary tramp of 20 miles, more fatiguing than any I ever had in the desert, had safely brought us to the first spot of soft salt in front of the opposite line of salt-covered erosion terraces, and we could halt for a night's rest, I had good reason to feel glad for my choice and grateful for the find which had prompted it. As the following marches proved, we had crossed the forbidding sea of hard crumpled salt at the very point where it was narrowest, and had thus escaped a night's halt on ground where neither beast nor man could have found a spot to rest in comfort. It was, no doubt, this advantage which had determined those old Chinese pioneers in the choice of this line for their route.

Helped by finds of coins and the like, we continued to track the route over ground still absolutely barren, until we reached, three days later, the last offshoot of the low desert range which overlooks from the north the extreme eastern extension of the ancient dried-up sea-bed. Then, as we skirted its shore-line under steep cliffs looking exactly like those of a sea still in being I had the satisfaction of finding the ancient track in places still plainly marked in the salt-encrusted ground. It was a strange sensation when my eyes first caught the straight line of the ancient road, where it cuts for nearly 2 miles across a small bay of the petrified sea. It showed a uniform width of some 20 feet, and was worn down to a depth of about 1 foot in the surface of hard salt cakes, as a result of the passage for centuries of transport animals, and probably carts too. There was ocular evidence here of the magnitude of the traffic which had once moved through these barren solitudes. But how those patient old Chinese organizers of transport had maintained it over some 150 miles of ground without water, fuel, or grazing still remains somewhat of a problem.

(To be continued.)

OUTLINES OF THE HISTORY OF ALAMKARA LITERATURE.

BY P. V. KANE, M.A., LL.M.; BOMBAY.

The Chronology of Alamkara Literature.

Part II.

(Continued from Vol. XL., p. 288.)

THE history of *Alamkara* literature falls under two sections. One section should show how, from small beginnings, a complete theory of Poetics (including the figures of speech) was evolved. In this section we saw how at the outset there were only a few well-recognized *alamkâras* and how in course of time subtle distinctions were made between one *alamkâra* and another. It has been said, with a good deal of truth, that the Indian mind revels in subtle distinctions, divisions and classifications. This branch of Sanskrit Literature is as good an example of this tendency as any other. Sometimes even the most trivial circumstance has been thought sufficient to create a separate figure. In the second section, upon which we now propose to enter, we shall try to establish, as far as the materials at our disposal enable us, the chronology of the most prominent writers on the *Alamkara-Sâstra*.

The first question that naturally arises is: What is the most ancient work on the *Alamkara-Sâstra*? In reply to this question, the *Agnipurâna* is put forward as the original of all later doctrines on the subject. We shall therefore examine the claims of the *Agnipurâna* to be regarded as the most ancient work on the *Alamkara-Sâstra*.

The Agnipurâna.

Some commentators of the *Kavyaprakâśa* say that Bharata, in order to introduce through the medium of sweet poetry the tender minds of princes to more profound studies, composed concise *Kârikās*, the materials for which he drew from the *Agnipurâna*.¹ We think that this respect paid to the *Agnipurâna* is due to a misconception on the part of these writers and that the *Agnipurâna* is not entitled to the honour of being looked upon as the most ancient work on the *Alamkara-Sâstra*.

The *Agnipurâna* is a hotch-potch, an encyclopædia of heterogeneous materials, something like 'Enquire within upon everything.' It is impossible to attempt to give even a brief summary of the contents of the eleven thousand verses of the *Agnipurâna* (in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series). The curious reader must refer to the preface of Dr. Rajendralal Mitra. We shall give here a brief analysis of that part (chapters 336—346) which deals with figures of speech and other kindred matters. In chapter 336, after defining *Kāvya* and dividing it first into Sanskrit and Prākṛit and then into *gadya*, *padya* and *miśra* (as done by Daṇḍin), the subdivisions of *gadya* (five in number) and of *padya* are defined. In chapter 337 *nāṭakas* and some topics connected therewith are spoken of. In chapter 338 the *rasas* and *bhāvas* are treated of. In 339, the four *ritis* (Vaidarbhi, Gauḍī, Lāṭī and Pāñchālī) are described. In chapter 340, some points connected with acting are discussed. Chapter 341 speaks of gesticulation, *rasas* and nine *alamkâras* of *śabda*. Chapter 342 deals with such figures of *śabda* as *anuprāsa*, *yamaka* and such intricate arrangements of

¹ Mahesvara, in his *Kavyaprakāśadarśa*, says: *Sukumārān rājakumārān svīdu-kāvya-pravṛttidvārā gahane Śāstrāntare pravartayitum — Agnipurāṇād-uddhṛitya Kāvya-ras-śvāda-kāraṇam = Alamkārasāstram kârikābhīḥ Saṁkṣipyā Bharatamuniḥ prapṛtāvān.*

The *Krishṇānandini*, a comment on the *Sāhityakaumudī* of Vidyābhūṣaṇa, says: *Kāvyarasaśvādanāya Vahni-purāṇādi-dṛishṭān sāhitya-prakriyān Bharataḥ saṁkṣiptābhīḥ kârikābhīr-mabandha.*

letters as *gômûtrikābandha*, *sarvatōbhadrā*, &c. Chapter 343 dilates upon the figures of sense and 344 on the figures of both word and sense. In chapter 345, seven *guṇas* of Poetry are spoken of, and in chapter 346 the blemishes of Poetry are dealt with.

The evidence for arriving at the conclusion that the *Agnipurāṇa* is not the most original work on *Alaṅkāra* literature is both internal and external.

The internal evidence may be stated as follows :—

I. We have some indications in the *Agnipurāṇa* itself showing that it was not Bharata who copied from it, but rather the reverse. The *Agnipurāṇa* says that the *rīti* styled *Bhāratī* was so called because it was first promulgated by Bharata.² In the *Nāṭyaśāstra*³ of Bharata we are told that the four *vṛttis* *Bhāratī*, *Sāttvatī*, *Kaiśikī* and *Ārabhaṭī* were received by Bharata from Brahmā and that *Bhāratī Vṛtti* was named after the Bharatas. From the above it is clear that the *Agnipurāṇa* knew that Bharata was the originator of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (or at least of the *Vṛttis* that form a very integral part of it) and that perhaps it had before it the very words of Bharata quoted by us above. Another noteworthy fact in this connection is that Bharata nowhere alludes to the *Agnipurāṇa* in the extant *Nāṭyaśāstra*, although he shows an acquaintance with works of the Purāṇa class.⁴

II. The very nature of the contents of the *Agnipurāṇa* precludes the idea that it is an ancient and original work. Even a cursory examination reveals the fact that the *Agnipurāṇa* is a professed conglomeration of heterogeneous material borrowed from many sources, especially in that part of it which deals with the various branches of Sanskrit literature. On the other hand the *Nāṭyaśāstra* appears to be a very original work. Bharata speaks of only four figures of speech,⁵ while the *Agnipurāṇa* mentions a large number. If Bharata had the *Agnipurāṇa* before him or if he had known more than four well-recognized figures of speech, he would have given a full exposition of them and would not have been held back by considerations of irrelevancy and prolixity. He defines and illustrates about a hundred different metres, which have as much connection with the dramatic art as figures of speech.

III. We shall later on adduce evidence to show that the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata must be at all events earlier than A.D. 500. From an examination of the contents of the *Agnipurāṇa*, it follows that it was put together later than A.D. 700 or even A.D. 1000. Our reasons are :—

(a) The *Agnipurāṇa* refers to the seven *Kāṇḍas* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Harivaṃśa*, to *Pingala*, *Pālākāpya*, *Sālihōtra*, *Dhanvantari* and *Suśruta*. It gives a short summary of the *Bhagvatgītā* in chapter 380, in which halves of verses⁶ occurring in different chapters of the *Gītā* have been combined in one verse. One of the most significant facts for our purposes is that the *Agnipurāṇa* borrows from the *Amarakōśa* in chapters 359—366. Almost all the verses are directly taken from the *Amarakōśa* or are formed by taking half verses from the *Kōśa* and then piecing them together. If Amara borrowed at all he would do so

² *Bharatena prañītatvād-Bhāratī rītir-uchyate.*—*Agnipurāṇa* 339.6.

³ *Mayā kāvya-kriyā-ketōḥ prakṣiptā druhiṇ-ājñayā.*—*Nāṭyaśāstra* 20-23; again at 20-25 we read *Sva-nāmadheyair-bharataish prayuktā sā Bhāratī nāma bhavet-tu vṛttih* ||

⁴ *Anyeṣpi deśā ebhyo ye Purāṇe saṁprakīrtitāḥ | teshu prayujyate hy-eshā prāvṛttis-tv-Auḍr Māgadhi.*—*Nāṭya*, 13-35.

⁵ *Kāvyaśy-aite hy-alaṅkāras-chaṭvāraḥ pari-kīrtitāḥ.*—*Nāṭya*, 16-4.

⁶ *Agnī* 380.12 is the same as *Gītā* VI. 40 and VII. 14. *Na hi kalyāṇakṛit kaśchid durgatim tātā gaṇachchhati | Daiṇ hy-eshā guṇamayī mama māyā duratyayā* ||

from works similar to his own, as he himself acknowledges in the words *samāhṛity-ānya-tantrāṇi*, &c. It cannot be supposed that for a few of his *vargas* he fell back on the *Agnipurāṇa* and not on other *Kōśas*. The *Agnipurāṇa*, on the other hand, in its desire to include some account of every branch of Sanskrit literature would naturally draw upon the most famous *Kōśa* in its day, as it has drawn upon the *Gitā*, the *Śikshā* and other works. Therefore we may safely conclude that this portion of the *Agnipurāṇa* is taken from the *Amarakōśa*. Unfortunately scholars are not at one as to the date of *Amarasimha*. Max Müller arrived at the conclusion that Amara flourished about the beginning of the 6th century A.D. Prof. MacDonell (*History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 433) thinks it not improbable that the *Amarakōśa* was written about A.D. 500. Dr. Hoernle fixes the date between A.D. 625. and A. D. 940. (*JRAS* of Great Britain for 1906, p. 940) on the strength of the fact that Amara's meaning of the word *Aṃsa* is based upon the meaning of the word as given by Vāgbhaṭa. Taking even the earliest date assigned to Amara, viz., 5th century A. D., we can at once assert that the *Agnipurāṇa* must be later than the *Amarakōśa* by some centuries. A period of two centuries would be absolutely necessary for Amara's work to come into general circulation and to be so highly esteemed as to be quoted by even orthodox writers. The *Agnipurāṇa* would not have gone out of its way to borrow from an unorthodox writer like Amara, if the latter's fame had not become world-wide in its day. Hence there is no objection in placing the *Agnipurāṇa* later than the 7th century A.D.

(b) The *Agnipurāṇa* and the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata have a number of verses in common with very slight variations that may have been due to the errors of scribes. We have said above that taking into consideration the nature of the two works, the greatest probability lies in the theory that the *Agnipurāṇa* copied from the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Some of the striking common passages are :—*Nāṭya* VI. 39 and *Agni* 338. 7-8 ; *Nāṭya* VI, 36 and *Agni* 338. 12 ; *Nāṭya* 20. 28-29 and *Agni* 337. 11-12 ; *Nāṭya* 16.60-62 and *Agni* 342. 15-16.

(c) The definitions given by the *Agnipurāṇa* of *Sahôkti*, *Rûpaka*, *Utprekshâ*, *Viśeshôkti*, *Vibhâvanâ*, *Apahnuti* and *Samâdhi* (*Agni* 343. 23 ; 343. 24-25 ; 343. 26-27 ; 343. 27-28 ; 344. 18 ; 344. 13, respectively) are almost the same as those of Daṇḍin (*K. D.* II. 351 ; II. 66 ; II. 221 ; II. 323 ; II. 199 ; II. 304 ; I. 93.) Besides those, there are a number of verses and phrases which occur both in the *Agnipurāṇa* and the *Kāvyaśārṅga*; e.g., *Padyam chatushpadi tachcha vṛttam jâtir-iti tridhâ*.—*Agni*. 336. 21 and *K. D.* I. 11 ; *Sâ vidyâ naus-titirshûṇâm Gambhîram kâvya-sâgaram*.—*Agni*. 336. 23 and *K. D.* I. 12 ; *Nagarârṇava-sailartuchandrârkâśrama-pâdapaiḥ | Udyânasalilakṛidâmadhupânaratôtsavaiḥ*; *Agni*. 336. 29 and *K. D.* I. 16 ; *Itihâsa-kathôdbhûtam-itarad-vâ rasâśrayam*.—*Agni*. 336. 25 and *K. D.* I. 15. Daṇḍin almost everywhere gives his own examples and definitions. He mentions the *Bṛhatkathâ* and the *Setukâvya*, but nowhere alludes to the *Agnipurāṇa*. It is highly improbable that a writer like Daṇḍin should go a-begging to the *Agnipurāṇa* for stray verses and half-verses ; while it is quite in keeping with the character of the *Agnipurāṇa* to borrow from Daṇḍin. We shall discuss in detail the date of Daṇḍin later on. He seems to have flourished about the 6th century A. D. If we admit that the *Agnipurāṇa* borrows from him, the former must be placed a century or two later than the 6th century A. D.

(d) The definitions of *Rûpaka*, *Ākshepa*, *Aprastutaprasāmsâ*, *Paryâyâkta* and *Samâsôkti* are almost the same in Bhāmaha's work and the *Agnipurāṇa* (*Bhāmaha* II. 21 and *Agni* 343. 22 ; *Bhāmaha* II. 58 and *Agni* 344. 15 ; *Bhāmaha* III. 29 and *Agni* 344. 16 ; *Bhāmaha* III. 8 and *Agni* 344. 18 ; *Bhāmaha* II. 69 and *Agni* 344. 17 respectively)

Bhāmaha expressly says at the end of the 2nd Parichchheda that he gives his own examples only.⁷ Hence we must suppose that the *Agnipurāṇa* borrows from Bhāmaha. Bhāmaha belongs to the 7th century A. D. The *Agnipurāṇa* must therefore be later than A. D. 700.

(e) The most remarkable fact however is that there are a number of verses in Bhōja's *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* which are also found in the *Agnipurāṇa*. We shall quote only a few out of many such verses. *Dhvanir-varṇāḥ padaḥ vākyaṃ-ity-etaḥ vāṇmayam matam* (Agni. 336. 1 and S. K. 1st verse); *ye vyutpattyādīnā śabdāṃ-alaṅkartum-īha kṣamāḥ* (Agni. 341. 18 and S. K. II. 2); *Uktipratyuktimaḥ vākyaṃ vākōvākyaṃ dvidhaiva tat* (Agni. 342. 32 and S. K. p. 293). *Karṇikāyām likhēd-ekam dve dve dikṣhu vidikṣhu cha | praveśanirgamau dikṣhu kuryād-aṣṭa-chchhadesmbuje*.—(Agni. 342. 46 and S. K. p. 258). Besides these we may compare Agni. 341. 21 and 26 with S. K. pp. 154 and 157 (S. K. *Anyāktānām-anukṛitīḥ-chhāyā sāpīḥa shadvidhā &c.*, and S. K. :—*Sābhīprāyasya vākyaṃ yad vachasō viniveśanam | mudrāṃ tām mut-pradāyī-tvāt kāvyamudrāvidhā viduḥ* respectively), and Agni. 342. 10-11 with S. K. p. 224 (*Kārnāṭī Kauntalī Kauṇṭī Kauṇṭkāṇi Bāṇavāsikā*). It is possible that both Bhōja and the *Agnipurāṇa* may have drawn upon a common source. Bhōja quotes a very large number of verses without acknowledgments from Daṇḍin and other writers. So we cannot dogmatically say that the *Agnipurāṇa* borrowed from him. Still we think that it is not beyond the bounds of possibility to say that the *Agnipurāṇa* copies Bhōja's work.

Thus the internal evidence is against the theory that Bharata based his work on the *Agnipurāṇa*. The external evidence points in the same direction. It is as follows :—

The *Agnipurāṇa* is not referred to by any ancient rhetorician. Leaving aside Daṇḍin and Bhāmaha, Ānandavardhana and his voluminous commentator Abhinavagupta do not refer to it. Mammata quotes the *Vishṇupurāṇa*, but nowhere the *Agnipurāṇa*. The first writer of note that distinctly mentions the *Agnipurāṇa* is Viśvanātha, author of the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (14th century A. D.). As regards the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata, the case is quite different. Every author of note from Ānandavardhana, Pratihārendurāja, Abhinavagupta down to Jagannātha quotes the dicta of Bharata with respect and even Daṇḍin and Bhāmaha seem to refer to him as we shall see later on. The conclusion that naturally follows is that the ancient writers on *Alaṅkāra* had no knowledge of the existence of the *Agnipurāṇa* or at least that part of it which deals with the *Alaṅkāra-Śāstra*. The great authority to which they all looked up with reverence was the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Hence the claims put forward by later commentators on behalf of the *Agnipurāṇa* to be regarded as the original work on the *Alaṅkāra-Śāstra* are not at all justified.

Here a question may naturally be asked :—how was it that the *Agnipurāṇa* came to be looked upon as the most ancient work on the *Alaṅkāra-Śāstra*? The following appears to us to be the proper reply. There is no doubt that the origin and development of the *Alaṅkāra-Śāstra* was due to such writers as Bharata, Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin. In the revival of Brahmanism that followed the decline of Buddhism, most of the extant *Purāṇas* took their present shape and in course of time rose in popular esteem. As they were associated with the name of Vyāsa, a halo of antiquity and sanctity was cast round them. The later commentators of works on *Alaṅkāra*, whose reverence for the *Purāṇas* far surpassed their respect for such writers as Daṇḍin and Bhāmaha naturally thought that the *Purāṇas* were very ancient and that they could not possibly have borrowed

⁷ *Swayam kṛitair-eva nidarśanair-iyam mayā prakṛiptā khalu vāgalaṅkṛitīḥ |*

from such secular writers as Daṇḍin. We hope that the foregoing discussion has established that the *Agnipurāṇa* is not the original work on the *Alaṅkāraśāstra*, that it is later than A. D. 700 and that it is indebted to the writings of Bharata, Daṇḍin, Bhāmaha and possibly Bhōja.

The Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata.

Bharata has a claim to be spoken of here for a twofold reason; firstly because he gives an elaborate account of the *rasas* which are of the essence of *Kāvya* and secondly because his work contains the earliest extant treatment of figures of speech.

Before proceeding further, it would not be out of place if we make a few remarks upon the Sanskrit drama in general. The origin of the Sanskrit drama, as that of many other branches of Sanskrit literature, is lost in the mists of antiquity. As far as our knowledge goes, the earliest and clearest reference to the dramatic art occurs in Pāṇini,⁸ who mentions Śilālin and Kṛiśāśva as authors of *Nāṭasūtras*. An objection might be raised by sceptical critics that the two *sūtras* are spurious additions made later on. But it is not a sound one. Patañjali the author of the *Mahābhāṣya* takes these *sūtras* for granted and speaks of actors that had studied the *nāṭasūtra* of Śilālin.⁹ As Pāṇini speaks of *nāṭasūtras*, it follows as a matter of course that a number of dramas must have been composed prior to the *nāṭasūtras*. It cannot be said that the rules on the dramatic art were first laid down and that then dramas were composed in consonance with them. The canons of dramaturgy can be laid down only when a number of dramatic works already exist. Thus a very great dramatic activity appears to have preceded Pāṇini. There is a great divergence of opinion among scholars about the date of Pāṇini. Most scholars concede that Pāṇini did not at all events flourish later than 300 B. C. There are some who would place Pāṇini in the 7th or 8th century before Christ. We make bold to avow our adherence to this latter view. The dramatic works on which the *nāṭasūtras* referred to by Pāṇini were based must therefore have been composed some centuries earlier than 300 B. C. at the latest. Nothing beyond their bare names is known of the *nāṭasūtras* of Śilālin and Kṛiśāśva, nor of the dramatic works on which they must have been founded. In the times of Patañjali (140 B. C.) dramatic representations appear to have been much in vogue. Patañjali alludes in a number of places to actors and dramatic performances. In one place Patañjali tells us that in his day the killing of the demon Kaiśa and the humiliation of Bali were represented on the stage.¹⁰ In another place he talks of the wives of actors appearing on the stage and declaring themselves as belonging to him who accosts them.¹¹ Although the drama thus flourished in the centuries preceding the Christian era, the Sanskrit drama appears to have had a struggle for existence. Considering the exuberant growth of almost every branch of Sanskrit literature, the number of Sanskrit dramas that have come down to us appears very small indeed. A large number

⁸ Mark the following sūtras :—*Pārāśarya-silālibhāṣya*, *bhikṣu-nāṭasūtrayōh* and *Karmandu-kṛiśāśvadinih*. (Pāṇini IV. 3. 110-111.)

⁹ See *Mahābhāṣya*, Vol. II, p. 286. *Pārāśariṇo bhikṣavaḥ silālinō naṭh*.

¹⁰ *Iha tu katham vartamāna-kālāt Kaiśaṇ ghātayati Balim bandhayati-iti chirahate kaiśe chirabaddhe cha Balau | Atrāpi yuklā | katham | ye tāvad-ele śōbhanikā nāma ele pratyakṣam kaiśaṇ ghātayanti pratyakṣaṇ cha Balim bandhayanti-iti | Mahābhāṣya* (Kielhorn), Vol. II, p. 36. On the word *śōbhanikā*, Kaiyyaṭa remarks (he reads *Śaubbhikā*) *Śaubbhikā iti | kaiśady-anukārindam naṭānāṇ vyākhyānōpā-dhyāyāt | kaiśānukārī naṭah sāmijikāḥ kaiśabuddhyā yihitah kaiśo bhāṣhye vivakṣhitah |*

¹¹ *Naṭānāṇ striyō raṅgaṇ gatl yō yaḥ pricclhati kasya yūyam kasya yūyam-iti tan tan tava tav : ity-āhuḥ*. *Mahābhāṣya*, Vol. III, p. 7.

of Sanskrit dramas are mentioned by the *Daśarūpakāvalōka* and by the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, many of which are known to us only by their names. The dramas that survive are only a few of the masterpieces which people cared to preserve. It seems that time proved too much even for dramatists of the highest order of merit. In this connection may be noted the case of Bhāsa, who kindled the admiration of even Kālidāsa¹² and won the encomiums of a great writer like Bāṇa.¹³ None of his dramatic works (Bāṇa, it should be observed, uses the plural 'Nāṭakaiḥ') was extant till a few years ago and what remained of the dramatic genius of Bhāsa was a few verses quoted as his in anthologies.¹⁴ Scholars are divided in opinion as to the authorship of the dramas recently published by Mr. Ganapatiśāstri as Bhāsa's. This is not the place to enter into that question.

Among the extant works on the dramatic art, the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata, the *Daśarūpaka* of Dhanañjaya and the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* of Viśvanātha are the most widely known and most often quoted. Of these three, the work of Bharata is by far the most ancient and highly honoured. The complete work has been issued by the enterprising proprietor of the Nirnayasagara Press, Bombay. It is beyond the scope of the present article to enter upon a minute and critical examination of the text of the work. Still, we cannot help saying that a critical edition of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, embodying the results of a patient investigation into all the works on poetics and dramaturgy that quote Bharata and into the numerous commentaries on the extant dramas, is a great *desideratum*.

The printed *Nāṭyaśāstra* has 37 chapters and contains about 5000 verses (mostly in the *ślōka* metre) interspersed with a few passages in prose here and there. The author Bharata appears to be a semi-divine person having access even to the gods. The work is said to be the fifth Veda¹⁵ and to have been received by Bharata from Brahmā. The work is of an encyclopædic character. It is not possible to give a summary of the work here. The chapters that most interest us from our present point of view are the sixth and seventh which treat of *rasas* and *bhāvas* respectively and the 16th. In the latter, after speaking of 26 points in connection with poetry, the author defines and illustrates four figures of speech, *Upamā*, *Rūpaka*, *Dipaka* and *Yamaka*. All the examples are his own. Then the ten blemishes of *Kāvya* and the ten *Guṇas* of it such as *Ślesha* (the names are the same as those in the *Kāvyaadarśa* I. 41) are defined. The chapter winds up with a statement as to what particular metres or letters (*hrasva*, *dirgha*, *pluta*, &c.) should be employed in connection with the several *rasas*.

The date of the Nāṭyaśāstra.

At the outset it is necessary to remove a possible misunderstanding about the date of Bharata. It may be plausibly urged that, as Bharata is not mentioned by Pāṇini, the former is later than the latter. It must, however, be borne in mind that Pāṇini was not

¹² *Prathita-yaśasān Bhāsa-kavi-saumilla-kavi-miśrādīnān prabandhān-atikramya kathān vartamāna-kaveḥ Kālidāsaśya kriyāyām parishadō bahumāna!* | *Mālavikāgnimītra* I.

¹³ *Sūtradhāraṅkṛtīrāmbhaiḥ nāṭakair bahubhūmikai!* | *Supatākair yaśō lebhe Bhāso devakulair-iva.*—Introduction to *Harshacharita*.

¹⁴ A similar but far more remarkable fate overtook a grammatical work, the *Samgraha* of Vyāḍi. It existed in the days of Patañjali, who alludes to it as an authority. *Samgrahē prādhānyena etat partikṣhitam.*—*Mahābhāṣya*, Vol. I, p. 6. But in the days of the *Vākyapadīya* (about A. D. 500), the *Samgraha* had ceased to exist. *Prāyeṇa samkṣhepa-ruchīn-ālpavidyāparigrahān | Samprāpya vaiyākaraṇān samgrahē śam-upāgate.*—*Vākyapadīya* II. 484.

¹⁵ See *Nāṭyaśāstra* I. 15. *Nāṭyākhyaṇi pañchamaṇi vedān setihāsaṇi karōmy-aham.*

writing a history of Sanskrit literature. If he mentions any word, he does so simply because he regards it as noteworthy from the grammarian's point of view. The tendency to jump from the mere non-mention of a writer by another to chronological conclusions about them has been a frequent and fruitful source of error. We wish to enter our protest against this tendency. The mere circumstance that Bharata is not referred to as a writer on dramaturgy by Pāṇini is not at all sufficient to place Bharata later than Pāṇini. We must adduce independent and positive evidence to prove the posteriority of Bharata to Pāṇini. We do not mean to say, however, that the extant *Nāṭyaśāstra* is as old as the *Sūtrakāras* mentioned by Pāṇini. There are certain indications in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* itself that point to an opposite conclusion. It often quotes verses in the *Āryā* metre with the remark *Atra Sūtrānubaddhe Ārye bhavataḥ* (on this point there are two *Āryās* composed in conformity with a *Sūtra*). This we interpret to mean that the extant *Nāṭyaśāstra* was preceded by works on dramaturgy which were themselves based upon older *sūtra* writings.

We shall now pass on to the consideration of the evidence establishing the date of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

1. The *Daśarūpaka* of Dhanañjaya is a well-known treatise on dramaturgy. The author tells us that he composed the work at the court of Muñja. This Muñja is most probably the same as the uncle of the Paramāra king, Bhōja. If this be so, the *Daśarūpaka* must have been composed before A. D. 1000. Dhanañjaya says at the beginning of his work that Brahmā took the essence of the Vedas and composed the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and that Bharata gave a performance in accordance with it.¹⁶ This makes it clear that the author of the *Daśarūpaka* was quite familiar with the traditional origin of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* as contained in the latter¹⁷ and that he looked upon Bharata as a semi-divine sage belonging to those far-off times when men had free access to the gods. Hence it follows that Bharata's work must have been written (not necessarily in the form in which we have it now) a number of centuries before A. D. 1000.

2. Abhinavagupta, author of the *Lōchana*, a comment on the *Dhvanyāloka*, calls Bharata a very ancient sage and says that *Yamaka* and *Upamā* were regarded by him as figures of word and sense respectively.¹⁸ *Yamaka* and *Upamā* are treated of in the 16th chapter of the extant *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Rāghavabhaṭṭa, the learned author of a commentary entitled *Arthadyōtanikā* on the *Sākuntala*, quotes at every step Bharata's dicta and oftentimes names the very chapters in which the verses occur. A careful examination of his commentary would yield very valuable material for settling the text of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. He tells us¹⁹ that Abhinavagupta composed a commentary called *Abhinavabhāratī* on the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata. It should be noted that Abhinavagupta does not speak of Daṇḍin (6th century) or Bhāmaha (A. D. 700) as *chirantana* or as a *muni*. A

¹⁶ *Uddhṛity-ōddh itya sūtrāṇi yamakāḥ-nigamāḥ-nāṭyavedaṇi Viriñchis-chakre yasya prayogāṇi munir-api Bharatas-tānāvavāṇi Nilakanthaḥ* 1

¹⁷ See *Nāṭyaśāstra* I. 1-4 and 11-16.

¹⁸ *Chirantanair-hi Bharatamuniprabhṛtibhir Yamakōpame śabdārthālakāṅkāratven-eshṭe.—Dhvanyālokalōchana*, p. 5

¹⁹ P. 6 (Nirṇayasāgara, 3rd edition.) *Idaṇi padyam Abhinavaguptapādāchāryair-Bharatāṭikāyām-Abhinavabhāratyāṇi vyākhyātām*. The verse referred to is *Sūtradhāraḥ paṭhen-nāndim* (*Nāṭyaśāstra* V. 98). On p. 20 of the above edition, Rāghavabhaṭṭa quotes a long passage from the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, 16th chapter and remarks *Abhinavabhāratyām Bharatāṭikāyām-Abhinavaguptāchāryair mahatprabandhena bhinnatayā sthāpitudāni*.

large number of centuries must have intervened between Bharata and Abhinavagupta to make the latter look upon the former with so much reverence. Abhinavagupta wrote his *Kramastôtra* in A. D. 991 and his *Bṛihatpratyabhijñānavimarśiṇi* in A. D. 1015.

3. Rudrabhaṭṭa wrote a work called *Śṛiṅgāratilaka* in which he says, 'Bharata and others have spoken about *rasas* in connection with dramaturgy; I shall treat of them as far as my light goes in connection with poetry.'²⁰ In the 6th chapter of the extant *Nāṭyaśāstra* there is an elaborate disquisition on the *rasas*. Quotations are taken from Rudrabhaṭṭa by Bhōja, Mammaṭa and others. If Rudrabhaṭṭa be identical with Rudraṭa, the author of *Kāvyaśālikā*, then the *Śṛiṅgāratilaka* was composed earlier than A. D. 900. Pratihārendurāja (A. D. 925) and Abhinavagupta (A. D. 960—1020) take a number of verses from Rudraṭa. Hence it follows that before A. D. 900 there existed a work going under the name of Bharata which contained a full exposition of the *rasas*.

4. Ānandavardhana, author of *Dhvanyāloka*, a standard work on *Sāhitya*, often refers to Bharata's works. In one place he says that the *Vṛttis Kaiśiki*, &c., are well-known from the works of Bharata.²¹ In another place he remarks that the author of the *Veṇṣasāhāra*, out of a slavish adherence to Bharata's rules, exhibits in his drama an *aṅga* called *vilāsa* of the *pratimukhasaṁhiti*, though it is unfavourable to the development of the *rasa* intended.²² Ānandavardhana flourished under Avantivarman of Kāśmir²³ (A. D. 855—883). Before him the *Veṇṣasāhāra* was composed and the author of the latter, according to Ānandavardhana, regarded Bharata as a paramount authority in the domain of dramaturgy. Ānandavardhana thus shows us that Bharata's work contained in his day (and for the matter of that, even before the *Veṇṣasāhāra*) a treatment of the *saṁdhis* and their *aṅgas*. The *aṅga* called *vilāsa* is referred to in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (19-71).

5. Mammaṭa quotes in his *Kāvya-prakāśa* as from *Bharata* the words *Vibhāvānubhāva-vyabhichārisaṁyôgāt rasanishpattiḥ*.²⁴ These words occur in the extant *Nāṭyaśāstra* in the 6th chapter p. 62. Mammaṭa quotes the different views of Lōlāṭa, Sankuka, Bhaṭṭa-nāyaka and Abhinavaguptapāda on the above *sūtra* of Bharata. We saw above that Abhinavagupta was living in A. D. 1015. He strongly criticizes Bhaṭṭanāyaka in his commentary on the *Dhvanyāloka* (see pp. 19, 21, 33, 63, &c.). His criticisms leave an impression on the mind that Bhaṭṭanāyaka's memory was quite fresh in Abhinavagupta's day. The *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*²⁵ tells us that there was a learned Brāhman named Nāyaka at the court of Sankaravarman, who was the son of Avantivarman and came to the throne in A. D. 883. From this it seems probable that Nāyaka flourished about A. D. 900. The *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* tells us that Sankuka wrote a poem called *Bhuvanābhīyudaya* and lived in the reign of Ajitāpīḍa who died in A. D. 813.²⁶ Thus Sankuka flourished about A. D. 800. We thus see that Saṅkuka, Nāyaka and Abhinavagupta are arranged in chronological

²⁰ *Prāyô Nāṭyaṁ prati prôktâ Bharatādityai rasasthitiḥ | Yathāmati mayāpy-eshâ kāvyaṁ prati nigadyate.*—*Śṛiṅgāra* I. 5.

²¹ *Yadi vā vṛttinām Bharataprasidhānām Kaiśikyālinām | Dhvanyāloka*, p. 163. These *Vṛttis* are referred to in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (VI. 25.).

²² *Yathâ Veṇṣasāhāre vilāsākhyaṣya pratimukhasaṁvithyāṅgaṣya prakṛitarasanibandhanānanugūṇamapi ... Bharatamatānūsaraṇamātrechchhayâ ghaṭanam.*—*Dhvanyāloka*, p. 150.

²³ *Muktākāṇḍaḥ Śivasvāmī Kavir-Ānandavardhanah | Prathām Ratnākaraś-ohāgāt sāmṛājye Ś vanti-varmaṇah || Rājatarāṅgiṇī* V. 34.

²⁴ See p. 84 of the *Kāvya-prakāśa* (ed. *Vāmanāchārya*).
²⁵ *Dvijas-tayôr-Nāyakaḥkhyô Gauri-Śaṅkara-sadmanôḥ | Chāturvidyaḥ kritas-tena Vāgdevi-kulaman-diram.*—*Rājatarāṅgiṇī*. V. 163.

²⁶ *Kavir-budhamanassindhu-śāśāṅkaḥ Śaṅkukābhīdhaḥ | Yam-uddiṣṭy-ākarôt kāvyaṁ Bhuvanābhīyudayābhīdham || Rāja*. IV. 705.

order by Mammata. It would not be quite wrong to suppose that Bhaṭṭa Lōllāṭa whose views are put first by Mammata was also the first known commentator of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* in Mammata's day. We shall not be wrong in assigning Lōllāṭa to about A. D. 700. Thus from the 8th century downwards we have a succession of commentators on the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. It naturally follows that the work must have been composed long before the 8th century.

6. Dāmōdaragupta, in his *Kuṭṭanimata*, in a number of places refers to Bharata as a writer on dancing and speaks of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* as composed by Brahmā.²⁷ Dāmōdaragupta was a minister under Jayâpīḍa²⁸ (A. D. 745—776).

7. Māgha says in one place 'like dramatic works the acts of which contain poetry composed by a poet familiar with Bharata'.²⁹ As Māgha is quoted by Ānandavardhana (9th century) and by Vāmana³⁰ (about A. D. 800), he cannot be placed later than A. D. 750. Before this date dramas existed, which according to Māgha, followed Bharata's rules on dramaturgy. So a long time before A. D. 750 a *Nāṭyaśāstra* by Bharata was in existence.

8. Bhāmaha (first half of 8th century) seems to refer to Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* in a number of places. In one place he says, '*Nāṭaka*, &c., have been treated of at length by others.'³¹ In another place he remarks: 'Others enumerate only five figures of speech, viz., *Anuprāsa* with *Yamaka*, *Rūpaka*, *Dipaka* and *Upamā*.'³² It should be noted that of all extant works on the *Alamkāra-Śāstra*, it is the *Nāṭyaśāstra* alone that speaks of such a small number of figures of speech. It is true that Bharata speaks of only four and omits *Anuprāsa*. But all the other figures are the same and *Anuprāsa* may be supposed to have been omitted by Bharata on account of its close similarity to *Yamaka*. In another place Bhāmaha criticizes those who divide *Upamā* into three varieties, *Prasamsā*, *Nindā* and *Sādṛśya*.³³ Bharata speaks of five varieties of *Upamā*, viz., the above three and two more *Kalpita* and *keñchit-sadṛśi*.³⁴

9. Bhavabhūti in his *Uttararāmacharita* refers to Bharata as the writer of a *sūtra* work on *Tauryatrika*, i. e., *Nāṭya*.³⁵ Bhavabhūti, it is well-known, was patronized by Yaśovarman and flourished, according to Dr. Bhandarkar, at the end of the 7th century (Preface to *Mālatīmādhava*, p. x). Mr. V. A. Smith gives A. D. 728 as the date of the accession of Yaśovarman (*JRAS* of Great Britain for 1908, p. 793). He looks upon Bharata as a contemporary of Vālmiki, the first poet who received his poetic fire from Brahmā himself.

²⁷ *Brahmūta-Nāṭyaśāstre gite muraḥdivādane chaiva | Abibbhavati Nāradaḥ prāvinyam Bhaṭṭa-putrasya.*—*Kuṭṭanimata* verso 75; *Bharata-Viśākhila-Dantila-vikahdyurveda-chitrasūtreṣu |* Verso 123; see also verse 81 in which Kōhala is associated with Bharata.

²⁸ *Sa Dāmōdaraguptākhyam Kuṭṭanimata-kārinam | Kavin Kavin Balir-iva dhuryam dhīśachivam vyadhāt.*—*Rāja*. IV. 496.

²⁹ *Bharataḥ kavi-praṇṭa-kavya-grathitānka iva nāṭakaprapañchāḥ.*—*Śiśupālavadha*, 20. 44.

³⁰ The verse *Trāsakulāḥ paripatan paritō nikelān*, &c., quoted by *Dhvanylōka*, p. 144, is *Śiśupālavadha* V. 26 and the verse *Ubhau yaśi vyōmni*, &c., quoted by Vāmana under *Ati-ayōkti* (IV. 3. 10) is *Śiśupālavadha* III. 8.

³¹ *Nāṭakam dvipadi śamyā Rāsaka-Skandhakādī yat | Uktam tad-abhineyārtham-ukṭiṇyais-tasya vistaraḥ ||* Bhāmaha, I. 24.

³² *Anuprāsah sayamukō Rūpakam Dipakōpame | Iti vācām-alaṅkārah pañcāḥaivānyair-uddhṛitā.*—*Bhāmaha*, II. 4.

³³ *Yaduktam triprakāratvam tasyāḥ kaischin-mahātmabhiḥ | Nindā-prasamsā-sādṛśyabhedā-astābhidhiyate.*—*Bhāmaha*, II. 27.

³⁴ *Nāṭyaśāstra*, 16. 48.

³⁵ *Uttararāma 4th act. Tam cha evahasta-likhitam munir bhagavān vyasṛjāt-Bharatasya munee-tauryatrikasūtrākārasya.*

10. Bâna gives a list of the arts and sciences in which prince Chandrâpîḍa attained proficiency. At the head of the list figures the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata.³⁶ A very long period of time must have intervened between the the composition of Bharata's work and Bâna before the latter could look upon the study of the former as a *sine qua non* in the education of a prince.

11. Daṇḍin in his *Kāvyaadarśa* refers to a work on dramaturgy in the words 'Nāṭaka and others are treated of at length elsewhere.'³⁷ In another place he says that what are called *samdhyaṅga* (*aṅgas* of the five *samdhis*) and *Vṛṭtyaṅga* in another *śāstra* (*āgama*) are looked upon by us as *alaṅkāras*.³⁸ The five *samdhis* and their *aṅgas* are spoken of in the 19th chapter of the extant *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the *Vṛṭtis* in the 20th chapter. In the present state of our knowledge we must conclude that the work referred to by Daṇḍin is none else but the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata. We shall see later on that Daṇḍin flourished about the 6th century A. D.

12. Kālidāsa has a very pointed reference to Bharata in the *Vikramōrvaśīya*. 'The Lord of gods, together with the guardians of the worlds, has a mind to see that performance containing the eight *rasas*, which has been entrusted to you (the *Apsarases*) by the sage Bharata and which will be rendered with fine acting.'³⁹ There are three points here that deserve special attention; firstly, Bharata is spoken of as a *Nāṭyāchārya*; secondly, it is said that the business of a drama is to evolve the eight *rasas*; and thirdly, the *Apsarases* are said to be the actors who help Bharata to bring a play on the stage. All these three are found in the extant *Nāṭyaśāstra*. In it also, Bharata is said to be the *Nāṭyāchārya* of the gods, the *rasas* are said to be eight,⁴⁰ and the *Apsarases* are said to have helped Bharata.⁴¹ It is noteworthy that to Kālidāsa also Bharata is a semi-divine sage. Bharata must have been placed by tradition a number of centuries before Kālidāsa in the latter's day. It seems to us not unlikely that Kālidāsa had before him some work of Bharata. The date of Kālidāsa is yet far from being settled. He is certainly much earlier than the Aihole inscription (A. D. 634) in which he is highly praised along with Bhāravi. He is also earlier than A. D. 472, the date of the *Mandasor Inscription*⁴² the author of which shows his great familiarity with Kālidāsa. If Kālidāsa is thus earlier than the 5th century A. D., Bharata must be older still by a number of centuries.

13. Every ancient writer from Bhaṭṭi (somewhere between A. D. 500—650), Daṇḍin (6th century), Bhāmaha (A. D. 750), to Vāmana and Udbhaṭa (latter half of 8th century) mentions more than thirty figures of speech. It is Bharata who speaks of only four figures. We have said above that Bharata would not have scrupled to give a more elaborate treatment and a larger number of figures if he had known them. For this reason also, he must be placed a number of centuries before Bhaṭṭi and Daṇḍin.

³⁶ *Bharatādīpranīteshu nṛtyaśāstreshu*.—Kādamburī, p. 75 (ed. Dr. Peterson).

³⁷ *Mīsrāṇi Nāṭakādīni teshām-anyaṭra vistaraḥ* | *Kāvyaadarśa* I. 31.

³⁸ *Yachcha samdhyaṅga-vṛṭtyaṅga-lakṣaṇādya-āgamāntare* | *Vyākhyānam-īdāni cheshtam-alaṅkāra-tayaiiva naḥ*.—*Kāvyaadarśa* II. 367.

³⁹ *Muninā Bharatena yaḥ prayogō bhavatiśiv-aṣṭarasāśrayō nityuktaḥ* | *lalitābhinayaḥ tam-adya bhartu marutāṃ drashtūmanāḥ sālōkapālāḥ* || 1st act.

⁴⁰ See *Nāṭyaśāstra*, VI. 15.

⁴¹ *Apsarōbhīr-īdāni śīrḍhaṃ kṛdānīyaika-hetukam* | *Adhishṭhitaṃ mayā svatīnā Nārudena cha* | *Nāṭyaśāstra* 37. 19.

⁴² See Dr. Fleet's *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, p. 70 ff.

In the foregoing discussion, we hope we have advanced cogent arguments for asserting that the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata was composed not later than the 5th century A. D. If it be conceded that Kālidāsa had in mind the work of Bharata, then the latter must have been composed at the beginning of the Christian era, if not earlier. We do not mean to assert that the *Nāṭyaśāstra* as composed by Bharata has come down to us intact. We are quite prepared to admit that interpolations may have been inserted from time to time. What we contend for is that the main outlines of the work were just the same about the 7th century as they are now. We have seen that comparatively ancient writers like Ānandavardhana, Rudraṭa and Abhinavagupta refer to particular portions of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. We see that Abhinavagupta regarded Bharata as a very ancient sage and that according to him Bharata spoke of the two figures, Yamaka and Upamā. It has been our endeavour to establish that the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata is at all events older than A. D. 500. There is no other extant work on the *Alaṅkāraśāstra* that can be placed before A. D. 500. We may therefore provisionally regard that the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata contains the oldest extant treatment of *Alaṅkāras*.

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.

BY V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T.,; MADRAS.

(Continued from p. 163.)

So ended the Tanjore war; and the two powers became not only tacit observers of peace, but positive allies, offensive and defensive. In the enthusiasm of their new alliance, they even prepared for war with a third power. The Rāja of Mysore had just constructed a dam across the Kāveri and caused thereby untold hardship to the people of the Tanjore and Trichinopoly kingdoms. Cultivation had to be suspended, and the grim prospect of famine loomed large in the horizon. The two powers therefore at once resolved to send a joint expedition against Mysore. But fortunately at this crisis, Providence intervened and averted the war. A timely flood⁵⁰ of the river swept away the Mysore dam and furnished the parched kingdoms with water, copious enough for irrigation.

The Successful revolt of the Sētupati. 1702.

The last military undertaking of Maṅgammāl (1702) was against the turbulent Marava chieftain, Raghunātha Sētupati,⁵¹ whose policy of persecution we have already seen. The arms of Madura were not attended with the accustomed success in this war. The loosely combined mercenaries of the Nāik army could hardly prevail against a people who, owing to their community of race, language, religion and interests, had a strong sentiment of national solidarity. The war in consequence resulted, in spite of the assistance which Tanjore rendered on this occasion, in a serious diminution of the prestige of Madura. The great general, Narasappaiya himself, fell in battle, and the confederates were driven in disgrace into their kingdom. Tanjore suffered more. The brunt of the war fell specially on the South and Eastern districts of that kingdom which were devastated with fire and sword by the exultant Maravas.

⁵⁰ See E. G. Buchanan, I, p. 427, where he describes a dam built by "Cavery Cāda Rāja, one of the family of Chika Dēva Rāja of Mysore" at Naringapetta. It is, of course, not at all certain that this dam is the intended one.

⁵¹ In 1700, one Daḷavāi Sētupati repaired the Śiva temple at Tirumōkūr, 6 miles north of Madura. He was evidently a general of Raghunātha and then in friendly terms with the Central Government. See *Antiquities*, I, p. 295. The war presumably took place after this.

The tragic and mysterious death of Maṅgammā.

It is an irony of fate that a ruler, who did so much for her country and was so popular with her subjects, ended her life, if we are to believe tradition (no MSS. mention it), under circumstances of a most tragical character. In the year 1706, Vijaya Rāṅga (Chokkanātha attained his majority, and had to be invested with the royal power; but Maṅgammā! was unwilling to part with it. A historian, whose views are of a most unreliable nature, says that the queen was in guilty intimacy with a singer, that the Prince Vijaya Rāṅga (Chokkanātha flogged him; that the queen kept him in consequence in prison for three years; that he, however, successfully intrigued with the officers of the army, effected his escape by means of a rope ladder, proceeded to the temple, and crowned himself: and that though Maṅgammā! feigned satisfaction and pretended to welcome the new *regime*, the prince put her in prison, where she remained, till her death, for 40 days.⁵² The imperious voice of tradition imputes to her a guilty motive, inspired by her friendship and alleged love for her minister Achchaya. An enquiry into the conditions of the time, however, would seem to warrant the supposition that she was actuated by honest intentions in refusing to entrust Vijaya Rāṅga with the burdens and responsibilities of royalty. As we shall see later on, Vijaya Rāṅga acquitted himself, during his reign of 27 years, so badly that he became notorious as a foolish, unjust and feeble spendthrift. Maṅgammā! and her minister seem to have formed a true estimate of his character and abilities, and honestly felt that it would be better for the kingdom if Vijaya Rāṅga assumed the reins of government after some more experience in statecraft. The queen's hesitation was thus, in all probability, due to her regard for the people; but her attitude was mistaken for ambition, and her confidence in her minister declared by the voice of scandal to be an unrighteous and criminal intimacy. A strong and formidable party arose, in consequence, against them and did not hesitate to stain their hands with her blood. Inspired more by brute force than by gratitude, they seized her by treacherous means and condemned her to a prisoner's life in her own palace, the building which is now occupied by the Taluk and other offices. There she had to expiate her alleged treason and greed by a cruel and ignominious death. She was slowly starved, her distress being enhanced by the frequent placing of food outside her prison at such a distance that she could see and smell it, but not reach it. To be practically within life's necessity and yet brutally debarred from its touch and enjoyment, was a tantalising penalty hardly deserved by a true philanthropist and benefactor of mankind.

Such was the fate of the celebrated queen whose guilt was, to judge from the entire circumstances of the case, most probably a simple act of indiscretion. That she was tactless may be conceded; but her treason or ambition is yet to be proved. There are no sufficient evidences to prove that her conduct was such as to provoke universal discontent or popular indignation. The author of the *Madura Gazetteer* evidently believes in the truth of the stories of her guilty love. A "slight confirmation of the tradition," he says, "is derived

⁵² One account says that Maṅgammā! was queen till 1712. Muthiah's account on which Wilson bases his, says that when the prince was 13 years old, the Dalavāi Kastūri Rāṅga organized a revolt, put the queen in prison, and seized the reins of government. Maṅgammā! soon died in the prison (*J R A S* III, 234) The latest inscription in her name is dated 1706 (S. 1628, *Vyaya*) "during the reign of Venkaṭadēva Rāya at Ghānagiri," *Antiquities*, II, p. 17). Inscription 494 of 1907, dated S. 1626 (*Tāraṇa*), recording the construction of a shrine by a Brahman in her regency, at Uyyakkondān channel, is of course earlier.

from the facts that in the little chapel built by Maṅgamāṇ! on the west side of the 'golden lily tank' in the Madura temple is a statue of a young man who is declared to be her minister and paramour, and that in a picture on the ceiling of the chapel is a portrait of the same person opposite to one of the queen, who (be it noted) is dressed, not as an orthodox Hindu widow should be, but in jewels and finery appropriate only to a married woman."⁵³ The confirmation afforded by these is slight indeed. The appearance of the minister by the side of the queen is no proof of unlawful intimacy, nor is there anything uncommon in a royal lady, though a widow, adorning her person. Public appearance necessarily demanded a decency in keeping with her station. The true cause and excuse of Maṅgamāṇ!'s death, therefore, is, and is ever likely to be, a mystery.

And she has lived, and will live, in history. Throughout the wide kingdom of Madura the great queen has left her undying monuments. Her roads and avenues have afforded happiness to travellers and her choultries shelter and food to pilgrims without number for the past two centuries. Distant corners, unfrequented regions, have celebrated her name and cherished her memory. Even to-day the lone and solitary wanderer whom the love of antiquity draws to the western parts of the Tinnevely district, so far from the seat of the noble queen's government, will notice the most illiterate man blessing the name of the great good woman who made that winding road at the sight of the hills, that planted those tall majestic trees and that built those welcome bowers which give shade and water to his exhausted and sun-struck person. Even to-day he will find her choultries and rest-houses as at Sôlavandân⁵⁴ and at Madura playing their parts of service, though under different management and under different ideals of charity and benevolence. Even to-day he will find her the theme of simple anecdotes and amiable remembrance in holy places of pilgrimage. At Paṇi,⁵⁵ for instance, the very steps by which she once went to the temple are remembered and have been perpetuated by an anecdote. It is said that while she was going up the flight of steps leading to the Daṇḍāyudhapāṇi shrine, "she came upon a young man who, perceiving her, retreated in confusion. She called out graciously to him 'Trunkol!' or 'Pray wait!' and he and his sons' sons thereafter always took this word as their name." But while posterity has revered and loved her memory the actual place where she underwent her tragic end is in ruins. On the site which her palace once occupied has now been built the central market of Madura⁵⁶; and of her residence and its environments nothing now remains but the small Māriamman's shrine near the southern entrance to the market, the compound wall at the northern side, and a few huge, well polished black-stone pillars similar to those in Tirumal Nāyak's palace, in the north-eastern corner. The artistic excellence of the edifices is proved by the excellent patterns of the still existing perforated stucco windows and the well-carved wooden doorways in the west, which have defied time. And with regard⁵⁷ to her foul murderers the story runs that, owing to her curse, their descendants, nay the very caste to which they belonged, have sunk in obscurity and been unable to rise to any position of trust or dignity in the State.

⁵³ *Madura Gazr.*, p. 55.

⁵⁴ See *Madura Gazr.*, p. 157-8 and 291, for the history of these choultries.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 305.

⁵⁶ *Arch. Rep.*, 1910-11, pp. 16-17. Moore in his *Trichinopoly Manual*, however, points out that a small room near the large hall in the Nawab's palace, called Maṅgamāṇ!'s Hall, is generally pointed out as the place of her death.

⁵⁷ Oral tradition.

Vijaya Raṅga Chokkanātha.

SECTION II.

Personal Rule (1706-1731.)

The death of Maṅgammāl paved⁵⁸ the way for the actual exercise of sovereign power by Vijaya Raṅga Chokkanātha. The character of this monarch is simply and easily described. Throughout his long reign of 26 years (for he ruled till 1731), he shewed⁵⁹ himself, by his conduct, an exceedingly pious and god-fearing man. In fact he led the life of a saint, of a pilgrim, rather than that of a king. His mind was always occupied in the efficient observance of religious ritual and the speedy propagation of the religious spirit. Caring solely for the applause of the clergy by whom he was surrounded, he spent every moment of his life and every penny of his revenues in indulging their desires and furthering their interests. A Telugu chronicle observes that it was his custom to set out every two years, on an extensive religious tour, throughout his kingdom. He would in the course of the tour, visit the shrines of Srīraṅgam, Jambukēśvaram, Madura, Tinnevely, Alvār Tirunagiri, Srī Vaikuntham, etc. On these occasions the pious monarch would expend, with a reckless extravagance, immense sums for the increased offerings and anointings of the images. The priests of many a rich temple who understood the real character of the king practised deception and found means to fill their already full coffers. They would set aside the silken robes and the costly ornaments⁶⁰ of the shrine and substitute in their place plain white clothes and other semblances of poverty. The plates and charters of previous royal endowments would be carefully hidden, and a small number of faintly flickering lights would be kept burning at the altar. The king on seeing these miserable provisions invariably bestowed, without the least enquiry into the past history or the present resources of the shrine, numerous vestments and monetary gifts of the value of 2,000 or 3,000 *madais*, amounting to 1,000 or 1,500 star pagodas. In this manner every tour of the king absorbed lakhs of rupees of the revenue. The extravagance of donations was repeated during every tour; for the king, with an extraordinary pride and singular notion of charities, deprecated all inquiry into past gifts on the ground that such an enquiry would destroy the spiritual fruits of the gifts themselves. To those men of business and of sense

⁵⁸ Nelson points out that there are no Jesuit letters to illustrate this reign. We have to depend solely on Chronicles and the meagre and secondary evidence of English historians.

⁵⁹ An inscription of his, dated 1710, is in the eastern Gōpura of Madura. Further epigraphs in his name dated 1716, 1724, 1727, 1729, and 1731 are given by Sewell. Two of these are grants to Durga and Siva temples; but the deeds are always engraved with Vaishṇava figures. A curious fact to be noticed is that an alleged suzerain Rāya is always given. Inscription 697 of 1909 records a grant of is in 1728 (*Ep. Rep.*, 1909, p. 59).

⁶⁰ For an interesting account of a few of the jewels given by Vijaya Raṅga to the Srīraṅgam temple, see *Ind. Ant.* I, p. 131. His are some of the oldest jewels possessed by the temple,—necklaces, gold and silver vessels, etc. [from the *Athenæum*, Jan. 17, 1872].

who represented the necessity of enquiry, he would reply that things once given to a deity ought not to be inquired after. "If a garment be given to a man," he argued, "and it be afterwards said, *we gave it*, the merit of the act is nullified; and in the case of a god," the king continued, "it would be a sordid sin." Vijaya Raiga Chokkanâtha was, in fact, a Brahman's king. He always liked to have them around him, to listen to their counsels and teachings, to serve them and worship them. No money was wasted, he sincerely believed, when spent on their behalf. They were his very limbs, the breath of his life. Envidable as was the position of the Brahmans under the Naik regime, it was never so envidable as in the days of their favourite, Vijaya Raiga.

Official oppression and corruption.

The result of this subordination of the king to the clergy was, as might be expected, a thorough disorganization and dislocation of the state. The conversion of the palace into a place of prayer, of the king into a saint, and of the state into an agency for religious propaganda, naturally brought the affairs of the kingdom into a state of extreme misery. The king's indifference to the duties and responsibilities of royalty made his officials tyrants and oppressors, and exact as much as possible from the helpless people.⁶¹ The voice of distress and the tumult of discontent filled the kingdom. Nelson describes how in 1709, four years after the king's accession, there was, in consequence of the cruelty and injustice of the Daḷavâi Kastûri Raiga, a serious riot at Madura. An inscription (No. 6 of 1915) belonging to the Temple of Madura clearly bears out this statement and gives a clue as to the condition of the country. It states that the king's officers levied certain taxes on the people of the four villages of Sâmanattam, Sikkalai, Pûngaikulam and Seṅgulam which they had hitherto enjoyed as *sarvamânya*, for their service as the bearers of the image of Chokkanâtha during festivals. "Being unable to bear the hardship, they made up their mind to go in a body to commit suicide, one of them actually got upon the gopura, fell down and died. On this the people of the place assembled in the temple to guard its four gates. The officer in charge of the fort, the *maṇiyam* of the place, the *samprati*, the day-watchmen (*dinavarikkârar* ?) and others met together and summoned the assembled people and the bearers of the god and declared that the four villages enjoyed⁶² by the latter were, as usual, *sarvamânya*, free of all taxes." Mr. Krishnasastri remarks that this is not surprising as from 1710 to 1720 the country suffered from the miseries of a widespread famine. The inscription clearly states that the Daḷavâi at this time was Kastûri Raigaiya and the Pradhâni Vêṅkata Krishnaiya.

⁶¹ See Nelson: *Madu. Man.*

⁶² *Madu. Ep. Rep.* 1915, p. 116. Even in this time the king was very generous in his endowments to Brahmans. In 1708-9 he registers a gift of villagers to the Śaṅkarâchârya maṭha at Jambukêśvaram for the feeding of Brahmans. *Ibid.* In 1721 he gave a grant to one Narasa Pantulu, evidently a doctor who was to offer prayers to Dhanvantari. *Madu. Ep. Rep.* 1911, p. 15. In 1708-9, Vijaya Ranga also gave a grant to Vyâsarâya maṭha of Sosale by which "whatever dues were paid in the Madura kingdom to the temple at Chokkanâthapura were to be paid to the maṭha also." *Mys. Ep. Rep.* 1915, p. 55.

Nelson proceeds to say that the King woke up from his dream and dismissed his minister; but the new minister Naravappaiya was, we are told, hardly better than his predecessor. His boundless avarice speculated the sum to be distributed as pay among the army, and thereby gave rise to a mutiny of a serious and threatening nature. With greater tact than Kastûri Raiga, Naravappaiya hoodwinked the king, and represented the case in such a light that the latter believed in the honesty of his minister and the unreasonableness of his soldiers. Instead of wisely removing the cause of discontent and conciliating the army, the king listened to the counsels of the Dalavâi and called the Sêtipati for help. The Sêtipati of the time, Kîlavan, as he was called, readily responded to his suzerain's call, but instead of joining him in the chastisement of the mutineers he advised him to grant the arrears of pay and win back their loyalty by a wise policy of justice. The king apparently saw his own folly and the villainy of his minister. He immediately paid the pay of the discontented men, and the mutiny ended. We do not know whether the Dalavâi was dismissed or not: but from the fact that we meet with a new name, that of Vênkaṭarâghavâchârya, in his place, we have to infer that he must have been dismissed. As for Vênkaṭarâghavâchârya, who, to judge from his name, was evidently a Śrî Vaishṇava Brahman, we have no direct evidence to prove that he was worse than his predecessors. But one remarkable incident which the *Telugu Record of the Carnatic Governors* gives about him, shews that he was not probably free from their weakness. He had, it is said, accumulated ready money to the value of a lakh of pagodas and jewels of immense worth. As he grew old and felt the hand of death he expressed, no doubt with the idea of preventing the annexation of his immense acquisition by the Crown, a desire to see the king. The latter condescended to honour his servant. On his arrival at his habitation he found himself seated on a jewelled throne and honoured with all honours. 300 trays, moreover, full of pagodas and *mohars*, of rupees and *fanams*, 300 more of gems and golden jewels, and 400 of costly attire, were placed by the minister at the feet of his master. It is difficult to read the motive of Vênkaṭa Râghava in bequeathing this enormous wealth to the king. Perhaps he felt that the inheritance of such enormous riches by his heirs would surprise the ignorance and excite the jealous avarice of royalty, thereby causing their transfer to the royal coffers. To make the king acquainted with the extent of his resources and to justify his vanity by a bequeathal of a portion of it to him, was perhaps a device to ensure his son's inheritance of the rest. Or it is possible that the Dalavâi felt a remorse, and thought of satisfying his conscience by sacrificing a portion to the State. Whatever the fact was, whether the Dalavâi's motive was one of vanity or remorse, or of policy or foresight, the result was a triumph which he could hardly have expected. For, as soon as the king's eyes fell on these presents, he exclaimed in the name of God that it was a sin to look at the valuables of a Brahman, much more so to take possession of them! Looking hard at the Dalavâi, he then added that, in case he had been inspired in his conduct by the apprehension of future insecurity, he was labouring under a mistake. Not satisfied with the assurance, the reckless monarch presented the Dalavâi with 30,000 pagodas, directing that part of it should go to his comforts and the rest to the performance of charities. Only

one thing remained for the king,—the removal of the sin he had committed by looking on a Brahman's property; and that was done by the liberal distribution of cows, lands and food to the needy and the indigent!!

Vijaya Raṅga and Kandy.

Such was the reckless folly and culpable extravagance of Vijaya Raṅga Chokkanātha. For the sake of his gods and his Brahmans he sacrificed his State and his subjects. Conservative as the Nāiks were in their social policy, none was so conservative as Vijaya Raṅga. This is exemplified in his relation with the contemporary king of Kandi. The Sinhalese monarch⁶³, Kumāra Singh Mahā Rajah, was unmarried owing to the lack of girls in his family. He therefore sent, at the instance of his officers and subjects, an embassy to Trichinopoly to solicit an alliance with the Nāik family. With costly garments and ornaments, the Ceylon messengers reached the Nāik Capital, and in an interview with Vijaya Raṅga, expressed the object of their embassy. But no sooner did the son of Raṅga Kṛishṇa hear of this than he expressed his abhorrence of the proposal. He asked the strangers whether their master was of his own caste, and whether there had been any intermarriage in the past, and on being replied in the negative, dismissed them without ceremony, commanding the Chobdars to take them forthwith outside the fort. The king also issued an order that none of his relatives or eastmen should give a daughter of his house to the Sinhalese monarch. The king's order however was honoured more by breach than by observance: for an ambitious member of the caste, more anxious to have a royal grandson than to preserve the caste rule or to obey the royal mandate, treated secretly with the messengers, and in return for gifts of many *huns* and robes, accompanied them stealthily to Kandy and celebrated his daughter in marriage with the king.

The State at Vijaya Raṅga's death.

The result of this unsatisfactory state of things was that when the king died⁶⁴ in 1731 the state was in a dangerous situation. The treasury was empty, the vassals turbulent, and Vijaya Raṅga was childless. The Mysore occupation of the northern parts of the kingdom moreover had become permanent. An inscription of 1714, for instance,⁶⁵ says that the townsmen, tribesmen, religious schools and Vêdic divisions of a town in Āttūr sold a piece of land to a Brahman, and that they recognized in it "Shrimad Rajadhiraja Raja Parameshvara Rajamartanda Prauda Pratapa," the conqueror of kings, "the unrivalled Kṛishṇa Raja Udayar," whose standard "bore the image of the earth-goddess with the boar," as their sovereign.

⁶³ See *Account of the Singhalese Kings*, Appendix.

⁶⁴ According to Muthiah, he died in 1734; to Orme, in 1736. The real date is 1731.

⁶⁵ *Salem Manual*, II, p. 86.

SECTION III.

The Setupati affairs.

The weakness of Vijaya Raṅga is best illustrated in the Rāmnād affairs. His inability to control the army at home necessarily weakened his hold on the Polygars, and many of them shewed signs of defection and independence. Kilavan⁶⁶ Sêtopati was the first and foremost to do it. We have already seen how he based his rule on popular welfare and military efficiency, and how besides changing the seat of government to Rāmnād, he ruled his state well.

A tremendous storm.—1709.

In 1709 Rāmnād suffered from not only a famine but one of the most destructive cyclones recorded in the history of India. Beginning in the early morning of December 18, it raged, with constant violence, till noon⁶⁷; and after a temporary lull which lasted for four hours, broke out again with tremendous vigour, and lasted throughout night. The storm was accompanied by a violent rain, the torrent of which flooded the land. The next day the sun rose on one of the tragic scenes of history. The embankments of tanks already, owing to the monsoons, full to the brim gave away, and their waters, joined to those from above, converted the kingdom into a vast lake, interspersed here and there with precarious lands. Cattle and goats, dogs and men, struggled in the floods, and their carcasses and corpses floated in grim and hideous company. Rāmnād became an extensive field of death, a scene of horrifying tragedy in which thousands, old and young, men and women, found a simultaneous watery grave. Trees of strong build and gigantic growth measured the ground, and the corn fields were covered and destroyed by a thick layer of sand and earth, the removal of which was an expense intolerable to the ruined peasants. Tanks and wells were fouled and poisoned and the stench of corpses filled the atmosphere and bred disease. The after-effects of the cyclone were even more destructive. For a space of four years the kingdom became subject to an acute and all-penetrating famine. Many people died of starvation,⁶⁸ and many more left Rāmnād for ever, and sought shelter in Tanjore and Madura.

(To be continued.)

⁶⁶ See *Madura Manual* and O. H. MSS. He performed the Hiraṇyagarbha sacrifice. For his grants in 1707 and 1712 to the Vyāsārāya maṭha at Sôsāle (through his agent at Rāmēśvaram) see *Mys. Ep. Rep.* 1915, p. 55. The inscription enumerates all the titles of the Sêtopati.

⁶⁷ Such storms were very frequent. It was a tremendous storm of 1480 that broke Adam's Bridge. See Ferguson's *Gold, Gems and Pearls, in Ceylon and S. India*, p. 300. See also Col. Love's *Vestiges of Madras* for similar storms in 1640, 1662, 1668, 1674, 1679, 1687, 1717, etc.

⁶⁸ Nelson points out from the Jesuit authorities that it was due not to mis-government but to the failure of monsoons. Prices rose 32 times. *E.g.*, eight Rāmnād *marakāls* of rice usually costing one *fanam* cost in 1713, 32 *fanams*. See *Madura Man.* p. 242.

MISCELLANEA.

MĀGHA AND HIS PATRONS.

In the colophon to his *Śiṣupālavadham* Māgha mentions his grandfather Suprabhadra as having been the minister of a certain king, whose name has naturally been made a sport of in various MSS. giving us any number of variants. An inscription from Vasantagadh dated 682 V. S., (A. D. 625) has brought to light the name of a king coinciding with one of the variants, Varmalāta, and most of our scholars have proposed a happy identity of the two kings, giving A. D. 650-700 as a fairly approximate date for Māgha. The only thing that stands in the way is the well-known verse of Māgha's poem (II. 112)

अनूसूत्रपद्व्यासा सङ्गतिः सन्निबन्धना
शब्दविद्यैव नो भाति राजनीतिरपस्पशा ।

where the words *वृत्ति* and *न्यास*, according to Mallinātha, convey a covert allusion to the *Kāśikā* and its commentary *Nyāsa* (by Jinendrabuddhi). Jayāditya, one of the authors of the *Kāśikā* died, according to I-tsing, in A. D. 661, and the *Nyāsa*, which is not mentioned in the elaborate account of I-tsing, was evidently not yet written in A. D. 695, when I-tsing left India. Māgha cannot therefore be placed earlier than the middle of the 8th century, making the proposed identification of Varmalāta rather impossible. The learned editor of the inscription, following his collaborator Dr. Konow, has indeed sought to reconcile the two conflicting evidences by making Māgha, with some stretch, a contemporary of Jinendra, and placing both early in the 8th century. (*Ep. Indica*, Vol. IX, p. 190). But perhaps Mallinātha's interpretation should better be rejected in face of the palpable epigraphic evidence. For even though we may admit Mallinātha's comment in Māgha's passage, a different meaning have certainly to be sought for the words *वृत्ति* and *न्यास* as they occur in a strikingly similar passage of Bāṇa's *Harsacharita*, which may not unlikely have been the original from which Māgha draw :

प्रसन्नवृत्तयो गृहीतवाक्या कृतगुरुपद्व्यासा लंक
इव व्याकरणेपि । (Nirn. S. Ed. p. 96). Here we have evidence of earlier *vrittis* and earlier *nyāsas* in the domain of Sanskrit grammar. The ancient commentator Śaṅkara, without referring to particular works, explains *वृत्तिः सूत्रविवरणं* *न्यासो*

वृत्तिविवरणं and thus lends a strong support to Dr. Kielhorn, who similarly rejected Mallinātha's glossary (*JRAS*, 1908, p. 499). The word *वृत्ति* itself occurs in an introductory verse of the *Kāśikā*, and Haradatta and Jinendra in their comments thereon have preserved to us the names of no less than four earlier *vrittikāras*, viz., Kuni, Chūlli, Bhatti and Nallāra (Bengal MS. reads निर्गूर; *Kāśikāvivarṇapanjikā*, pp. 1-2).¹ It is evident that along with these earlier *vrittis* there were also earlier *nyāsas*, which led both Bāṇabhatta and Māgha to form their respective conceits.

But beyond being called upon to settle the date of Māgha, the discovery of this new inscription has not it seems been pushed to its proper conclusions. It seems to be generally forgotten that the *प्रभावकचरित* alone preserved what now appears to be the correct form of the king's name as *वर्मलता* and it is but fair to take the author at his word when he further says that he was king of *अमाल*, capital of the Gurjara Kingdom. (Nirn. S. Ed. pp. 196-7). It appears therefore that *वर्मलता* is the earliest king of the great Gurjara Kingdom of Bhinmal, whose name has yet been brought to light. Brahmagupta the great astronomer who styles himself "Bhīlāmullakāchārya" wrote his work in A. D. 628 under king Vyāghramukha of the Śrīhāpa dynasty, who according to V. Smith (*JRAS*, 1907, p. 923 sqq.) was presumably a king of Bhinmal. Vyāghramukha must then have been the immediate successor of Varmalāta, the date A. D. 625 marking the closing period of the latter's reign. It is therefore difficult to push Māgha's date beyond A. D. 706 in view of his alleged reference to *Jinendranāyaka*. For Hiuen Tsiang, who visited Bhinmal about A. D. 641-2, described the reigning king as a young man of only twenty. He is evidently the immediate successor of Vyāghramukha and may therefore be looked upon as the contemporary and patron of our poet, the grandson of Varmalāta's minister, as shown below :—

Varmalāta (circa 600-625)	Minister Suprabhadra
Vyāghramukha (625-640)	Dattaka
(born circa 620, asc. 640)	Māgha

¹ According to कैयट Kuni preceded the भाष्यकार "भाष्यकारस्तु कुण्डिर्दानमसिभिवत्" (कैयट on I. 75). A *Chullikabuttavrittis* (?) according to Aufrecht (*ZDMG* 28, p. 113) is quoted in a MS. of राघवकुट्ट's comm. on Amara and may refer to Chūlli. A निर्गूरवृत्ति is found quoted in श्रीपतिवृत्त's कान्तनूपरिशिष्टः the passage which seems to embody a good chronology is here given in full—
'भाषायामपि अर्करीतमिच्छन्ति उक्तेहि भाष्ये भाषायामपि यङो लुगस्ति निर्गूरवृत्ती (v. l. निर्गूरवृत्ती) श्रीक
भाषायां यङो लुगस्तीति लुगधिकारि यङो बहुलमिति चान्द्रे च पठ्यते काशिकायामपि छेदोऽनुवृत्तिरिह नेट्टेयुक्तं
.... भागवृत्तिकारस्तु श्रीमतीत्येव न छान्दसमिति मन्वते ॥ वृत्ति on अर्करीता-भासस्य (सन्धिप्रकरणं). निर्गूर
is here placed between the भाष्यकार and चन्द्रगोवि Perhaps in point of time.

Now it is a significant fact that all the three works—**प्रभावकचरितम्**, **प्रबन्धचिन्तामणि** and **भोज-प्रबन्ध**—that give us accounts of the poet Māgha make him a protégé of that literary magnet of the 11th century A.D., King Bhoja of Dhārā. The **भोजप्रबन्ध** may be dismissed as a most reckless piece of patchwork but the other two works are never so wantonly fanciful. Both of them agree in making Māgha a native of Śrīmāla and the **प्रभावकचरित**, while recording genuine history in Suprabhadeva having been a minister of Varmalāta of Bhinnal, almost in the same breath associates Māgha (the grandson of Suprabhadeva) with Bhoja: **तस्य श्रीभोजपालवानामित्रं कृतीश्वरः । आमाद्यो नन्दनो ब्राह्मीस्थन्दनः शीतचन्दनः ॥ (आसिद्धर्षि मूरिप्रबन्धः n. 15, p. 197.)** Moreover the following verse is quoted in the **समुक्तिकर्णामृत** under the joint authorship of Bhojadeva and Māgha :

रेवतीवदनीच्छिष्ट परिपूतपुटे वृक्षा ।

वहन् हलीमद्वशी वः पानगोष्ठ्य पुनानुव ॥

भोजदेवमाद्ययोः

(L. 48. 4, p. 62, *Bibl. Indica* Ed.)

It is therefore not unlikely that the association of Māgha with Bhojadeva has some truth behind it, and now that the date of Māgha has been fairly settled, we should seriously consider the question of the existence of more than one Bhojadeva in the history of Western India. Col. Tod in his *Rājasthān*, stated on the strength of a *Jaina Chronogrammatic Catalogue* (obtained from the temple of Nadole), that there were three Bhojas, all belonging to the Pramāra race of Mālava, reigning respectively in A. D. 575, 665 and 1042. The last Bhojadeva is very well known and Col. Tod corroborated the existence of the second Bhojadeva of A. D. 665 by the *Mānsarovar inscription* (found near Chitor) of the Pramāra king Māna, son of Bhoja of Mālava dated 770 V. S. (A. D. 714) (*Vide Rājasthān*, Vol. I, p. 92, note § and pp. 799-801 : ins. No. III). This inscription, to which Col. Tod justly attached so much importance, has it seems been entirely missed by all later scholars and does not find place in *Kielhorn's List*. It is not known if the inscription can now be traced after such a length of time. But relying on Col. Tod's account of it we can

well believe in the existence of a Bhojadeva, Pramāra of Mālava, reigning round about Chitor in A.D. 665 and his patronage of Māgha can no longer be a myth in point of chronology.

Bhojadeva and his son Māna are described in the inscription as kings of Mālava. This can well be elucidated by a reference to the travels of Hiuen Tsiang. Hiuen Tsiang turned South-East from the Gurjara Kingdom and came to Ujjayini. To the North-East of Ujjayini lie the small kingdom Chi-chi-to (Chitore ?) and to the North of Chitor again lie Maheśvarapura. All these three kingdoms are described as having been reigned over by kings of the "Brahmin Caste" (meaning evidently non-Buddhist) and inhabited by like peoples. It is apparent that the great kingdom of Mālava in its Eastern portion—the Western portion, the Ma-lo-pa of Hiuen Tsiang, already annexed according to Smith to the kingdom of Valabhi—then comprised a group of these three not very powerful kingdoms reigned over by different branches of the same race, the Pramāra. Bhojadeva the elder evidently ruled over the kingdom of Chitor, where his son's reign ended. Maheśvarapura may also have been named after Maheśvara, one of the illustrious kings of the early Pramāra race mentioned in the above inscription. It is also important that in Hiuen Tsiang's time the reigning king of Chitor "encouraged men of merit and learned scholars of other lands collected here in numbers" (Watter's *Yuen Chwang*, Vol. II, p. 251). It is possible that the king whom Hiuen Tsiang saw was either Bhojadeva himself, if we allow him a long reign, or his father, and this allusion to his magnanimity is significant as showing that Bhojadeva the elder was also as great a patron of learning as his famous descendant and namesake of the 11th century. Evidently the respective literary traditions about each came in course of time to be confused and went to create an ideal, a sort of *Magnus Bhoja*, the very prototype of the legendary Vikramāditya, round whom all sorts of literary stories gathered. By this existence of an earlier Bhojadeva it is possible to clear many of the apparently absurd synchronisms, such as that of Bāna and Mayūra with Bhoja.

D. C. BHATTACHARYA, M.A.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS.

5. Proceedings for a Lease in 1682.

12, October 1682. Consultation in Masulipatam. Maumud Edgdee [Mahmūd Hājī], a Persian who hath severall years laid Claim to a peece of ground in the midle of this Factory and given our predecessors and selves Continual trouble aboute keeping it, the business now being brought to an agreement for pagods : 157, he signing a lease for said ground to the Honoble. Company for ninety nine years before the Codgee & ca. officers [*qāzi* and other officers], and severall other eminent Persians who have sett their hands and seales to the said lease, in witness thereof tis therefore ordered the 157 pagod : be Imediatly paid him according to

agreement. The Governour of this towne pretend he hath much befreinded us in the making up of this business and that the owner of the ground hath spent more then he receives in the procurement of orders from Court to have a Right and Justice done him here, therefore desires us to Consider him and give him some small Tachareife [*tashrif*, complimentary present] that he may goe away Contented, which to oblige the Governour, Councell have thought fitt to present the aforesaid Maumud Edgdee with 3 yards Broadcloth rose-water and beetle [*betel*] which was gratefully received by him. (*Factory Records, Masulipatam*, vol. 4).

R. C. T.

A THIRD JOURNEY OF EXPLORATION IN CENTRAL ASIA, 1913-16.

BY SIR AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E., D.LITT.

(Continued from p. 172.)

IT was a great relief when by the ninth day from Altmish-bulak we came upon the first scanty scrub and reeds growing on sandy soil by the shore of the ancient dried-up sea. Next day a long march to the south-east brought us safely across the wide, salt-encrusted expanse, here showing patches of actual salt bog to the lonely caravan track towards Tun-huang. There at the well of Kum-kuduk I had the great satisfaction of finding brave Lal Singh just arrived after carrying out an interesting survey of the north-eastern shores of the dried-up sea-bed, and the straggling low ranges which abut upon them. One day later our successfully arranged concentration was completed by the arrival of our heavy baggage from Miran.

Letting it move on towards Tun-huang by the caravan track we turned once more north across the end of the dried-up Lop Sea, and continued to explore the ground close to the foot of the Kuruk-tagh where the ancient route had passed. Further to the north-east the desert area near the present terminal basin of the Su-lo Ho River with its dried-up depressions and mazes of lacustrine *Meshas*, offered opportunities for geographically interesting new surveys. There I picked up Surveyor Muhammad Yakub Khan, who had carried a carefully observed line of levels all the way up from the southern shore of the ancient dry sea. Coupled with other observations, its result has confirmed my belief that the water of the Su-lo Ho at a period relatively recent in a geological sense had drained into the Lop-nor Basin. We found them still percolating, in the same direction, the sandy soil at the foot of the Kuruk-tagh within a few feet from the surface. Evidence that this drainage had been more considerable during historical times was furnished by the remains we traced of a canal, which appears to have been constructed for the purpose of carrying water along a portion of the ancient Chinese route where it approached the eastern end of the dried-up salt sea.

Leaving the surveyors behind for supplementary tasks, I reached by March 16 the westernmost point of that fortified ancient Chinese border line which I had first discovered and successfully explored in 1907. It was a cheering experience for me during the next few days to revisit the ruined watch-stations of the "Great Wall" in this desolate gravel waste and clear up on the spot antiquarian questions raised by the ancient records they had yielded. I felt quite at home here, as I followed again the tracks still clearly visible for long distances which the tramp of the patrols marching along the wall for centuries had worn into the soil. The fact that in places I could quite distinctly recognize my own footprints of seven years before, and those of my little dog, was the best illustration how long this bare gravel surface might retain traces of regular tracks, even if trodden about the time of Christ. From Lako Khara-nor onwards I then completed my detailed exploration of the Tun-huang *Limes* by searching all the ruined watch-towers along the portion of the line where circumstances had in 1907 obliged me to leave a gap in my survey. These small watch-stations usually occupied the top of high erosion terraces, and their ruins and refuse heaps were thus well protected from damp. So our search was rewarded by plentiful finds of Chinese records on wood, curious articles of equipment and other interesting relics going back to Han times.

Before the close of March, 1914, I had regained my old haunts of Tun-huang, and after a very brief halt to allow men and animals to recover from our trying winter campaign I started for the explorations planned eastwards. They were to take me mainly into the deserts which fringe on the south and east the great barren hill region usually designated as the Pei-shan Gobi. The distances were great and short the remaining season during which that waterless ground could be visited before the great summer heat set in. But even thus I could not forego a renewed visit to the famous cave temples of the "Thousand Buddhas" south-east of Tun-huang. There in 1907, I had been fortunate enough to secure such abundant antiquarian and artistic spoil from the walled-up temple *cella*, in which a whole library of Buddhist and other manuscripts and hundreds of fine paintings on silk had been hidden away early in the eleventh century, together with a multitude of other relics.

I could not expect to make such a haul now. For when a year after my own visit, Professor Pelliot, on a mission from the French Government, had with his expert knowledge of Chinese, searched the hoard and carried off a considerable selection of its remaining manuscripts, the attention of the authorities at Peking had been attracted to the old library, and its transfer to the capital was decreed. Of the careless and in reality destructive way in which the order had been carried out, I found evidence in the many scattered rolls of Chinese-Buddhist texts, undoubtedly derived from this source, which were offered to me for purchase at a number of towns both in Turkestan and Kansu. So it was satisfactory to find that somehow a considerable quantity of Chinese manuscripts from the walled-up *cella* still remained behind at the "Thousand Buddhas," and that my old priestly friend, Wang Tao-shi, was prepared to part with them in regard for a proper compensation for his pious establishment. He showed me with genuine pride the good use to which he had put the sum previously received from me, by building some gaudy new shrines and comfortable pilgrims' quarters. It was also reassuring to see that his personal relations with the pious people of Tun-huang and their official guardians had evidently in no way suffered by our former little transaction. The only regret which it had left behind in the quaint little monk was that he had not been shrewd enough to accept the offer made by me in 1907 for the whole hoard, and had thus failed to save it from dispersion, and to secure its full value for his shrine. Our reunion was throughout very cordial, and when we parted again my collection had received an appreciable addition of cases with old manuscripts and other relics in evidence of Wang Tao-shi's good will, and his appreciation of my ever-faithful attachment to the memory of holy Hsüan-tsang.

My immediate task, and one cherished ever since 1907, was to trace the line of the ancient Chinese *Limes* as far as possible to eastward, and to explore whatever ruins might have survived along it. After striking across a difficult belt of salt marshes, which nearly embogged my camels, I came again upon the ancient border wall half-way between Tun-huang and An-hsi. From there we succeeded in exploring its line for close on 250 miles eastwards. For almost the whole of this distance the wall, with its watch-towers and small military posts, had been built across what already in ancient times was absolute desert ground. The resulting immunity from human interference had contributed greatly to the preservation of the remains for fully two thousand years; but the remarkable method of construction employed was an even more important factor. The most destructive of natural forces in this region has always been slow-grinding but relentless wind-erosion. The wall or *agger*, built of carefully secured fascines of reeds, brushwood, or tamarisk branches, whichever

of these materials were available in the immediate vicinity, was specially adapted to with stand it. Even where the watch-towers, once massively built in sun-dried bricks or stamped clay, had been under-cut by erosion at the base and been subsequently reduced to shapeless low mounds, difficult to recognize from a distance, the direction of the wall still clearly revealed itself, as it stretched away in a characteristic straight line across wastes of gravel or drift-sand.

The remains proved to have suffered most along that stretch of ground where the *Limes*, after crossing the Su-lo Ho to its right bank east of An-hsi, ran close to the deep-cut river-bed, and in a due easterly direction. On the bare riverine loess crossed here by the wall the erosive force of the prevailing north-east winds, blowing down with great violence from the gravel plateaus of the Pei-shan, could fully assert itself. But even where all structural features had been completely effaced it was easy for us with the experience gained elsewhere accurately to determine the position of the posts once guarding the border, from the fragments of pottery, coins, metal objects, and other hard débris which could be picked up at these points from the wind-worn surface. It was quite an exciting chase to search for these indications, and my Indian assistants and Turki followers had by now become expert in the game.

Where the Su-lo Ho valley bends sharply southward the line of the *Limes* was found to turn to the north-east, and to approach closer and closer to the foot of the Pei-shan. The ground crossed by it had remained so far un-surveyed, and the difficulties of our search were much increased by the distances which separated the long-forgotten border from the nearest water. Fortunately the days had now grown longer, and I was able to take out my little detachment of diggers mounted on the big hardy donkeys which abound at the oases of this region. Ample finds of ancient Chinese records on wood, articles of furniture, fragments of arms and implements rewarded the rapid search of the ruined watch-stations. That all these had been left behind by the Chinese troops, who during the first century before and after Christ had guarded this most dismal of frontiers, was made clear on the spot by conclusive archaeological evidence. The finds of records still await expert examination by M. Chavannes, my learned Sinologue collaborator at Paris. They may be expected to furnish an important addition to the collection of early Chinese records resulting from my former explorations, which he had published in 1913.

Interesting light was thrown on the climatic conditions prevailing here from early times by the fact that here too the inscribed slips of wood, the "waste paper," to use an anachronism, thrown out of ancient office-rooms, were found often in refuse layers covered by a few inches only of gravel or débris. Their preservation in such conditions presupposes a remarkable dryness of the climate for the last two thousand years. Apart from this and the uniform barrenness, there was considerable variety in the natural features of the ground traversed by this eastern portion of the *Limes*. Thus all the more opportunity presented itself of observing the remarkable skill and topographical sense with which those old Chinese engineers of Han times had adapted their defensive border-line to different local conditions.

That they were prepared for great and sustained efforts demanding real powers of organisation in the face of formidable natural obstacles was clearly demonstrated when, some 30 miles to the north-east of the little oasis of Ying-p'an ("the garrison") we found the *Limes* boldly carried into and through what since ancient times must have been a big area of drift-sand. Where not completely buried by high dunes, the wall built with

tamarisk fascines, and of the usual thickness of 8 to 9 feet, still rose to close on 15 feet. Special difficulties must have been encountered in assuring water and supplies for the men guarding this section. In order to safeguard what evidently was an important line of communication and supplies leading to it, a chain of small fortified stations had been constructed to the south independently of the wall, but at the same period. It ran in the direction of the big oasis of Şu-chou, an important Chinese base ever since Han times, and to this I turned when early in May it became necessary to make preparations for our next move northward.

I had planned to follow the united course of the rivers of Su-chou and Kan-chou down into southernmost Mongolia, and to explore the ruins which the reports of Russian travellers had led me to expect along it and in its terminal delta. I was specially attracted to this ground by its geographical character, which suggested close resemblance to that of the Lop-nor region, and by the interest attaching to its earliest historical past. For we know that this region of the Etsin-gol, as the river is called by the Mongols, had been included in the wide dominion held by those earliest nomadic masters of Kansu, the "Great Yüeh-chih," the later Indo-Scythians, and the Huns, whose successive migrations westwards were destined to affect so deeply the history of Central Asia as well as of India and the West.

The effective intercession of H.M.'s Minister at Peking had secured for me a very friendly reception by the Chinese administration of the Kansu Province. The Tao-tai of Su-chou agreed to provide me with a recommendation to the chief of the Torgut Mongols who now graze in the Etsin-gol delta, and on May 10 I was able to set out northward. The track I followed down the river of Su-chou allowed me to approach once more the area where we had previously lost the line of the ancient frontier amidst high dunes. Pushing a reconnaissance into the stony desert north-west of the Chint'a oasis, I came upon remains of the *Limes* where it emerged on less impracticable ground near the south-eastern extremity of the Pei-shan. Thence we tracked it right through to the north of the Mao-mei oasis, the last Chinese settlement. There Lal Singh rejoined me after having followed a hitherto unsurveyed route along the river of Kan-chou, where it breaks in a picturesque gorge through the westernmost hill range of the Ala-shan.

In the valley of the Etsin-gol, nature, by affording water and grazing, has ever provided an easy route for raids and invasions from the Mongolian steppes into the line of the westernmost Kansu oases, which itself constitutes the great natural highway connecting China with the Tarim Basin and innermost Central Asia. Ruined forts of imposing size and evident antiquity were found to guard the point where this route of invasion cuts through the ancient border-line drawn by the Chinese, when they first occupied those oases in the reign of the great Han Emperor Wu-ti. One fort built with clay walls of exceptional strength looked an exact counterpart of the ancient frontier post of the "Jade Gate," famous in Chinese historical records, and previously identified by me on the Tun-huang *Limes*. We found evidence that the fortified border-line after crossing the Etsin-gol, north of Mao-mei, had continued through the desert eastwards. But when we came back in June from the Etsin delta the summer heat had become too great to permit of further search on this waterless ground.

We found even in May our long marches trying as we moved down by the sandy bed of the Etsin-gol, nearly a mile wide in places, but absolutely dry at that time. Only at rare intervals could water be obtained from wells dug in deep hollows below the banks. Some 90 miles below Mao-mei the river passes through a low rocky spur thrown out from

the eastermost Pei-shan, and spreads out in a delta, which extends for over 110 miles to the north, terminating in a line of brackish lakes and marshes. The conditions brought about here by a succession of low-water seasons furnished a striking illustration of the appearance which the ancient Lou-lan delta we had explored in the winter may have presented before its final desiccation. Where river-beds lined by narrow belts of riverine jungle had been left dry for long years, we found many of the wild poplars already dead or dying. The wide stretches of ground separating the several beds showed but scanty scrub, or else were absolutely bare. No wonder that we heard sad complaints in the scattered camps of the two hundred odd Mongol families, which are established in the Etsin-gol delta, about the increasing difficulties caused by inadequate grazing. Their chief, whom I visited on May 25 in his modest encampment, proved a well-meaning but weak individual, and his subjects as indolent as they were "much given to deceit," to use an expression of my Chinese patron saint. It was no easy matter to secure an adequate number of labourers for my intended excavations, and still more difficult to keep them at work, in spite of very generous pay.

Advantages of geographical position must at all times have invested this extensive riverine tract, limited as are its resources, with considerable importance for those, whether armed host or traders, who would make the long journey from the heart of Mongolia in the north to the Kansu oases. It had been the same with the ancient Lou-lan delta, without which the Chinese could not have opened up the earliest and most direct route for the expansion of their trade and political influence into Central Asia. The analogy thus presented could not fail to impress me even further when I proceeded to examine the ruins of Khara-khoto, the "Black Town" which Colonel Kozloff, the distinguished Russian explorer, had been the first European to visit during his expedition of 1908-09. There remained no doubt for me then that it was identical with Marco Polo's "City of Etzina." Of this we are told in the great Venetian traveller's narrative that it lay a twelve days' ride from the city of Kan-chou, "towards the north on the verge of the desert; it belongs to the Province of Tangut." All travellers bound for Kara-koram, the old capital of the Mongols, had here to lay in victuals for forty days in order to cross the great "desert which extends forty days' journey to the north, and on which you meet with no habitation nor baiting place."

The position thus indicated was found to correspond exactly to that of Khara-khoto, and the identification was completely borne out by the antiquarian evidence brought to light. It soon showed me that though the town may have suffered considerably, as local tradition asserts, when Chingiz Khan with his Mongol army first invaded and conquered Kansu from this side about 1226 A.D., yet it continued to be inhabited down to Marco Polo's time, and partially at least for more than a century later. This was probably the case even longer with the agricultural settlement for which it had served as a local centre, and of which we traced extensive remains in the desert to the east and north-east. But the town itself must have seen its most flourishing times under Tangut or Hsi-hsia rule from the beginning of the eleventh century down to the Mongol conquest.

It was from this period, when Tibetan influence from the south seems to have made itself strongly felt throughout Kansu, that most of the Buddhist shrines and memorial Stupas dated, which filled a great portion of the ruined town and were conspicuous also outside it. In one of the latter Colonel Kozloff had made his notable find of Buddhist texts and paintings.

But a systematic search of this and other ruins soon showed that the archaeological riches of the site were by no means exhausted. By a careful clearing of the *débris* which covered the bases of Stupas and the interior of temple *cellas* we brought to light abundant remains of Buddhist manuscripts and block prints, both in Tibetan and the as yet very imperfectly known old Tangut language, as well as plenty of interesting reliefs in stucco or terra-cotta and frescoes. The very extensive refuse heaps of the town yielded up a large number of miscellaneous records on paper in the Chinese, Tangut, and Uigur scripts, together with many remains of fine glazed pottery, and of household utensils. Finds of Hsi-hsia coins, ornaments in stone and metal, etc., were also abundant, particularly on wind-eroded ground.

There was much to support the belief that the final abandonment of the settlement was brought about by difficulties of irrigation. The dry river-bed which passes Khara-khoto lies some 7 miles to the east of the nearest branch still reached by the summer floods. The old canals we traced, leading to the abandoned farms eastwards, are removed considerably further. It was not possible to determine by conclusive evidence whether this failure of irrigation had been the result of desiccation in the Etsin-gol delta or been caused by some change in the river-course at canal-head, with which the settlement was for some reason unable to cope. But there seemed to me good reason to believe that the water-supply now reaching the delta during a few summer months would no longer suffice to assure adequate irrigation for the once cultivated area. Even at the Mao-mei oasis, over 150 miles higher up the river, and with conditions of ground far more favourable for the maintenance of a system of canals, serious trouble had been experienced for years past in securing a sufficient discharge early enough in the season, and much of the once cultivated area seemed to have been recently abandoned.

With the rapidly increasing heat, work at the desert sites had become very trying both for the men and our camels, upon which we depended for the transport of water. With the completion of our task at Khara-khoto, and of the surveys which had meanwhile taken Lal Singh to the terminal lake-basins of the Etsin-gol, I was glad to let the hard-worked camels depart for their much-needed summer holiday in the Kongurche hills north-eastward and to start myself with Lal Singh south to the foot of the Nan-shan. The new route, which we were able to follow for part of the journey, took us through hitherto unexplored portions of the desert hills to the east and north of the river of Kan-chou. But owing to the heat and the scarcity of spring it implied serious fatigues, and it was a relief when Kan-chou was safely reached before the close of June.

A short but refreshing halt in that large and pleasant oasis was devoted to the arrangements needed for the new surveys I had planned in the Central Nan-shan. Their object was to extend the mapping, which in 1907 we had effected in the high mountains near the sources of the Su-lo Ho and Su-chou River, by accurate surveys of the high ranges further east, containing the headwaters of the river of Kan chou. In conjunction with our labours in the Etsin-gol region, they were intended to complete the mapping of that large north-western portion of Kansu which, inasmuch as it sends all its waters into drainageless basins, may well be claimed in respect of its hydrography and general physical conditions as belonging to Central Asia rather than to China. Knowing the reluctance of the local Chinese to venture far into those mountains, I was prepared for the difficulties experienced at the outset in securing transport. But a fortunate chance brought just then an old Chinese friend to the military command of Kan-chou in the person of worthy General Tsai, whose kindness I remembered so well from my visits to Su-chou in 1907, and his opportune help enabled us to set out for the mountains by the first week of July.

The route followed during the first marches acquainted me with a series of old Buddhist cave temples at Ma-ti-ssu, containing sculptures of Sung times, and with other interesting Buddhist remains in the pretty little town of Nan-kou-chêng at the foot of the mountains. The visit did not pass without profit for my collection of antiques, and also helped to make me realize that we were now near a dividing line of distinct geographical interest. For while to the west cultivation, whether in the plain or along the foot of the mountains, requires irrigation, we now came upon loess slopes and big alluvial fans which rainfall alone suffices to make fertile. Our approach to the watershed of the Pacific Ocean was appropriately foreshadowed by this marked change in climate conditions.

Following the route which leads towards Hsi-ning and ascending through the picturesque gorge and the pass of O-po, we reached the broad valley where the easternmost feeders of the river of Kan-chou gather at an elevation of over 11,000 feet. Thence we were making our way westwards over high alpine grazing grounds frequented in the summer by Tangut herdsmen and horse-breeders, when I met with a serious riding accident which might well have put an end for ever to all my travelling. My Badakhshi stallion reared suddenly, and over-balancing himself fell backwards upon me, with the result that the muscles of my left thigh were severely injured. For over two weeks I was unable to leave my camp bed or to use the crutches we improvised. But fortunately the arrangements already made allowed me to let Lal Singh proceed for the topographical tasks I had planned. He carried them through with all his wonted devotion and energy, and no time was lost in our programme. Nearly three weeks had passed when, with my leg still feeling the strain severely, I managed to get myself carried down in a litter to Kan-chou.

During a ten days' halt there I experienced much kindness from Father Van Eecke and other Belgian missionaries, and received the first confused news of the great European conflagration. Then I set out by the third week of August for the long-planned journey through the Pei-shan Gobi. It was to take me back to Turkestan for the work of the autumn and winter. Eight long marches brought me to Mao-mei by a new route skirting the hills on the right bank of the river of Kan-chou, and allowed me to view the remains of the late mediæval "Great Wall" which runs on to and ends near Su-chou. The complete decay into which it has fallen for considerable distances, notwithstanding its relatively recent origin, helped me to appreciate all the more the time-resisting solidity which the methods of construction employed by the engineers of Han times had assured to their *Limes* wall. I reached Mao-mei exhausted by the effort which it had cost me to do this journey on horseback, because of the severe strain to my leg. But I found there my brave camels safely arrived and was cheered by Lal Singh rejoining me. By exceptional efforts my indefatigable old travel companion had succeeded in extending our Nan-shan surveys eastwards over an area quite as large as that mapped in 1907.

On 2 September 1914 we commenced the journey which was to carry us right across the great desert area occupied by the ranges of the Pei-shan, where its width is greatest, in the direction from south-east to north-west. The routes we followed for close on 500 miles had never been surveyed, and I knew that only at one point, the cross-roads of Ming-shui, could we expect to touch ground the position of which was known relative to the routes previously visited by Russian travellers. Wherever possible we moved in two parties and by different routes, in order to increase the extent of the area mapped. For this purpose I had secured at Mao-mei the only two guides available, both Chinese. But

their local knowledge, even when combined, proved very inadequate, and after less than half of the journey it gave out altogether. We were thus obliged to trust largely to the guidance of the faint caravan tracks traceable and to what information we opportunely obtained at the single small Mongol camp encountered. The scarcity of wells and of grazing implied serious risks in this mode of progress and made it an anxious time for me, especially as I had found the strain of riding too painful and was obliged to direct our moves from an improvised pony litter.

It was reassuring when, after passing the well of Ming-shui, the great snowy mass of the Karlik-tagh came into view, far away to the north-west, and served to direct us in the rough. But great difficulties still awaited us in the last barren hill range through which we had to make our way, owing to want of water and the very confused and, in places, rugged configuration of its valleys. It proved an easternmost extension of the T'ien-shan system. When we had safely emerged from it through narrow tortuous gorges, which ever threatened to stop our camels far away from water or grazing, it was a real relief to look down on the open Dzungarian slopes and sight some 15 miles away a tiny spot of dark trees. It was the little village of Bai, for which I had wished to make all the time, and after nearly four weeks of continuous travel it was no small satisfaction to have safely reached it without the loss of a single animal. There was reward for our troubles in the extensive plane-table surveys, supported here as all through our journeys by astronomically observed latitudes and by many careful height observations with mercurial barometer and clinometer. They will throw fresh light, I hope, on the morphology of the Pei-shan ranges.

A rapid journey subsequently carried me during October along the north foot of the eastern portion of the T'ien-shan range, already bearing its first winter snow, to Barkul and Guchen (Ku-ch'êng-tzu). The ground crossed here, topographically better known, had a special interest for me, as it helped to acquaint me with the peculiar physical conditions of a region, through which many of the great historical migrations westwards, like those of the Yüeh-chih or Indo-Scythians, Huns, and Turks, must have passed. These valleys and plateaus of Dzungaria, favoured by a climate less dry and possessed of abundant grazing-grounds, have often played an important part in the history of Eastern Turkestan. They have again and again afforded a temporary home to nomadic tribes. They could never have maintained their flocks and herds in the arid planes of the Tarim Basin, but they were always able from across the T'ien-shan to carry out their raids into it and exact tribute from its flourishing oases. I could observe a curious if faint reflex of those great tribal movements in the numerous camps of Muhammadan Kazaks, fine men of Turkish speech and descent, whom the Mongols had driven south under Chinese protection, since they secured the "independence" of Outer Mongolia.

After leaving Guchen I surveyed, near Jimasa, the remains, extensive but badly decayed, marking the site of an ancient capital of this region, which under the names of Chin-man and Pei-ting often figures in the Chinese Annals from Han to T'ang times. Its connection with the Turfan oases to the south had been a very close one from an early historical period, and as Turfan was to be my base for the winter's labours I was very glad to march there by the most direct route, hitherto unsurveyed. It led me across the Bogdo-ula range, a rugged portion of the T'ien-shan rising to numerous snowy peaks, by a pass close on 12,000 feet and once again confirmed the accuracy of the early Chinese itineraries in which this route is described.

The first week of November 1914 found the four parties into which my expedition had divided since September safely reunited at Kara-khoja, an important ancient oasis in the centre of the Turfan depression. A combination of geographical and archaeological reasons had made me fix upon Turfan as the base and chief ground for our labours of the ensuing winter. It was certainly the natural and most convenient starting-place for the series of tours I was anxious to organize for the exploration of unknown or as yet inadequately surveyed portions of the Kuruk-tagh and Lop deserts to the south. I myself, ever since my brief visit of 1907, had felt drawn back to Turfan by the hope that its abundant ruins of Buddhist times were not yet completely exhausted, even though, easily accessible as they are, within or quite close to oases, they had received much attention from successive archaeological expeditions, Russian, German, and Japanese. Finally, geographical and antiquarian interests united in prompting me to make an accurate large-scale survey of the Turfan Basin; for, apart from its containing in its terminal salt lake what probably is one of the deepest depressions below sea-level of our globe, there is the important fact that, within close topographical limits, and hence in a concentrated form, as it were, it exhibits all those characteristic physical features, which make its great neighbour and counterpart, the Tarim Basin, so instructive both to the geographer and historical student.

This detailed survey of the Turfan depression, on the large scale of one mile to an inch and with clinometrically observed contours, was taken in hand by Surveyor Muhammad Yakub, almost as soon as he had joined me after a difficult desert crossing from the terminal drainage basin of Hami or Kumul. A few days later I could send off R. B. Lal Singh, pining as always for fresh hard work, to the Kuruk-tagh. The rapidly increasing cold, felt even here close to sea-level, gave hope by then that he would be able to overcome the difficulties arising in those truly "Dry Mountains" from the want of drinkable water, by the use of ice formed on salt springs—or of snow if such happened to fall.

With my remaining two Indian assistants I had already started the archaeological labours that were to keep us busy for the next three and a half months. The ruined town, known as Idikut-shahri, which was their first scene and adjoins Kara-khoja, has long ago been identified as the site of Kao-chang (or Khocho in early Turki), the Turfan capital during T'ang rule (seventh to eighth century A.D.) and the subsequent Uigur period. Massive walls of stamped clay enclose here an area, nearly a mile square, containing the ruins of very numerous structures, built of sun-dried bricks or clay. Most of them were Buddhist shrines and several of imposing dimensions. For generations past these débris-filled ruins have been quarried by the cultivators of the adjoining villages in search of manuring earth for their fields, and many of the smaller structures had been levelled to gain more ground for cultivation. Since the excavations made here between 1902-06 by Professors Grünwedel and Von Lecoq, of the Berlin Ethnographic Museum, the villagers had extended their destructive operations in the hope of securing manuscript remains and antiques as valuable by-products for sale to Europeans. Of such finds I was able to acquire a fair number. But it was more satisfactory to find that in some ruins deeper débris strata had escaped exploitation. Their systematic clearing was rewarded by a variety of small but interesting remains, such as fresco pieces, fragments of paintings on paper and cloth, stucco reliefs, illustrating Buddhist art at Turfan. Manuscript fragments in the Uigur, Tibetan, Chinese, and Manichaean scripts were also recovered. The discovery of a hoard of well-preserved metal objects, including decorated bronze mirrors, ornaments, etc., offered special interest, as the large number of coins found with it permits the date of its deposit in Sung times to be fixed with approximate accuracy. Simultaneously with these clearings I had an exact plan of the whole site prepared.

After rapid visits to smaller sites in the eastern portion of the Turfan Basin I turned, towards the close of November, to the ruins in the picturesque gorge of Toyuk. There numerous rock-cut caves, once occupied by Buddhist priests, honeycomb precipitous cliffs rising above the small stream that waters a flourishing little oasis, famous for its grapes. Where the slopes are less steep, narrow terraces have been built, bearing small Buddhist shrines, now in ruins. At the most conspicuous of these the second German expedition had made important manuscript finds. Stimulated by these in their monkey-like emulation, native searchers for antiques had subsequently wrought terrible havoc among ruins which had before remained more or less untouched. Lower down, however, we succeeded in tracing remains of shrines which had been protected by heavy covering masses of debris, and the employment of large numbers of diggers to clear them was easy. After the difficulties to which my previous work at desert sites far away from habitations and water had accustomed me, conditions of work in the Turfan district seemed, in fact, quite "suburban," as it were. In the end we recovered at Toyuk a considerable quantity of fine frescoes and stucco relief pieces. Fragments of Chinese and Uigur texts were numerous.

From Toyuk I proceeded by the middle of December to an important Buddhist site below the village of Murtuk. It occupies a conglomerate terrace on the steep west bank of the stream watering the Kara-khoja oasis, where it breaks in a narrow wild gorge through the barren hill range overlooking the main Turfan depression. The extensive series of ruined shrines, partly cut into the rock, had been decorated with frescoes representing scenes of Buddhist legend and worship in a great variety of subject and style. In richness and artistic merit they surpassed any similar remains in the Turfan region, and recalled the pictorial wealth of the "Thousand Buddhas" caves near Tun-huang. In 1906, Professor Grünwedel, with his intimate knowledge of Buddhist iconography and art, had carefully studied these big wall paintings, and a considerable selection of fresco panels was then removed to Berlin. For long centuries the frescoes had been liable to suffer casual injury at the hands of iconoclast Muhammadan visitors. During recent years they had been exposed to even greater damage from natives, who, in vandal fashion, cut out small pieces for sale to Europeans. The risk of further destruction in the near future was only too obvious and careful systematic removal presented the only means of saving as much as possible of these fine remains of Buddhist art. Fortunately, I could utilize for this long and difficult task the trained skill and manual experience of Naik Shams Din. Working with devoted energy, and valiantly helped by Afrazgul, he successfully accomplished it in the course of six weeks. Carefully drawn plans had been prepared for their guidance. Meanwhile I was able to pay a rapid visit to Urunchi, the provincial headquarters, where I had the great satisfaction of seeing again my old Mandarin friend, learned P'au Ta-jên, then holding high office as Financial Commissioner of the 'New Dominion.' As on my former journeys he did his best to help me in my scientific aims.

Early in January 1915, work had progressed sufficiently to allow me to apply myself to the clearing of smaller Buddhist ruins near Murtuk, and then to a task which proved as fruitful as it was to me novel and in some ways unpleasant. Below the debouchure of the gorge which brings down the streams of Murtuk and Sengim, and above the large village of Astana adjoining Kara-khoja from the west, there extends over the gravel-covered waste a vast ancient burial-ground. It is marked by small mounds covered with stones and by low lines of embanked gravel which enclose these mounds to form scattered groups. The mounds

indicate the position of tomb chambers which are cut into the underlying hard layer of fine conglomerate or sandstone. A narrow rock-cut passage, originally filled in again, led deep down to the entrance of each tomb, which itself was closed with a wall. Most of these tombs appear to have been searched for valuables during the last Muhammadan rebellion, and probably also earlier. But drift-sand had completely closed up the passages of approach, and only during the last few years had the tombs attracted attention from local antique-hunters. Their operations had not proceeded far, and gave anyhow useful assurance as to the absence of any local prejudices.

Willing labour could be secured in plenty, and made easy the opening of very numerous tombs in rapid succession. The systematic search of each has conclusively demonstrated that the cemetery dates from the early Tang period, and mainly the seventh century A.D. Then Kao-chang, the present Turfan, was an important administrative centre and garrison of the Chinese after their reconquest of Eastern Turkestan. Exact dates, names of persons, and other details are furnished by the Chinese inscriptions on bricks, which were found intact near the approaches of many tombs. Their decipherment by my distinguished Sinologue collaborator, M. Chavannes, is likely to clear up the question as to whether the tombs were occupied exclusively by Chinese or contained also dead from among the indigenous population. Without a detailed examination and comparison of all these finds and observations, which may not be possible for some time, it would be premature to interpret the interesting burial customs revealed by these tombs; nor can I find space here to discuss them and their variations.

The dryness of the Turfan climate accounts for the remarkable state of preservation in which most of the bodies and the objects deposited with them were found. The latter comprised a great variety of articles of food, dress, personal use and the like, which the dead were supposed to need. Among them I may mention pastry of many shapes, showing familiar Indian ornamental motifs: boxes with ladies' toilet outfits: arms, etc. Whether of actual size, or reproduced in miniature, these objects, together with the painted stucco figurines representing attendants, richly caparisoned horses, household animals etc., acquaint us with many aspects of the daily life led in Turfan at that period. I cannot pause to give details. It must suffice to record that the archaeological spoil has been as varied as it was abundant. But I may at least briefly refer to finds strikingly illustrating the position which Turfan and probably other oases of Chinese Turkestan occupied at that period, as places of trade exchange between Western Asia and China. Thus we found Byzantine gold pieces regularly placed, much in the fashion of the classical obolus, in the mouth of the dead, and Sassanian silver coins over their eyes. The custom of wrapping up the bodies in torn pieces of manifold garments has provided us with a rich collection of fine silk materials. Among these there is a curious abundance of brocades and other decorated fabrics showing designs which are usually associated with Persian work of Sassanian times. Paintings on silk, too, were found, meant to decorate the dwellings of the dead, and a quantity of manuscript records, mainly Chinese.

Interesting and fruitful as this search was, I felt a strong longing for a chance of resuming exploratory tasks in the open air of the desert. But my leg had not yet recovered from the accident in the summer, and could not face long tramps such as a return to the wastes of the Lop Desert would have necessitated. So I had to be content with what satisfaction Lal Singh's safe return towards the close of January from his expedition into the 'Dry Mountains' brought me. In the face of great physical difficulties and risks he had accomplished important survey work. After reaching Singer, the only permanent homestead in that vast area of barren plateaus and hills, he had started triangulation; and in accordance with my instructions carried it south-east to the vicinity of the Lou-lan ruins in the wind-eroded desert. His patient wait there for a week, amidst icy gales and with temperatures falling well below zero Fahrenheit, was rewarded when the dust-laden atmosphere cleared at last and allowed him to connect his triangles with previously 'fixed' high peaks of the snowy K'un-lun range from 150 miles south. Thus it became possible later on to realize my hope of getting the Indian triangulation system extended by this link to the Tien-shan range in the north.

With Abdur Rahim, the experienced hunter of wild camels from Singer, whose help had proved so valuable to us a year before, Lal Singh had then pushed into the unexplored and absolutely sterile region to the north-east of Altmish-bulak. His fuel supply had given out for several days, and he had to brave the severe cold of the nights without a fire before he decided to turn again westwards from beyond 91° long. He then picked up an old desert track once used by hunters of wild camels from Hami, before certain salt springs had dried up, and followed it down to the salt marsh that forms the deepest part of the Turfan Basin. There he took numerous observations with the mercurial barometer which, I hope, will make it possible to determine its depression below sea-level with greater accuracy. In spite of all he had gone through, Lal Singh allowed himself but a brief rest at our base, and by the first week of February set out afresh for the Kuruk-tagh.

The packing of our plentiful "archaeological proceeds" from Turfan had cost great efforts. But at last, on February 6, I could start my big convoy of antiques, making up fifty camel-loads, under Ibrahim Beg's care for its two months' journey to Kashgar. On the same day, I sent off Afrazgul Khan to the Lop Desert for a supplementary survey of the Lou-lan region and the dried-up ancient sea-bed to the east and south. I myself proceeded to Yar-khoto for a detailed survey of this curious site, where a maze of ruin dwellings and shrines, carved out of the loess soil of an isolated and naturally strong plateau, represents the remains of the earlier Turfan capital during Han times. Some days more were taken up by arrangements for the completion of the large-scale map of the Turfan depression in six sheets and by the collection of supplementary data bearing on its extant irrigation resources. Their comparison with those which must be assumed to have existed in Buddhist times is made particularly instructive by the fact that now the greater portion of the cultivated area is irrigated from *karez*s or springs tapped by underground canals, a system which is known to have been introduced into Turfan only during the eighteenth century. My last days at Turfan were made somewhat anxious by a renewed attempt at Chinese obstruction, now directed against my archaeological activity. Fortunately this time, too, I was on the point of starting into desert parts where no interference with my plans was practicable, and the safe transit of my antique collection, about which I had reason to feel apprehensive, was secured by the prompt steps my old friend, Sir George Macartney, took to parry the stroke from Provincial headquarters.

(To be continued.)

RELIGION IN SIND.

BY G. E. L. CARTER, I.C.S., HYDERABAD.

THE fact that a religion has no literature whatever is no reason why an attempt at elucidating its mysteries should not be undertaken. In Sind religion in a large measure takes the place which caste does elsewhere in India, and local cults are the nuclei around which society becomes concrete. Such cults are of all ages, from that of the Sun as the first giver of heat to that of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which seems to be a relic of Portuguese missionary enterprise. The essentially Sindhi cults, however, are based on the two principles of a male fertilising element in the River and a female reproductive element in "Nature" or vegetation, as an examination of a number will show.

Let us begin with the cult of Shekh Tâbir, as recorded in the *Tuhfatul-kirâm*, an unpublished history of Sind, dated A. D. 1768. "Jâhejo is well known for the *dargâh* of Shekh Tâhir, who is called Uderolâl by Hindus. Intoxicated with the wine of Divinity he spent the early part of his life in roaming through a desert. One day when he was holding something to eat in his hand a camel suddenly appeared on the scene. Observing the camel with his inward spiritual eye he addressed it thus: 'Oh God, since thou hast appeared before me in this form, deign to share my food with me.' The camel, however, would not stop and the Shekh persisted in following it, until at last the Shekh attained fame and spiritual greatness. The fact is the Sheikh had been blessed with a wonderful vision. Many pilgrims and visitors go to his shrine. On appointed days the shrine is also visited by a large number of betrothed and married females from far and near."

So was one Musalman version of a cult peculiarly Hindu. The cult of the river Indus, Darya-panth, is indeed so peculiarly Hindu that that only Sindhu Lohanas are its votaries. The cult, so far as I have ascertained, is one of pure ritual and that of the simplest. Regular monthly ceremonies and occasional annual ones complete the tale. Its chief features are the perpetual burning of lights on an altar in an otherwise empty Holy of Holies, and the ceremonial worship of the river at evening time on the days of the new and full moon. On those days the lamps are tended, trimmed and cleaned and ceremonial oblations are offered. The formal address to the Deity is "*Lahar bahar jâ Sâin meharbâni de*—Master of the waves, grant a favour."

In various parts of Sind the cult of the River has become slightly localised. Just as the Deity at "Uderolâl" has been converted for the benefit of Mussalmans to Sheikh Tâbir, so at Sukkur Zinda Pir—the living God—has become Khwaja Khizr and near Tatta, Shah Jhando, the saviour ferryman. At Bohara, on the Baghâr canal, the Deity is addressed as Wâman Jianti Har Vasso. Here on the morning of 10th Bado the Darya-panthis make boats of straw and set them afloat on the river. The boats contain small country lamps, made of the dough of wheat flour in which *ghî* is burnt as oil, and also small plates of dough containing rice and curds.

Uderolâl, Lal Wadero, the Holy Chieftain, is the incarnation of the River God. His 'vehicle' is the *pulla*. In times of stress Uderolâl emerges from the River, an armed and gallant knight, to rescue his people from oppression.

Two fragments of lore may illustrate the popular attitude to the cult. The *pulla* is never found north of Sukkur. It comes up the river only to do homage at Khwaja Khizr's shrine and, having done so, it returns to the sea, always with its face towards the shrine. It is never found with its head down stream. Again, when the River erodes its banks, it is said that Khwaja Khizr is sending earth (fertility, wealth) to his brother Iliās (Elijah), who lives in a desert, and that these two with Nabi, Isa (Jesus), who lives in the firmament above the earth, constitute one Trinity. (This is a Baloch distorted version of the cult.)

Two points in connection with the history of the cult must be remembered. (a) Muhammadanism on two occasions made serious attempts at proselytising Hinduism : one on the occasion of the Arab conquest of Sind (eighth century) and one in the thirteenth century under the influence of the Multani Revival. The two best examples are the modification of the Raja Gopichand cult in the first period and the desecration of the Śaiva altar at Sehwan in the second. (b) A fragment of pottery discovered by the writer at Mirpur Khas bears paintings of a fish (?) *pulla*. The place, where it was found, is that of the fourth century Stupa which stood on the bank of an old river (Dhoro Purano).

Now let us turn to the cult of the crocodile, *wāgho* the wild beast. It is not an uncommon thing to find a close connection between a *pir* and crocodiles, so close in fact that the local Musalmans resent any attempt at shooting the protected beasts—though every effort may be made to extirpate those not protected. The classic case is, of course, that of Mangho Pir—'Magar' Pir—just outside Karachi; but there are others. In some places, even where there is now no crocodile, tradition keeps alive the story by dubbing the locality *wāghodār*, the crocodile's door or lair. There is the one near Rerhi, one at Amirpir, north of Tatta, and one, fourteen miles east of Hyderabad on the Dhoro Phital, an *abandoned* river bed. It cannot be pretended for one moment that respect for the crocodile is Musalman: such zoolatry finds no place in Islam. One must look for its origin locally. One reads for instance in Burnes (*Bokhara*, p. 46) that "the Sailors of Sindh are Mahomedans. They are very superstitious; the sight of a crocodile below Hyderabad is an evil omen, which would never be forgotten:" and also that along different lengths of the river propitiatory offerings had to be made to avert malignant influences. Now one finds among the sacrificial symbols in use in the Lar an occasional brass *makara* head.

Now, when one turns to consider Vegetation cults, one finds a close association in several aspects with femininity. Midway between Tatta and Mirpur Sakro is a tomb, the central place of the cult of Pir Jhareon—*jhareon* being in fact a feminine plural word meaning trees. While it is customary at various burial places to hold on fixed days in the month commemorative services at which all present partake of a kind of Agape, to which all have contributed something, the common meal being divided in charity among those present, it is regarded as a ridiculous custom—i. e., by outsiders—that those present at Pir Jhareon's festival should eat such a *stupid* kind of food as they do. Here the Agape consists of a dish made of grain of all kinds—*jawari*, *bajri*, barley, rice, pulses,—steeped in milk. Not only do Hindus respect the Pir, but, regardless of caste, partake of the

common dish at the monthly festival. Now the Pir's *khalifa* is a *woman* of the Hingora Clan.

Of course there is a story that Pir Jhareon's real name was Sultan Hussain and that he is a Hussaini Sayyid who came here direct from Mecca, where he had earned his name by performing menial work at the Holy Places—as if his name should be Pir of Dusters. The Multani proselytising influence can be discovered in the alleged date of his death, A. H. 666.

An independent form of the cult of Pir Jhareon survives in Ghorabari Taluka just outside the boundaries of the modern Deh Jhareon. The shrine or 'place' of Mai Pir is situated near the R. Richhal. In form it is a coppice enclosed by a low bank of earth about 100 yards in circumference, within which bounds no man is allowed to set foot. Even the Khalifa must send his wife in, if he wishes any work to be done inside; for the Mai Sahib was a virgin and a man's coming would defile her place. The shrine itself is a rude hut from the roof of which a score of cattle bells hang. Two stone *chirâghs* and the inevitable flag complete the furniture. Rice is the only food divided in charity and portions from the common dish are scattered about for jackals and other wild animals to partake of. As at Pir Jhareon's place, the monthly festival is held on the first Monday of each month. The emblematic tree is dead and fallen. It was formerly inside the bank of earth, and to solve the problem of eliminating dead wood without removing it (for as will be seen below it is sacrosanct) the bank was "repaired" and rebuilt so that the fallen trunk may lie outside the enclosed holy spot.

At Bohara "Bibi Syed's Tomb" is just such another place, though there the cult has been merged with the Ashura rites—a feast of tabernacles, celebrated at Muharram time. Here there is no tomb, no monthly festival. A tree, dead but standing, is enclosed by a low bank of earth, within which no one is allowed.

Among Hindus in Sind two festivals call for notice in this connection. On the 12th of Srawan Sudi the *women* of a house sow in a pot seven kinds of grain—whence Sâtâno, the name of the festival. After seven days the seedlings are plucked up and thrown into the river for luck. It must be remembered that at this season the Indus is in full flood, irrigating the whole countryside.

Three days later occurs a strange ceremony, obviously a revival of the eternal prayers for children and wealth. At evening time Hindu repair to the fields and throw grain and mud images of bullocks ~~among~~ the crops reciting this verse:—

ڪانڙو وٽ چڙهيو ڏي اُباسي؛
مان نه ڪٿان ڪٿي منهنجي ماسي.

This is usually understood to mean:—"Crow, climb a tree and yaw"

(*mâsi*) weave, not me"—deriving ڪٿان from ڪٽڻ to weave. This however, ~~mak~~

nonsense and the word should be derived from ڪي, which is now only used with

reference to "heat" in dogs. There is still, however, the difficulty of the invocation to the crow.

Cutting right across all other customs is the world-wide one of respect for holy trees. It is no uncommon thing for a man to tie a rag to a *kabbar jhâr* tree as a token of invocation, or for women to tie wisps or bundles of hair. Tomb of holy men are usually located under the *kabbar jhâr*, the 'jhâr,' though a grave will sanctify even a tamarisk. Again no such tree, nor, in fact, any tree on holy ground may be cut. Even on abandoned village sites the position of the mosque, where nothing of the village remains will be brought into remembrance by the preservation of a tree or shrub on its site. Such a tree is taboo; indefinable trouble will overtake the rash person who cuts it down. Not even fallen dead wood in sacred groves may be removed; when it falls, there it lies. On Ashura day Mohanos gaudily decorate their favourite *kabbar jhâr* shrub throughout the Lar.

One Brahui custom may be referred to as throwing light on local customs. "On the new moon of the seventh month seven kinds of grain—to wit, barley, wheat, Indian corn, peas, millet, pulse and *juari*—are boiled together uncrushed in a large cauldron. Seven kinds of grain there must surely be in all. Small dishes of this pottage are sent out to the kinsfolk. The dishes are never sent away empty; each comes back with some trifle for the looked-for babe." (*Life History of Brahuî*, by D. Bray, p. 7).

Now, how did this interconnected mass of custom arise, if, and there is no disagreement on the subject, the *makara* was the 'vehicle' of Varuṇa, who was first a sky-god and then a water-god.

My reasoning is thus. Stone-age man, the dwarf who lived in the Kohistan, and annually moved in the cold weather to the rich grass plains of the Indus—as he still does—was terrified by the swamp and jungle of the lowlands, and above all by the crocodile, whom he elevated to the rank of a malevolent deity who must be propitiated. The generally beneficent floods of the Indus facilitated among the Aryans the evolution of the River-god from Varuṇa, but the *makara* cult could not be simultaneously evolved because of the pre-existing and inferior cult of the demonic crocodile. The required "vehicle" was found in the *pulla*, whose peculiar habits rendered it a specially appropriate companion for the incarnate Uderolâl. The crocodile continued to typify the demonic force of the Indus in anger, in excessive flood, when it changes its course and in a season alters entirely the face of the country. Closely associated with these floods are the rich crops of grass and grain of the Indus flood plain. Without the strength of the river there is no sweetness of vegetation. Thus one may associate a male principle of the River and a female one in vegetation, Shah Jhando and the chaste virgins, the Satyun of Tatta, Uderolâl and Mai Sahib, the coquettings of the Sâtâno festival. This seems to represent the course of early religion in Sind. Buddhism did not affect it—for the fish adorns the pottery of Mirpur Khas. Saivism passed it by, for the Gupta cult of Siva is still localised at Sehwan. Muhammadanism modified it for its own proselytes, but could not obliterate it, for there is, indeed, in Sind only one problem—what will the River be like next year, good or bad, divine or demonic?

(To be continued.)

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.

BY V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T., MADRAS.

(*Continued from p. 190.*)**Kiļavan Sētopati's death.**

At this crisis, the great man, who had guided the destinies of Rāmnāḍ with such conspicuous ability for the space of 25 years, passed away. It seems that to the calamities of flood and famine were added the calamities of war during his last years ; for we hear of a war which he had to wage, for reasons as yet unknown, with Tanjore. As usual, he secured victory for his arms. But the combination of ills which afflicted his country soon told on the octogenarian, and hastened his death. Noble and generous, tactful and wise, Kiļavan was the only man who could have freed the kingdom from its miseries. His sympathy and liberality would have revived the drooping spirit of his ryots, and his martial skill would have kept the kingdom safe from the encroachments of neighbouring powers. But it was not so to be. He died, leaving the kingdom not only amidst the visitations of famine and pestilence, but bequeathing to it a legacy of trouble in the form of a succession dispute. Forty-seven of his wives followed him to the other world through the funeral pyre, and the scene of the tragedy is even now visible in the vicinity of Rāmnāḍ.

Accession and administration of Vijaya Raghunātha.

At the point of death Kiļavan Sētopati appointed his illegitimate son, Bhavāni Śaikara Tēvan, as his successor. But no sooner was the body of the great chief cremated than the Maravas set aside his choice and chose an adopted son (in reality the son-in-law) of the deceased, Vijaya Raghunātha⁶⁹ by name, as the Sētopati. Vijaya Raghunātha (1709-23) was an able soldier and abler statesman. He was perhaps the most versatile of the Sētopatis.⁷⁰ In a time when the Pālayams were, as a rule, tottering down, he laid the foundations of the permanence of his State by his wise reform of the revenue administration. In place of financial chaos he introduced an orderly system, and in place of exaction, a definiteness of demand. The kingdom was divided into eight revenue districts, and the villages which composed each were provided with able accountants of the Vellāla caste from Madura, and made to maintain regular accounts. This salutary measure created an era of comparative contentment among the people, which seems to have been the secret of the immense resources and the numerous buildings and charities for which Vijaya Raghunātha became famous. The chronicles narrate with eloquence the grandeur of his palace, the size of his establishments, and the liberality of his charities. Endowed with a religious turn of mind, he took a personal interest in the extension of the Rāmēśvaram temple. A staunch devotee of Rāmanātha, he did not allow a single day to pass without a visit to the shrine. In spite of a pressure of business he would leave Rāmnāḍ every day some time before sunset, and arrive at Rāmēśvaram in time for evening devotions. A watchful staff kept in readiness horses at intervals on the road leading from the Capital to Tōṇitturai, and an efficient boat service to convey the royal

⁶⁹ He was the Muttu Vijaya Raghunātha Sētopati Kāṭṭa Tēvar of the inscriptions. A copper-plate grant of his dated S. 1635 (*Vijaya*) records the gift of houses and lands at Attiyūtṭu to 14 Brāhmaṇa families. Vijaya Raghunātha is said there to have performed the Hiranyagarbha sacrifice. *Madr. Ep. Rep.*, 1911, p. 15.

⁷⁰ See *Antiquities* II, 231 based on Raja Rama Rao's *Manual*.

devotee across the Pamban. Festivals in honour of his favourite god never tired him. On one occasion he vowed that the revenue of one whole season's pearl fishery should be devoted to the adorning of the image. Almost every year saw the grant of extensive lands and estates to the temple. The orthodoxy of Raghunâtha secured from his suzerain Vijaya Raiga Chokkanâtha the image of Durga, for whose reception he built a temple at Râmnâd, which attracted thousands of pilgrims. An idol of the Brahmans, Raghunâtha had a veneration for Vedic rites and ceremonials, thereby reviving the ancient days of Hinduism.

His persecution of Christians.

It is not surprising that, under the regime of such an orthodox ruler, there came into existence a period of vehement opposition to the proselytising labours⁷¹ of the Christian fathers. During the last years of Kilavan, the missionaries of Christ had enjoyed not only perfect freedom of worship, but a felicitous opportunity for active proselytism. Hundreds of people had forsaken the religion of the gods and of their ancestors. The spread of Christianity alarmed the orthodox, and their agitation converted Vijaya Raghunâtha from a passive spectator into a zealous persecutor. The prospects of the religion of Christ became gloomy, but the timely support of a prominent member of the royal family saved it from ruin. The Sêtipati had an elder brother, Vaḍuha Nâtha, who felt in the doctrines of Christianity greater chances of salvation than in the worship of the Hindu gods. So zealous was he in his belief that he gave up all his prospects and ambitions, and became a Christian. The position and the character of the illustrious convert was a tower of strength to the Fathers, and though their recent period of prosperity did not return, yet the future was not absolutely dark and clouded.

The rebellion of Bhavâni and Tonḍaman.

Great as Vijaya Raghunâtha was as a man of God, he was equally great as a soldier. His martial activity was a matter of necessity: for the repose of his rule was constantly disturbed by the intrigues of his rival, Bhavâni Saṅkara, a man whose unusually sanguine temperament scoffed at failures and persevered in his aim of acquiring the crown. The Sêtipati in self-defence divided his kingdom into 72 military divisions, placing each under a feudal chief who paid service instead of tribute. He established a chain of forts throughout the realm,—at Râjaśiṅgamaṅgalam, Orûr, Arantâṅgi, Tirupattûr, Kameṛdy and Pâmban. He organized an artillery service, his two guns, Râma and Lakshmapa, being a terror to his adversaries and an inspiration to his own soldiers. An Army so zealously maintained could not but bring success to the Sêtipati arms, and from Tiruvâlûr in the North to the District of Tinnevely in the South he reigned supreme. However, in 1720, Bhavâni obtained the assistance of the Tonḍamân and the Maratha king of Tanjore once again attempted the recovery of his crown. The combined armies of Pudukkâṭṭai and Tanjore soon encamped at Arantâṅgi. The Sêtipati promptly marched against them, and defeated them, but when he was about to return an epidemic of a virulent nature broke out in the camp. The dread visitant struck down a large number of men and then seized the royal family. Eight children and eight wives of the Sêtipati succumbed to it, and soon the Sêtipati himself became a victim. At the point of death he was taken to Râmnâd, only to breathe his last there.

⁷¹ Nelson and Chandler.

The death and character of Vijaya Raghunātha.

The death of Vijaya Raghunātha was⁷² a great calamity to Rāmnād. A good and able ruler, he had endeared himself to his people. No doubt there were defects in his character. For instance he was, like most of the chiefs of his day, a votary of pleasure. His harem contained the large number of 360 women and 100 children, though, strangely enough, none of the latter survived him to inherit his throne. His epicurean nature is also seen in the construction of the Rāmalinga Vilāsa, a long and elaborately worked hall, adorned by scenes of Marava warfare and of Kṛishṇa's life, at the expense of a Musalman Sayad, Kadir Marakkayar. In addition to the unduly excessive pursuit of pleasure, Vijaya Raghunātha had been characterised by an extraordinary vanity and love of praise. A curious story illustrates the zeal with which he looked on those who surpassed him in renown. His beneficence to Rāmēsvaram had the effect of attracting an enormous number of pilgrims and, in their wake, the wealthy merchants of Malabar, Cochin and Benares. To assist these Raghunātha appointed the husband of his two daughters as the commandant of the Pāmban fort. He was expressly ordered to help the pilgrims in their passage over the channel, then across the sands of the island, to Dhanushkōṭi. The commandant was a man of wisdom and practical genius. He levied a small boat-duty on all those who went from the mainland to the island, and used the proceeds in the construction of a stone road across the sands. With tactless imprudence, the author of this monument called it after his own name. The small mind of Vijaya Raghunātha could not endure this. Believing that his honour was scorned, he ordered the decapitation of his son-in-law! The prayers and remonstrances of his daughters did not move his stony heart, and they preferred death to widowhood by ascending the funeral pyre of their lord. The memory of the noble husband and the nobler princesses is even to-day preserved by the Akkāḷ and Thaṅgachehi *maḷams*, reared on their ashes, in the weary road from Pāmban to Rāmēsvaram; and the service which the choultries render to the exhausted pilgrims has been, ever since their tragic death, the best index of their lord's minds.

War of Succession between Bhavāni Saṅkara and Taṇḍa Tēvan.

The death of Vijaya Raghunātha was immediately followed by a dispute in succession. At the point of death he had nominated Taṇḍa Tēvan, a great grandson of Kīḷavan's father, as his successor. But the confusion caused by Vijaya Raghunātha's death was availed of by Bhavāni Saṅkara Tēvan to once again aim at the crown of which he had been deprived. His struggle against Raghunātha had been a struggle of selfish ambition against popular support, of illegitimacy against legitimacy, and it had ended in failure. Now, as against Taṇḍa Tēvan, Bhavāni was under no comparative disadvantage. The former had as remote a claim to the throne as himself. It seems that popular sympathy also turned at this time in his favour. At the same time he gained a new resource and a friend by his politic marriage with a niece of the chief mistress of Vijaya Raghunātha. The consequence was, he was able enough to effect a *coup d'état*, to deprive Taṇḍa Tēvan of his short tenure of power, and assume the title of Sētupati, a title which had been bestowed upon him by Kīḷavan Sētupati nearly a decade back. But Taṇḍa Tēvan had tasted power, and would not give up what he considered his birthright. Driven out of Rāmnād, he proceeded to Madura, and persuaded Vijaya Rāṅga Chokkanātha to take up his cause. At the same time he gained over the Toplamān, lately the

⁷² *Antiquities*, II. 230-1.

An ambitious, high-spirited, but shortsighted woman, *Minākshi* was destined to be the last of her line. Her reign or rather, according to some, her regency, was clouded by discord and misfortune, and eventually witnessed the disastrous interference of foreigners and the consequent extinction of the *Nāik* dynasty itself. Languid and irresolute by nature, she was not fit to govern a kingdom at a time when all its turbulent and anarchical elements were peculiarly active and had to be suppressed with a stern hand. Her repose was constantly invaded by sedition among her nobles and her weakness could not prevail against the strength, the unscrupulousness, and the disloyalty of her enemies. She had not that firmness, that principle of independence, that unconscious power of enforcing authority, which is necessary for a strong and efficient rule; and it seems that while *Minākshi* was bereft of these statesmanlike virtues, she had the weakness of a woman in full. She seems to have acted always on the impulses of the moment and created many enemies to herself, and thus courted failure.

Her Failure and its Causes.

And yet the failure of *Minākshi* must be attributed not merely to her personal weakness. The times in which she lived were singularly unsafe for a female ruler. The middle of eighteenth century was a period of confusion and anarchy throughout India, when kingdoms were made and unmade almost daily, when the resources of the country were exhausted in frequent internecine wars, when people knew no peace, and when there was no security of person and property. Everywhere there were unscrupulous adventurers who desired to carve out principalities of their own, and tried all means, fair or foul, to gain their object. The masters of one day found themselves the very next day the servants of their servants, who usurped their power and their crown. All idea of justice, of honesty and of loyalty, was at a discount during this dark period, and revolutions in consequence were the order of the day. The wild *Maratha* was sniffing the air of S. India in search of prey. And *Madura* did not escape from this wave of anarchism and disorder. A strong and acute statesmanship, with the powerful support of an efficient army, alone could keep the turbulence and revolutionary tendencies of the time in check; and such in a combination of political wisdom and martial vigour *Minākshi* was sadly lacking. She moreover inherited, as we have already mentioned, a weakened and dilapidated kingdom. It was *Minākshi's* misfortune that, at a time of unrest and revolution, she was involved in a succession dispute and a civil war. If she had been endowed with the many masculine virtues which distinguished her female predecessor *Maṅgammāl*, she might have done something to strengthen the government and relieve the kingdom from the evils with which it was afflicted. But she was wanting in prudence, in vigour, and almost every other quality which can obtain for one ascendancy over others.

The Adoption of *Vijaya Kumāra*.

The first act of *Minākshi* after her assumption of power was,⁷⁶ according to some, the adoption, and according to others, the desire, but a vain desire, for the adoption, of a son and heir. Her choice fell on *Vijaya Kumāra Nāiṇu*, a boy who belonged to the younger line of the royal family. *Vijaya Kumāra* was in fact the great-grandson of that *Kumāra Muttu*, who, immediately after the death of his elder brother *Tirumal Nāik*, claimed the

⁷⁶ As will be seen from the Appendix I, some MSS. speak as though the adoption was complete and others as not, thereby recognising *Baigāru Tirumala*. Wilson takes the former view, *JRAS*, III. See Nelson also.

throne, but resigned it in return for the governorship of Sivakâsi and its dependent possessions. In spite of his resignation of the claims to the throne, Kumâra Muttu had seen, just before his retirement, his son Kumâra Raṅgappa Nâik installed as the second in power to Muttu Alakâdri. Raṅgappa held this position evidently throughout the reign of Muttu Virappa, and when the latter was succeeded by his son Chokkanâtha Nâik, the son of the former, Kumâra Tirumalai Nâik, succeeded as his second in power. Similarly, when the son and successor of Chokkanâtha, Raṅga Kṛishṇa Muttu Virappa, was governing the realm, the son of Tirumalai Nâik, Baṅgâru Tirumalai Nâik by name, inherited the position and dignity of the second in power. It was on the son of this Baṅgâru Tirumala that Minâkshi fixed her choice.

Baṅgâru Tirumala's Opposition.

We now come to the consideration of an important constitutional question on the solution of which the whole character of the future Nâik history must be pronounced to depend. Did Minâkshi adopt Vijaya Kumâra or did she not? On the answer to this question lies the justification or condemnation of her conduct in the events which followed. According to one⁷⁷ chronicle which, though unreliable as a rule in its chronology is in this affair, direct and pronounced, she did not, as she had no *right*. It says that the real claimant, and therefore the legitimate successor after Vijaya Raṅga, was his second in power, Baṅgâru Tirumala Nâik. Baṅgâru, as we have already seen, had been the second in power to Raṅga Kṛishṇa Muttu Virappa and, we may presume, to Vijaya Raṅga Chokkanâtha also. He had in other words exercised power for nearly half a century. During the latter period of his service, we can be sure, he had entertained the idea of succeeding Vijaya Raṅga to the throne. The seizure of power by Minâkshi must have been a serious blow to his long cherished ambition, a disappointment of long hopes and anxious expectations. With a natural vehemence he maintained that he was the legitimate successor to the throne, that Minâkshi, being a woman and childless, had no claim whatever. When the latter, therefore, asked him to give his son as her heir, he refused on the ground that he himself was the king, that his son would get it in the natural course of events. With this he assumed the functions of royalty, and putting up in a new palace, gained the support of a large number of courtiers. The kingdom was actually under the Government of Baṅgâru Tirumala, but the treasury, the palace, and the royal jewels were under Minâkshi and her brothers.

The Discussion of the Respective Claims.

The other version, that of the Telugu chronicle, *History of the Carnatic Lords*, an authority generally reliable but in this respect very short, confused, inconsistent, and obscure, says "that after the decease of Raja Vijaya Raṅga, Baṅgâru Tirumala was the suitable person to succeed to the crown, but that his son Vijaya Kumâra Muttu Tirumalai Nâikar was *adopted and installed by being anointed when four years old by Minâkshi Ammâl*, the crowned queen of Vijaya Raṅga Chokkanâtha." According to this, then, Vijaya Kumâra was the crowned king and Minâkshi was his guardian and regent. Kali Kavi Râyan's account as well as *Pāṇṭya Râja Purâṇa Charitra*⁷⁸ does not mention Baṅgâru Tirumala at all.

While the indigenous histories are thus divergent in their views, the modern historians are not less so. Mr. Taylor⁷⁹ believes that, after the death of Vijaya Raṅga, "the succession

⁷⁷ *Hist. of the Carna. Govrs.*

⁷⁸ See appendix I, for details of the various MSS.

⁷⁹ *O. H. MSS.*

was sufficiently clear, for the younger brother had before succeeded to the throne on the demise of the elder brother without offspring. The case of the illustrious Tirumalai Naicker himself was an adequate precedent. Hence much blame seems to have rested with the dowager queen Minākshi Ammāl, who probably was urged on by her brother Venkata Perumal Naicker; being also herself perhaps ambitious of imitating the conduct and participating in the fame of Mangammal though under clearly different circumstances." The interference of the Musalmans and the extinction of the dynasty which followed were thus, in the opinion of Mr. Taylor, the outcome of Minākshi's ambition. The late Mr. Nelson, on the other hand, was a warm supporter of Minākshi's rights. In his view, she was the rightful heir to the throne of her husband, while Baṅgāru was an ambitious and intriguing rebel, whose disaffection was the cause of the Muhammadan interference and the ruin of the kingdom. Mr. Nelson⁸⁰ bases his views on three grounds,—first that the junior branch of the royal family had no right to the throne in as much as Kumāra Muttu had given up his rights after Tirumala Nāik; secondly, that the position of *Chinna Durai*, or second in power, was not constitutionally a claim to the crown, as the previous history of the dynasty shewed, provided there was a claimant whose claims received a wide and candid recognition; thirdly, that the claims of Vijaya Kumara were indisputable, and his adoption was accepted by all except Baṅgāru's party. Mr. Nelson contends that the wide acceptance of Vijaya Kumāra's position is unmistakably proved by the agreement of "the other MSS.", by the award of a larger pension to the boy than to the father when they were in the Nawab's Court, and by a unanimity among all writers in speaking of the son's greater position. These arguments, however, cannot go unchallenged. In the first place, Mr. Nelson is wrong in his statement that Kumāra Muttu had, by his voluntary resignation of the crown, for ever sacrificed the prospects of his descendants. On the other hand, as we have already seen, he had the caution to see his son appointed as second in power before his retirement, and this caution he exercised, we may well believe, as a safeguard of future hopes and expectations of the transfer of the crown to his branch in case the elder line became extinct. Secondly, Nelson is right in saying that the mere enjoyment of power as *Chinna Durai* did not give a claim to throne: but it *did* constitute a claim, as Taylor has pointed out, when the reigning king died without issue. Thirdly, Nelson is quite incorrect when he speaks of the unanimity of the chronicles and of public opinion in speaking of Vijaya Kumāra as the crowned king. On the other hand, one of the MSS. distinctly says that he was not crowned: that the majority of the people were on the side of Baṅgāru Tirumala and that the actual government of the kingdom was in the hands of the latter. Lastly, Mr. Nelson ignores some MSS. when he says that the boy received a higher pension than the father in the Nawab's Court; the Telugu chronicle gives exactly the opposite version. Nevertheless, though every ground assumed by Mr. Nelson is against fact, yet it cannot be distinctly stated that the people were wanting in their allegiance to Minākshi.

Baṅgāru's Success.

However it might be, whether Minākshi was the regent of a crowned king or whether Baṅgāru Tirumala was the king, the result was the same. The State was distracted by party quarrels and hastened in consequence towards ruin. The palace and the treasure⁸¹

⁸⁰ *Madura Manual*. Wilson also is in favour of Minākshi. See *J. R. A. S.* III.

⁸¹ Appendix I., Sect. 1. (*Carna. Govrs.*)

were in the hands of Mīnākshi, while the court and the kingdom were in the hands of Baṅgāru. The leading men in the queen's party were her brothers, Veṅkaṭa Nāik and Perumāḷ Nāik; while Baṅgāru had for his supporter the crafty Veṅkaṭa Rāghavāchārya whose story we have already given. It is highly probable that the support of the greatest military officer in the State was the most determining factor in the formation of the two parties; for his example would have been imitated by many officers of rank and influence. The balance of power was in consequence upset; and by losing the support of the army the queen became so weak that, though she remained in the palace, her enemies were able to seize the administration and the revenues.

The Muhammadan Interference; its different Versions.

It was at this crisis that foreigners intervened and, taking advantage of the domestic differences that weakened Madura, brought about the extinction of both the parties and of the kingdom itself. In the year 1734, *i. e.*, two years after the accession of Mīnākshi, Dost Ali, the Nawab of the Carnatic⁸², the representative of the Mughal Empire and the suzerain over the Southern kingdoms, despatched his son Safdar Ali and his son-in-law Chanda Sahib on a campaign to the south. The cause of the expedition is stated differently by different authorities. The *Hist. of the Carna. Goors.* which is a partisan history in favour of Baṅgāru Tirumala, attributes it to Mīnākshi. When matters were so situated, it says, "Mīnākshi Ammāl wrote to Chanda Sahib for assistance. Baṅgāru Tirumalai Nāicker, hearing of her proceeding, wrote to Nawab Safder Ali Khan. The Nawab Safder Ali Khan and Chanda Sahib, in consequence, came at the head of 10,000 cavalry, and encamped outside the fort of Trichinopoly." The Telugu chronicle is comparatively obscure, and simply says that while the parties were struggling with each other at Trichinopoly, "the Subah of Arcot, named Safder Ali Khan, came to Trichinopoly," and having ordered thirty lakhs of rupees, returned to Arcot. The European writers are the best informed on the subject, and in consequence most reliable. The great historian Orme attributes the invasion to the ambition of the Nawab of Arcot, the suppression and annexation of the southern kingdoms. "The kingdoms of Trichinopoly and Tanjore," he says "although tributary to the Moghul, were each of them governed by its own prince or Raja, and the care of levying tributes of these countries, was intrusted to the Nawabs of Arcot who were sometimes obliged to send an army to facilitate the collection of them. The death of the king of Trichinopoly in 1736⁸³ was followed by disputes between the queen and a prince of the royal blood, which produced a confusion in the government sufficient to give the Nawab of Arcot hopes of subjecting the kingdom to his authority. He therefore determined to send an army under the command of his son Safdar Ali and the Dewan Chanda Sahib to seize an opportunity which might offer of getting possession of the city of

⁸² The nephew and the successor of Sa'adat Ali Khan, who died in 1732, *i. e.*, the very year of Vijaya Raṅga's death. As Wilks says, the Muhammadans would have intervened in 1732 in Trichinopoly owing to the dispute in succession, but for the death of Sa'adat Ali and the arrangement of the succession in Arcot,—an arrangement which ignored and displeased the Nizam, and which, therefore, afterwards gave rise to trouble. *Vide Wilks, I, p. 155.*

⁸³ This is wrong, the correct date being 1731.

Trichinopoly; but to prevent suspicions, the collection of the tribute was given out as the only intention of the expedition, and the army was ordered to move leisurely down to the sea coast before they proceeded to the south; accordingly they came to Madras, where they remained⁸⁴ some days, and then went to Pondicheri, where they stayed a longer time; during which Chanda Sahib laid the first foundation of his connections with the French Government in that city; from hence they marched to Trichinopoly." The Jesuit missionaries, as shewn by⁸⁵ Nelson, ascribe an even more barefaced ambition to the Nawab. They say that he was really desirous of creating a principality at the expense of his tributary kingdoms for his son, and that with this view he sent an army on a sort of roving commission against Tanjore, Trichinopoly and Travancore. The imperial army first stormed and captured Tanjore⁸⁶ and placed it under Bode Sahib, the brother of Chanda Sahib. It then marched south, towards the regions of the Vaigai and Tambraparai, attacked Travancore, laid waste the West coast and at length reached Trichinopoly. Wilks gives a different version. He says that Baigaru Tirumala and Veṅkatarāghavāchārya made themselves, "with the concealed aid, of the Mahratta Raja of Tanjore," so formidable that Minākshi "was driven to the desperate resource of soliciting the aid of the Nawab of Arcot. An army under the command of Safdar Ali, the eldest son and heir-apparent of the Nawab, with Chanda Sahib as his Civil Dewan and military second in command, moved over the province, ostensibly for the ordinary purpose of enforcing the collections of the revenue, and approached Trichinopoly to afford the promised⁸⁷ aid."

Safdar Ali's Decision against Minākshi.

All these authorities thus, while differing in details, agree, in that Trichinopoly was the ultimate goal of the imperialists. The arrival of the Muhammadans struck terror into the hearts of both the parties there. The most prudent policy would have been to ignore for the time all domestic quarrels and engage the common foe with one mind and interest. But the shortsighted ambition of both the parties stood in the way of united action and patriotic defence. We do not know who was the first⁸⁸ to call in the Musahman help. The *Hist. of the Carna. Govrs.* ascribes the crime to Minākshi; but Mr. Nelson, contrary to its evidence, attributes the initiative to Baigaru Tirumala. With an inordinate haste to claim the favour of early submission, he says, he sent a deputation to Safdar Ali proposing that, in case the latter seized Minākshi, kept her in captivity, and handed over the kingdom to himself, he would satisfy the greedy appetite of the Musalmans by paying 30 lakhs of rupees. Safdar Ali agreed, and would have fulfilled his agreement but for the timely precaution which Minākshi in her instinct of self-preservation had taken. With a numerous and faithful band of followers, she awaited, in the citadel of Trichinopoly, the attack of the Muhammadans with calm determination. Safdar did not think it possible, or

⁸⁴ *Madu. Manual.*

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ it must have been under the rule of Tukoji, the 3rd son of Venkoji, the founder of the dynasty. For details see *Tanjore Manual; Tanjore Gazr.*, pp. 44-45.

⁸⁷ Wilks, I, p. 155.

⁸⁸ The *Madura* chronicles generally speak as though Safdar Ali and Chanda Sahib came from Arcot purposely to decide the dispute between Minākshi and Baigaru. This is not accurate; for we have already seen that they had other motives and attractions.

perhaps advisable, to force his way through such an obstacle. He was convinced either of the futility of his valour or, what was more probable, of the expediency of diplomacy in place of force. He therefore changed his tactics, assumed ingeniously the rôle of an arbitrator, and called on the two parties to submit their disputes to his decision. After a full enquiry into the justice of the claims of the respective parties, he decided that the fort and the kingdom belonged as of right to Baṅgâru : that as Mînākshi was childless, she and her brothers had no claim to the administration : that being the dowager-queen, she must be given all those attentions which had been given in the time of Vijaya Raṅga Chokkanâtha : that her brother and other followers should be similarly treated : that the jewels, etc., and the money which formed her own property should be hers, and, as for the rest, the palace, the treasury, elephants, horses, etc.,—these should be handed over to Baṅgâru Tirumala. Safdar Ali Khan further settled the tribute at 30 lakhs of rupees, and fixed the time of payment, all of which he got in writing from⁸⁹ Baṅgâru.

Mînākshi's Alliance with Chanda Sahib.

It was a decision, in Mr. Taylor's opinion,⁹⁰ highly equitable though not disinterested. But to Mînākshi, its justice or impartiality would hardly have appealed. She accordingly, we may be sure, hesitated or refused to acknowledge and bow to it: and Safdar Ali, seeing that the condition of affairs⁹¹ was not likely to be easily settled, left the enforcement of his decision to his brother-in-law, Chanda Sahib, and withdrew to his capital. The partisans of Mînākshi then approached Chanda Sahib and proposed that, if he left Trichinopoly in her hands and recognised her to be the lawful ruler, they would pay him, what he demanded, a crore of rupees. Not satisfied with the words of the Muhammadan general, they insisted with caution that he should take the oath of alliance and fidelity with the Koran in his hands on the banks of the sacred Kâveri. Chanda Sahib, with ready and characteristic unscrupulousness, resolved to resort to an act of deceit, and realise his object of seizing Trichinopoly for himself. He therefore readily agreed to take the oath, but at the nick of time placed skilfully and stealthily, if we are to believe Col. Wilks, a brick, hidden under splendid and glittering coverings, in place of the holy Koran, and with a face of solemn honesty and sincere loyalty, swore in the presence of Perumâl Nâṭṭu, in the Daḷavâi Maṅṭapa, absolute and unswerving support to the queen's⁹² cause. The simple and incredulous mind of Mînākshi was immensely satisfied with this proof, and she at once threw open the gates of the city to her ally. She little dreamed that what she considered to be the irrevocable words of an honest man were sham demonstrations of affected loyalty.

(To be continued.)

⁸⁹ *Hist. of the Carna. Goers.* Wilson also mentions the same thing, but he does not speak about Safdar Ali's tactics. He simply says that he decided in Baṅgâru's favour.

⁹⁰ *O. H. MSS.* II.

⁹¹ Wilson's account of the whole affair is superficial.

⁹² *The Hist. of the Carna. Goers.* says that he simply took the oath to that effect. *The Telugu Carna. Dynas.* says that he took it with the Koran. Wilks says that it was not really the Koran, but a brick. (Wilks, I., p. 155).

MISCELLANEA.

KĀLIDĀSA AND KĀMANDAKA.

THE date of Kāmandaka has not yet been established. But it may be shown, that he lived before Kālidāsa, inasmuch as the latter seems to have utilised the former's work *Nīṭisāra*. The 35th *śloka* of the 4th canto of the *Raghuramāṇsam* runs thus:

*Anamrāṇam samuddhartuś-tamāt sindhuraṇḍa-
iva*

*Ātmā samirakṣitāḥ Suhmaih vṛttim-āgritya vait-
asīm.*

Compare the above with the following quotation from *Kāmandakīya* :¹

*Samākrānto balaratā kākṣaṭṭam-abhramṣmīm
śriyaṃ*

Śrayeta vaitasīm vṛttim na bhanjāṅgīm kadāchapa.

From the above it is evident, that Kālidāsa borrowed from *Kāmandakīya* the passage relating to the policy to be adopted by a weak ruler, if he is confronted with a stronger foe. Now *Kāmandakīya* is based upon Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, in which also this policy is described.² But the language Kauṭilya used to express it is quite different from that used by Kāmandaka. In the place of the former's *vetasadharmā tishet* there is *śrayeta vaitasīm vṛttim* in *Kāmandakīya*. These two passages, though expressing the same view, differ greatly in phraseology. There is, on the other hand, only a slight difference between the expression used by Kāmandaka and that used by Kālidāsa. Therefore, it stands to reason, that Kālidāsa borrowed from Kāmandaka and that he must be placed after Kāmandaka.

I may here take the opportunity to refer to the note contributed by Mr. P. V. Kane to this journal,³ in which he tried to show that Kāmandaka is posterior to Kālidāsa. In two *ślokas*⁴ Kālidāsa mentions certain advantages of hunting. But Kāmandaka's view of hunting is one of pessimism. He quotes a favourable view which is held by

others and according to which hunting should be practised by a Prince; and he also mentions in this connection the advantages which, they say, are the direct results of hunting.⁵ Now these advantages are the same as those selected by Kālidāsa. Kāmandaka, who is no admirer of hunting, condemns it, saying that it is the source of many evils, and as such ought not to be indulged in by kings for their own benefit. Now Mr. Kane concludes from this, that Kāmandaka here criticises the view of Kālidāsa. "The advantages of hunting selected by *Kāmandakīya Nīṭisāra*," he says, "are almost the same as those pointed out by Kālidāsa. It seems, therefore, that Kāmandakī criticises the views of Kālidāsa." But it should be noticed that almost all the advantages of hunting that are set forth in the *Nīṭisāra* are also to be found in the *Arthaśāstra*. In the *Puruṣa-nyasavarga* Kauṭilya says:

*"Mṛgagūḍam tu vyāyāmāḥ śleshma-pitta-medā-
scedanāśāḥ chale sthīre cha kāye lakṣhaparichayaḥ
kopasthāne hātesu cha mṛgāṇāṃ chittajñānamaniti-
vyānāy cheti."* *Arthaśāstra*, 327.

Kāmandaka, whose work is an epitome of the *Arthaśāstra* writes:—

*Jītaśramadvayāḥ vyāyāmāḥ āma-medā-kapka-kṣayaḥ
Chalasthīreṣu lakṣyaṣṣu bāṇasiddhiranuttamā.*

Nīṭisāra, 216.

Thus it is clear, that there is no reason to believe that Kāmandaka ever criticises Kālidāsa, when we find that almost all the merits of hunting mentioned by Kāmandaka and also by Kālidāsa had already been described by Kauṭilya in his *Arthaśāstra*. We cannot infer, therefore, that Kāmandaka is posterior to Kālidāsa. On the other hand, because in describing the defect of the Suhmas, Kālidāsa quotes the very language of *Nīṭisāra*, we are justified in placing him after Kāmandaka.

NANIGOPAL MAJUMDAR.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS

6. A present to an official.

13 November 1682. Consultation at Masulipatam. The Clerk of this Towne or Sub Governour wanting 3 yards of Broadcloth for a Pallenkeene Fingerree. [*panjar, pānjri, pinjri*, framework, skeleton], sent to the Factory to buy it, but he being an officer that doth petty Justice, and some times our people upon severall small differences are forced to apply themselves to him, who has

allwayes behaved him selfe to us Civilly and respectfully, and the better to Continue his Friendship, now in a time of great business Comeing on, the Councell thinke fitt and order he be presented with the 3 yards of Broadcloth. (*Factory Records, Masulipatam*, vol. 4).

Note.—In the copy of Masulipatam Consultations at Madras the official is given as the "Corkana" = Carcoon, *karkhun, karkun*, clerk, registrar, inferior revenue officer.

R. C. T.

¹ Edited by T. Ganapati Śāstri, *Trivandrum Sanskrit Series*, 148.

² *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, Edited by R. Shāma Śāstri (1909), 380.

³ *Ante*, Vol. XL, 236.

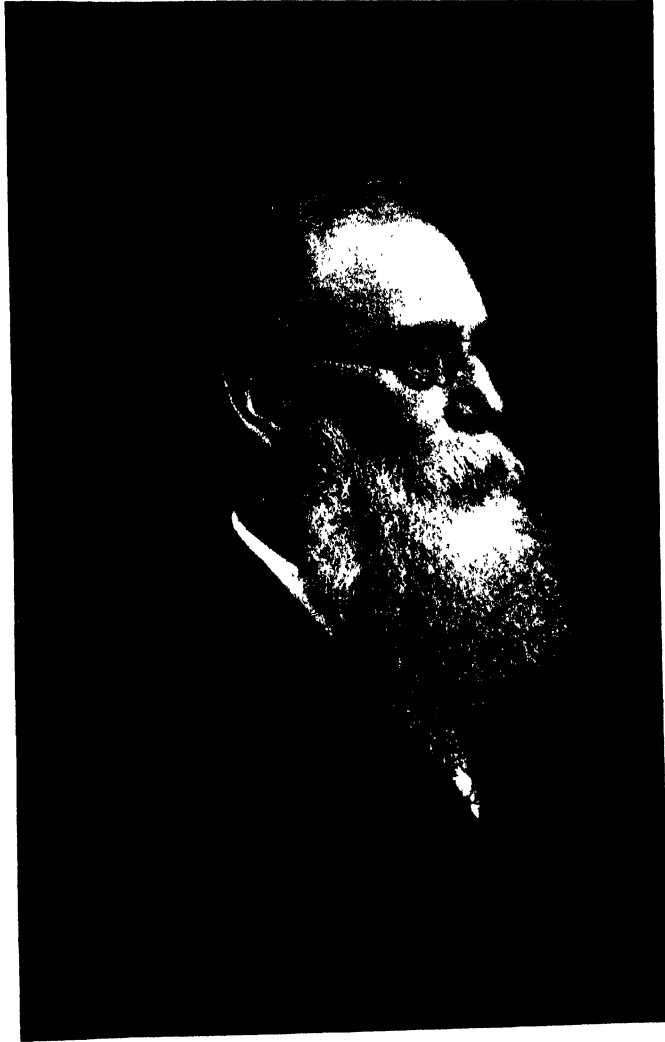
⁴ *Śakuntalā*, Act II, V. 5; *Raghuvamśa*, IX, 49.

⁵ *Nīṭisāra*, XV, 25, 26.

Indian Antiquary, vol. 46 (1917).

To face p. 1.

JAMES BURGESS, C.I.E., LL.D.



REPRODUCED, WITH PERMISSION, FROM A PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN IN 1905
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A THIRD JOURNEY OF EXPLORATION IN CENTRAL ASIA, 1913-16.

BY SIR AUREL STEIN, K.C.LE., D.LITT.

“”

(Continued from p. 204.)

ON February 16, I left Turfan for the Kuruk-tagh, and having secured from Singer Abdur Rahim's youngest brother as guide, examined several localities in the mountains westwards, such as Po-ch'êng-tzu and Shindi, where traces of earlier occupation were reported. The succession of remarkably rugged ranges and deeply eroded valleys, through which we had to thread our way, contrasted strikingly with the appearance of worn-down uplands presented by most of the Kuruk-tagh eastwards. I was able to map here a considerable extent of ground which had remained unsurveyed. Apart from another brother of Abdur Rahim, who was grazing his flocks of sheep in the gorge of Shindi, and a solitary Turki, who was taking supplies to a spot where a few Chinamen were said to dig for lead, we met no one. The absence of springs or wells precludes the regular use of what scanty grazing is to be found in the higher valleys. Yet in the Han Annals this westernmost portion of the Kuruk-tagh is referred to as a sporadically inhabited region under a separate chief.

Over absolutely barren gravel wastes I then made my way south-eastwards to the salt spring of Yardang-bulak, *recte* Dolan-achchik, at the extreme foot of the Kuruk-tagh, where wild camels were encountered in plenty. Taking my ice-supply from there, I proceeded by the second week of March into the waterless desert south, and mapped there the dried-up ancient river bed, which once had carried the water of the Konche-darya to the Lou-lan sites, over the last portion of its course left unsurveyed last year. The season of sand-storms had now set in, and their icy blasts made our work here very trying. It was under these conditions, fitly recalling the previous year's experience at the Lou-lan cemeteries, that I explored two ancient burial-grounds of small size, which were found on clay terraces rising above the wind-eroded plain. The finds closely agreed with those which the graves, searched on the fortified *mesha* in the extreme north-east of Lou-lan, had yielded. There could be no doubt that the people buried here had belonged to the autochthonous population of hunters and herdsmen living along the 'Dry River' until the tract became finally desiccated in the fourth century A.D. The objects in these graves and the clothes of the dead strikingly illustrated how wide apart in civilization and modes of daily life these semi-nomadic Lou-lan people were from the Chinese frequenting the ancient high-road which passed by the dried-up river.

I had been eagerly looking out along the foot of the Kuruk-tagh for traces of Afrazgul, who was overdue, and had taken the precaution to leave messages for him under cairns. So it was a great relief when, the day after my return to Yardang-bulak, he safely rejoined me with his three plucky Turki companions, including doughty Hassan Akhun, my camel factotum, and Abdul Malik, a fourth hardy brother from Singer. Considering the truly forbidding nature of the ground they had to traverse, and the length of the strain put on our brave camels, I had reason to feel anxious about the safety of the party. Now I was cheered by the completeness with which Afrazgul had carried through the programme I had laid down for him. Having gained Altmish-bulak by the most direct route and taken his supply of ice there, he had explored certain ancient remains in the extreme north-east of the once watered Lou-lan area, for the examination of which I had been unable to spare time on last year's march.

He then struck out for the point where the ancient Chinese route had entered the salt-encrusted bed of the dried-up sea, and thence traced its shore-line to the south-west, until he reached, at Chainut-köl, the northern edge of the area, where the spring floods of the Tarim finally spread themselves out, to undergo rapid evaporation in lagoons and marshes. He arrived, as I had intended, just in time before the usual inundation could interfere with his progress. After a few days' rest, with water and grazing for the camels, he turned into the wind-eroded desert north, and traced more remains of the ancient settlement discovered a year before along the southernmost branch of the 'Dry River.' Finally, after crossing an area of formidable high dunes, he gained the foot of the outermost Kuruk-tagh. From this exceptionally difficult exploration, which had kept the party from contact with any human being for a month and a half, Afrazgul brought back, besides interesting archaeological finds, an accurate plane-table survey and detailed diary records. It is impossible here to discuss the results. But, when considered with those which the previous year's surveys had yielded, they will, I feel confident, help to show the so-called Lop-nor problem in a new light.

We subsequently moved west to the point known as Ying-p'an, where the ancient bed of the Kuruk-darya is crossed by the Turfan-Lop track. I made use of a short halt there for exploring the interesting remains of a ruined fort and small temple site, found some miles beyond at the debouchure of the dried-up stream of Shindi, and first noticed by Colonel Kozloff and Dr. Hedin. The finds we made here of fragmentary Kharoshthi records on wood and of Han coins were important as proving that the ruins belonged to a fortified station occupied during the early centuries of our era when the ancient Chinese high-road coming from Lou-lan passed here. The station was meant to guard an important point of the route where it must have been joined by the road leading up from Charchan and Charkhlik. That it held a Chinese garrison became evident from the remains we found on clearing some well-preserved tombs in a scattered cemetery near by. There was definite evidence showing that the site abandoned for many centuries had been reoccupied for a while during Muhammadan and relatively recent times. Now the water needed for irrigation is wholly wanting.

Proceeding from Ying-p'an I first surveyed in the desert westwards the ancient bed, still marked by its rows of dead fallen trees, in which the waters of the Konche-darya had once passed into the 'Dry River' of Lou-lan. My subsequent journey to Korla, by a route leading through the desert north-westwards, and first followed by Dr. Hedin in 1896, enabled me to explore the remains of an ancient line of watch-stations extending for over 100 miles along the foot of the Kuruk-tagh. These watch-towers, some of them remarkably massive and well preserved, showed the same characteristic features of construction with which my explorations along the ancient Chinese *Limes* of Kansu had made me so familiar. There can be little doubt, I think, that these towers date back to approximately the time (*circa* 100 B.C.) when the Emperor Wu-ti had the route leading from Tun-huang towards Lou-lan protected by his wall and line of watch-stations. From the great height and intervening distances of the towers, as well as from other indications, it may be safely inferred that they were primarily intended for the communication of fire signals, such as are frequently mentioned in the early Chinese records I recovered from the Tun-huang *Limes*.

The need for such signalling arrangements must have been specially felt here, as it was mainly from the directions of Kara-shahr and Korla that the Hun raids must have proceeded, which we know from the Annals to have more than once threatened the Chinese hold upon Lou-lan and the security of their route to the Tarim Basin. With the gradual exten-

sion of Chinese political influence north of the Tien-shan these conditions must have changed, and subsequently the abandonment of the Lou-lan route, and the desiccation of the region it led through, must have greatly reduced the importance of this ancient line of communication along the Konche-darya. Yet the line marked by the towers appears to have continued in use as a high-road down to T'ang times, as was shown by the finds of coins, torn documents on paper, etc., we made on clearing the refuse heaps near them.

My visit to the quasi-peripatetic modern colony of Kara-kum on the upper Konche-darya gave me opportunities for curious observations about irrigation conditions and Chinese administrative methods; but I cannot pause to describe them. At the large and flourishing oasis of Korla, higher up the river, I had soon the satisfaction of seeing, by the beginning of April, our four surveying parties safely reunited. Lal Singh had succeeded in carrying his triangulation from Singer through the western Kuruk-tagh to the snow-covered peaks north of Korla. His dogged perseverance had triumphed over exceptional difficulties, both from the very broken nature of the ground and the adverse atmospheric conditions, which a succession of the violent duststorms usual at this season had created. The reward was the successful linking I had aimed at, of the T'ien-shan range with the system of the Trigonometrical Survey of India.

From Korla we set out on April 6 in three separate parties for the long journey to Kashgar. Lal Singh's task was to keep close to the T'ien-shan and to survey as much of the main range as the early season and the available time would permit. Muhammad Yakub moved south across the Konche and Incheke Rivers to the Tarim, with instructions to survey its present main channel to the vicinity of Yarkand. I sent most of our brave camels with him in order to let them benefit by the abundant grazing in the riverine after all the privations they had gone through. My own antiquarian tasks obliged me to keep in the main to the long line of oases, which fringes the south foot of the T'ien-shan and through which the chief caravan route of the Tarim basin still passes, just as it has always done since ancient times. Well known as this high-road is over which lay most of my journey to Kashgar, some 900 miles in length, the opportunities it gave for interesting observations, both on the historical geography and the present physical and economic conditions of this northern fringe of oases, were abundant. But here a brief reference to the result of my work round Kucha must suffice.

Three busy weeks spent within and around this historically important oasis enabled me, with Afrazgul's help, to survey both its actually cultivated area and that which, by the evidence of the numerous ancient sites found scattered in the scrubby desert to the east, south, and west, must have formed part of it. This survey, which archaeological finds of interest at a number of ruined sites usefully supplemented, has given me strong grounds for assuming that the area occupied in Buddhist times demanded for its cultivation irrigation resources greatly in excess of those at present available, of which I secured careful estimates. It seems to me clearly established that the discharge of the two rivers feeding the canals of Kucha has diminished considerably since T'ang times. But the antiquarian evidence at present obtainable does not allow us definitely to answer the questions as to what extent this obvious "desiccation" was the direct cause for the abandonment of once irrigated areas, and at what particular periods it proceeded. Here I may also mention in passing that remains of the ancient Han route, in the shape of massive watch-towers, could be traced as far as Kucha, and that their position clearly indicated that the old caravan route had followed the same line as the present one.

After visiting a number of interesting Buddhist ruins in the district of Bai, I travelled to Aksu, where Lal Singh's and my own routes opportunely allowed a brief meeting. He had managed to carry his plane-table survey at three points up to the snow-covered watershed of the Tien-shan, including the glacier pass below the high massif of Khan-tangri. Help I secured from the obliging Tao-tai of Aksu subsequently enabled him to follow a new route on his way to Kashgar, between hitherto unexplored outer ranges of Kelpin.

Regard for urgent tasks obliged me to move in rapid marches to Kashgar, which was reached on 31 May 1915. There at my familiar base I was received with the kindest hospitality by Colonel (now Brigadier-General) Sir Percy Sykes, who had temporarily replaced Sir George Macartney as H.B.M.'s Consul-General. Though a shooting trip to the Pamirs soon deprived me of the congenial company of this distinguished soldier-statesman and traveller, I continued to benefit greatly by all the help and comfort which the arrangements made by him assured to me during my five weeks' stay at Chini-bagh.

The safe repacking of my collection of antiques, filling 182 heavy cases, for its long journey across the Kara-koram to Kashmir, and a host of other practical tasks kept me hard at work all through that hot month of June. In the midst of it I felt greatly cheered by receiving the final permission of the Imperial Russian Government for my long-planned journey across the Pamirs and the mountain north of the Oxus, which the kind offices of H.E. Sir George Buchanan, H.B.M.'s Ambassador at Petrograd, at the instance of the Government of India in the Foreign Department, had secured. Considering how long I had wished to see this extreme east of ancient Iran, and that part of the "Roof of the World" under which it shelters, I could not feel too grateful to the Imperial Russian Government for having showing this readiness to give me access to ground, which for the most part had never before been visited by any British traveller. Its diplomatic representative at Kashgar, Consul-General Prince Mestchersky, lost no chance of facilitating the arrangements for my journey by kind recommendations to the Russian authorities across the border. But throughout it was a great comfort to feel, during that time of preparation, and still more on actual travel, how much of that kind help and attention I directly owed to Lord Hardinge, and the alliance of the British and Russian Empires he had done so much to render possible.

By 6 July 1915 I was able to leave Kashgar for the mountains westwards, after having completed all arrangements for the passage of my eighty heavy camel-loads of antiques to India. But the summer floods in the Kun-lun valleys, due to the melting glaciers, would not allow the valuable convoy to be started at once towards the Kara-koram passes. So R. B. Lal Singh, to whose care I had to entrust it, had set out in the meanwhile to complete our topographical labours in Turkestan by a careful survey of the high snowy mountains, which continue the Muztagh-ata range to the headwaters of the Kashgar River. Before he rejoined me for manifold final instructions I could enjoy a week of delightful seclusion for much urgent writing work, on a small fir-clad alp above the Kirghiz camp of Bostan-arche. Lower down in the valley my brave hardy camels had enjoyed weeks of happy grazing in coolness, badly needed after all their long travel and trials. When the time came for my start, I confess I felt the final separation from them almost as much as the temporary one from my devoted Lal Singh. Of my other assistants, I kept by me only young Afrazgul, whom I knew to be ever useful, even where survey work or digging could not be done. The rest were to accompany my collection to India.

It was with a delightful sense of freedom that on July 19 I started from my mountain camp for the high Ulugh-art Pass and the Pamirs beyond. For across them the road lay now open for me to those mountain regions north of the Oxus, which by reason of their varied geographical interest and their ethnic and historical associations have had a special fascination for me ever since my youth. On the following day I crossed the steep Ulugh-art Pass, about 16,200 feet above sea-level, flanked by a magnificent glacier some 10 miles long. There I felt duly impressed with the fact that I had passed the great meridional mountain barrier, the ancient Imaos, which divided Ptolemy's "Inner" and "Outer Scythia," as in truth it does now Iran and Cathay. The same night, after a 33 miles' walk and ride I reached the camp of Sir Percy Sykes returning from the Pamirs, and next day enjoyed a time of happy reunion with him and his sister, that well-known traveller and writer, Miss Ella Sykes.

Five days of rapid travel then carried me over the northernmost Chinese Pamirs and up the gorge of the westernmost headwaters of the Kashgar River, until I struck the Russian military road to the Pamirs on the Kizil-art Pass where it crosses the Trans-Alai range. At the little rest-house of Por-döbe, which I reached that evening on my descent from the pass, I soon received most encouraging proof of the generous and truly kind way in which the Russian political authorities were prepared to facilitate my travels. There I had the good fortune to meet Colonel I. D. Yagello, who holds military and political charge of the Pamir Division, including now also Wakhan, Shughnan, and Roshan; he was then just passing on a rapid visit to Tashkend. I could not have hoped even on our side of the Hindu-kush border for arrangements more complete or effective than those which proved to have been made on my behalf by this distinguished officer. It was for me a great additional pleasure to find in him an Oriental scholar deeply interested in the geography and ethnography of the Oxus regions, and anxious to aid whatever investigations could throw fresh light on their past. It was mainly through Colonel Yagello's unfailing aid that I succeeded in covering so much interesting ground, far more than my original programme had included, within the available time and without a single day's loss. I shall always look back with sincere gratitude to his friendly interest and all the generous help which he and his assistants, officers at the several Russian Pamir posts, gave me.

One of the chief objects which I had in view, when planning this extension of my journey across the Pamirs and the Russian territories on the Oxus, was to study there questions of historical geography, in the way which experience elsewhere in the East had taught me to be the best, *i.e.*, on the spot. Hence it was a special satisfaction to me that at the very start I was able to march down the whole length of the big Alai Valley, a distance of over 70 miles. In the topographical configuration, climatic conditions, and local resources of this great Alpine basin I could trace additional indications supporting the belief that through this wide natural throughfare, skirting the northern of the Pamirs from east to west, passed the route which the ancient silk traders from China followed down to the Middle Oxus, as outlined by that much-discussed record of classical geography where Marinus of Tyre describes the progress in the opposite direction of the agents of "Maes the Macedonian" from Bactria to the great silk mart in "the country of the Seres" or China. Similar observations make it appear to me very probable that the famous "Stone Tower" mentioned in that record must be located at or near Daraut-kurghan, a small Kirghiz village and now a

Russian frontier customs post, where the route up the main Kara-tegin Valley emerges upon the Alai. It is the only direct one between Bactria and Eastern Turkestan which is practicable throughout for laden camels.

From Daraut-kurghan, where our supplies could conveniently be replenished, I turned south to strike across the succession of high snowy ranges which separate the headwaters of the Muk-su and the rivers of Roshan and Shughnan from the uppermost Oxus. It was the only route, apart from the well-known one leading across the Kizil-art and past Lake Kara-kul, by which I could cross the Russian Pamirs and their western buttresses from north to south, and this accounted for my choosing it. But it proved a distinctly difficult route to follow, even with such exceptionally hardy animals as Colonel Yagello's orders secured for me from the rare Kirghiz camps encountered. There was, however, abundant reward in the mass of interesting geographical observations to be gathered, and in the splendid views which it offered into a region of permanent snow and ice, little explored and in parts still unsurveyed.

As far as the Tanimaz River, a large tributary of the Bartang or Murghab River, our route led past a grand glacier-clad range, vaguely designated as Sel-tagh or Muz-tagh, and still awaiting exact survey, which forms, as it were, the north-western buttress of the Pamirs. Rarely have my eyes in the Himalaya, Hindukush, or Kun-lun beheld a sight more impressive than the huge glacier-furrowed wall of the Muz-tagh, as it rose before me with magnificent abruptness above the wide torrent beds of the Muk-su, after I had crossed the Tars-agar, our first pass from the Alai. Its boldly serrated crest-line seemed to rise well above 20,000 feet, and individual ice-peaks may reach a considerably greater height. No approximately exact elevations seem so far to have been determined with the theodolite or clinometer for this and some other prominent ranges towering above the western portion of the Pamirs, and neither Afrazgul nor myself could help feeling again and again regret at the obvious considerations which precluded our attempting survey work however modest in scope. Subsequently it was a real satisfaction to come across evidence of the systematic triangulation work which the Topographical Service of Russian Turkestan has been extending over the Pamirs for some years past, and to learn that it was steadily being continued in spite of the war.

Our direct route past the Sel-tagh would have led up the valley by which the Zulum-art and Takhta-koram passes, giving access to the Kara-kul and Tanimaz drainage areas, are approached. But the floods fed by the huge Sel-darra Glacier completely close this route from spring-time till the late autumn, just as they render the track lower down the Muk-su quite impracticable for the greater part of the year.¹ So we were obliged to make our way first over the glacier pass, *circ.* 15,100 feet high, at the head of the Kayindi Gorge. The latter proved to be completely blocked in places by ancient moraines and offered very difficult going. Here, as elsewhere, in the high mountains west of the Pamirs, evidence could be noted of glaciation having considerably receded during recent times.

Beyond the Kayindi the ground assumed a much easier Pamir-like character, and after crossing the Takhta-koram Pass, *circ.* 14,600 feet, we reached on August 8 the first encamp-

¹ This Muk-su Gorge is in places, even during winter, too difficult for laden animals. To find it actually marked in a recent cartographical representation as traversed by the ancient silk trade route seemed an illustration of the risks which beset the work of the historical geographer, when it has to be done solely in the study.

ment of Kirghiz grazing in the open valleys to the south-west of the Great Kara-kul. Having obtained there fresh transport from imposing old Kokan Beg, the Ming-bashi of the northern Pamirs, and having started my anthropometric work, I moved down the Tanimaz Valley to its junction with that of the Murghab or Bartang River. Here at the picturesque hamlet of Saunab, the Tashkurghan of the Kirghiz, I reached the first Iranian-speaking settlement of hill Tajiks or Ghalthas, all fine-looking men. Their ethnic type of pure *Homo Alpinus*, their old-world customs, preserved by alpine isolation, and the survival of much that seems ancient in domestic architecture, decorative motifs, etc., interested me greatly and amply justified a day's halt, which allowed me to secure anthropological measurements and arrange for the load-carrying men we needed.

The only route open to us for reaching the southern Pamirs led up by the Bartang River, and progress in its narrow gorges proved exceptionally trying owing to the results of the great earthquake of 18 February 1911, which had transformed the surface of this mountain region in a striking fashion. Already on the lower Tanimaz we had come upon huge masses of rock débris which had been thrown down from the slopes of the flanking spurs and now spread for miles across the open valley bottom. Here in the defiles of the Bartang the huge landslides attending that memorable earthquake had choked up in many places the whole river passage and practically destroyed what tracks there ever existed along or above it. The big river once rivalling in volume the main feeder of the Oxus, the Ab-i-Panja, had here ceased altogether to flow. Strings of deep alpine tarns, with colours of exquisite beauty, had replaced it here and there and helped to increase the difficulties of progress. It took three days' hard scrambling along steep spurs, almost impassable for load-carrying men, and over vast slopes of rock débris spread out in wildest confusion, to get beyond the point near the mouth of the Shedan side valley where the fall of a whole mountain has completely blocked the river, and converted the so-called "Sarez Pamir" into a fine alpine lake over 15 miles long now and still spreading up the valley.²

Enormous masses of rock and detritus had been shaken down from the range on the north and had been pushed by the impetus of the landslip up the steep spur flanking the Shedan debouchure. They had thus formed a huge barrage, which even now seemed to rise more than 1200 feet above the level of the new Sarez Lake, and is likely to dam it up for years, if not for centuries. It cost another day's stiff, and in places risky, scramble before we succeeded in getting the baggage safely across the few miles of precipitous rock slopes and dangerous débris-shoots above the Yerkht inlet. Fortunately the men collected from the uppermost hamlets of the Roshan Valley proved all excellent cragsmen and quite expert in building *rafaks*, or galleries of brushwood and stones, along otherwise impassable precipices.

Opportunately succoured by Kirghiz ponies, which had been sent from the Alichur Pamir to meet us, we crossed the Langar Pass, close on 15,000 feet above the sea, by August 20. It gave us easy access to the Yeshil-köl Lake, where I found myself on ground of varied geographical interest. I can mention only two points here and those in all briefness. On the one hand, with the experience gained at the newly formed big lake fresh before me, it

² In an important paper (*Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Sciences*, clx. pp. 810 *sqq.*, Paris, 1915), reference to which I owe to Mr. E. Heawood's kindness, Prince B. Galitzine has shown strong reasons for the belief that the Sarez landslide was not the consequence but the cause of the earthquake of 18 February 1911, which was registered at many distant seismological stations. This earthquake is declared to present an exceptionally interesting case where the epicentre can be proved to coincide with the hypocentre itself.

was easy to recognize those topographical features which clearly point to the Yeshil-köl having derived its existence from a similar cataclysm at some earlier period. To the eyes of the non-geologist the formation of the Buruman ridge, which closes the western end of the lake, seemed to bear a close resemblance to the newly formed barrage which has created the Sarez Lake. Of glacier action, which might have produced the same result, I could see no trace on either side of the Yeshil-köl exit. On the other hand, what I observed on my way up the open Alichur Pamir, and subsequently in the Shughnan Valley below it, bore clear evidence to the advantages which the route leading through them had offered for Chinese expansion to the Upper Oxus and Badakhshan, ever since Kao Hsien-chih's memorable Pamir and Hindukush campaign of A.D. 747.

Having crossed the Bash-gumbaz, our fourth pass over 15,000 feet since leaving the Alai, I descended to the glittering big expanse of Lake Victoria or Zor-köl, where the Great Pamir branch of the Oxus rises, and the Pamir borders of Russia and Afghanistan meet. Ever since my youth I had longed to see this, the truly "Great" Pamir and its fine lake, famous in early local legends, and the "Great Dragon Lake" of the old Chinese pilgrims. As I looked across its deep blue waters to where in the east they seemed to fade away on the horizon, I thought it quite worthy to figure in early tradition as the legendary central lake from which the four greatest rivers of Asia were supposed to take their rise. It was a delightful sensation to find myself on ground closely associated with the memories of those great travellers, Hsüan-tsang, the saintly Chinese pilgrim-geographer, Marco Polo, and Captain Wood, the first modern explorer of the Pamir region.

The day of halt, August 27, spent by the sunny lake-shore, undisturbed by any sign of human activity, was most enjoyable, in spite of the bitterly cold wind sweeping across the big alpine basin, *circa* 13,400 feet above sea-level. It allowed me to gather local information, which once more confirmed in a striking fashion the accuracy of the Chinese historical records. In describing Kao Hsien-chih's expedition across the Hindukush, the T'ang Annals specially mention the concentration of the Chinese forces by three routes from east, west, and north, upon Sarhad, the point on the Ab-i-Panja branch of the Oxus, which gives direct access to the Baroghil and Darkot Passes. The routes from the east and west, *i.e.*, down and up the Ab-i-Panja Valley, were clear beyond all doubt. But of the northern route no indication could be traced in maps or books, and the existence of a pass, vaguely mentioned in native intelligence reports as possibly leading to Sarhad, across the high snowy range south of the Great Pamir, had been denied by members of the British Boundary Commission of 1895 who visited this region.

It was hence a pleasant surprise when inquiries from two much-travelled Kirghiz among our party elicited definite and independent evidence as to an old track still used by Tajik herdsmen, which leads from Sarhad across the range to the glacier-filled head of the Shor-jilga Valley, clearly visible from Lake Victoria, and thence down to the western shore of the latter. All I could observe through my glasses, and what I had seen in 1906 from the other side of the mountain range, seemed to plead for the accuracy of the Kirghiz' information. My only regret was the impossibility of testing it on the spot. This, alas, would have necessitated my trespassing on His Afghan Majesty's territory. How often did I later on, too, look wistfully across the boundary drawn by the River Oxus with the fond wish that I might yet be allowed to pass "through the gate of favour" into those fascinating valleys and mountains on the Afghan side of the border, which I was now able to skirt for hundreds of miles!

Three rapid marches down the Great Pamir River then carried me to Languar-kisht, where we reached the main Oxus Valley, and the highest of the villages on the Russian side of the river. Here, too, everything was done by the Commandant of the Russian frontier post and the local Wakhi headmen to facilitate my journey. My subsequent journey down the Oxus was attended by an abundant harvest of observations bearing on the historical topography, archaeology, and ethnography of Wakhan, which in early times had formed an important thoroughfare between Bactria, India, and the Central-Asian territories controlled by China. But it would cost too much time and space if I attempted here to give any details. It must suffice to mention that the exact survey of a series of ruined strongholds, some of them of very considerable extent, acquainted me with numerous features of distinct archaeological interest in their plans, the construction and decoration of their bastioned walls, etc. The natural protection offered by unscaleable rock faces of spurs and ravines was always cleverly utilized in these defences. But some idea of the labour, which even thus their construction must have cost, can be formed from the fact that at one of these strongholds, known as Zamr-i-Atish-parast, the successive lines of walls, with their bastions and turrets solidly built in rough stone or in sun-dried brick, ascend the slopes of a precipitous spur rising to an elevation of close on 1000 feet and have an extent of more than 3 miles.

It is certain that these hill fastnesses date back to pre-Muhammadian times and to a period when this portion of the Oxus Valley contained a population far denser than at present and enjoying a higher degree of material civilization. Their attribution by the present Wakhi people to the "Siahposh Kafirs" merely gives expression to a vague traditional recollection that they date back to times before the advent of Islam, the "Siahposh" of Kafirstan south of the Hindukush never having reached the stage of civilization which these ruins presuppose. Some architectural details seemed to suggest a period roughly corresponding to late Indo-Scythian or early Sassanian domination, during which our scanty records from Chinese sources indicate that Wakhan enjoyed a state of relative affluence and importance.

All along the big valley of Wakhan there opened glorious vistas to the south, where towering above narrow side valleys, and quite near, appeared magnificent ice-clad peaks of the Hindukush main range, looking just as early Chinese pilgrims describe them, like peaks of jade. I realized now what an appropriate invention the "popular etymology" was, which in Muhammadian times has connected the old and much-discussed name of *Bolor*, vaguely used for the Hindukush region, with the Persian *billaur*, meaning crystal. The effect was much heightened by the unexpectedly verdant appearance which the cultivated portion of Wakhan still presented at that season, in spite of the elevation from 8,000 to over 10,000 feet above sea level, and doubly welcome after the bleak Pamirs. It was pleasant to note abundant evidence of how much the resources of the Wakhis on the Russian side of the valley had increased, both in respect of cattle and sheep and of land brought under cultivation, since annexation under the settlement arrived at by the Anglo-Russian Pamir Boundary Commission had removed all trouble from Kirghiz raids and Afghan exactions.

For all these reasons I felt glad that plentiful antiquarian and anthropometric work kept me busy in Wakhan during the first half of September. To this was added a philological task when, on entering that portion of the valley which adjoins the great northward end of the Oxus and is known as the tract of Ishkashim, I could collect linguistic specimens of the hitherto unrecorded *Ishkashmi*, one of the so-called Pamir dialects which form an

important branch among the modern representatives of the Eastern Iranian language group. At the pretty little Russian post of Nu., which faces the main settlement of Ishkashmi, I enjoyed the kind hospitality of Captain Tumanovich, its commandant, and benefited much by his local knowledge and help. Then I passed down the Oxus through the very confined portion of the valley known as Garan, which until the recent construction of a bridle-path with Russian help was ground very difficult of access, even on foot, and visited Colonel Yagello's headquarters at Kharuk. It lies at the fertile debouchure of the Shughnan valleys, where the cart road now crossing the Pamirs ends, and proved a very pleasant spot, boasting of fine fruit gardens, and to my surprise, even of electric light.

The relative abundance of fertile arable land, and the facility of communication both with the Pamirs and the rich grazing uplands of Badakhshan, have always given to the valleys of Shughnan a certain historical importance. They figure often in Chinese and early Muhammadan accounts of the Middle Oxus region. So I was glad to visit in succession the two main valleys of Shakh-darra and Ghund. Considering that the Shughni people have always been noted for their fondness for roaming abroad, in the old days as raiders, and are now as pedlars and servants to be found in all towns from Kabul to Farghana, it was interesting to observe how much of old-world inheritance in ethnic type, local customs, domestic architecture, and implements has survived among them.

From Shitam in the Ghund Valley I crossed by a distinctly difficult glacier pass, over 16,000 feet high, into Roshan. From the watershed, overlooking large and badly crevassed glaciers both to north and south, I enjoyed a glorious vista over the rolling uplands of Badakhshan, a region towards which my eyes have been turned for many years, and to which access still remains closed. The narrow, deep-cut gorges in which the Roshan River has cut its way through towering mountain masses, wildly serrated above and very steep at their foot, proved a line of progress even more troublesome than the glacier across which we had reached them. A two days' climbing and scrambling past precipices by narrow rock ledge and frail galleries (*aurinz*), as bad as any I ever saw in the Hindukush, was relieved in places by the use of skin-rafts, where the absence of dangerous cataracts allowed their employment. Guided by dexterous swimmers, they made me glide down over the tossing river, forgetful of all fatigue, in scenery of impressive grandeur, amidst rock-walls which ever seemed to close in upon us. But it was a real relief when the last rock gate was passed, and we emerged once more in the less-confined valley of the Oxus.

Roshan, just as it is the least accessible of all the side valleys of the Oxus, seems also to have preserved the *Homo Alpinus* type of the Ghalehas in its greatest purity. The men, clean of limb and made wiry by constant movement over such impossible tracks, all showed clear-cut features, and often faces of almost classical regularity. The hamlets nestling at the mouth of the ravines were often half hidden amidst splendid orchards. The dwellings invariably showed plans and internal arrangements which were obviously derived from high antiquity, so many of the features being familiar to me from the architecture traced at early sites of Turkestan and the Indian North-West. Alpine seclusion seemed to have preserved here a small corner of the world scarcely touched by the change of ages, and I wondered whether some Bactrian Greek on a visit to Roshan would have seen much that was different from what these simple well-built dwellings show now.

After a busy delightful day's halt at Kala-Wamar, in the garden of the ruined castle of the Shughnan chiefs, I crossed the glacier pass of Adude and made my way into the Yazghulam and Vanj valleys of Darwaz, where the territory of the Amir of Bokhara was entered.

Here, too, the recommendation of the Imperial Russian political representative, Consul Belaieff, had assured me all possible attention and help. As I travelled up the Vanaj Valley, and subsequently through the mountain tract known as Wakhia-bala, I could not observe the gradual change in the physical appearance, houses, ways of living, etc., of the people, bearing testimony to the historically attested conquest of Turki tribes and the influence exercised by the civilization of the Turkestan plains. But we were still high up in the mountains, and had a trying task when on October 3 we crossed the Sitargh Pass, *circ.* 14,600 feet high, with its big and badly crevassed glacier, after the first winter snow had fallen, and just in time before it became closed to traffic. Finally, we gained by the Gardan-i-kaftar Pass, also under fresh snow, the main valley of Kara-tegin.

Here on the banks of the Kizil-su River, coming from the Alai, I found myself once more on the line of the ancient silk-trade route connecting China with Baetria. A marked change in the climatic conditions was brought home to me by the fact that the fertile slopes on the hillsides are being cultivated without the need of irrigation. Kara-tegin, as its modern name attests, had been long occupied by a Turki-speaking population. It was interesting to note here how the Kirghiz settlers, who represent probably the last wave of this Turkish invasion in what was originally Iranian ground, are now being slowly ousted again from the land by a steady reflux of Tajik immigrants.

From Kara-tegin, where I had interesting opportunities for getting to know the traditional administrative methods of Bokhara, a succession of rapid marches carried me westwards through the open and remarkably fertile valleys which the rivers of Kafirnihan and Surkhan drain. It seemed hard to forego a visit south to the Oxus, where it passes nearest to my old goal of Balkh or Baetra. But time was getting short for the remaining portion of my programme. So I took the nearest route to the confines of ancient Sogdiana north-westwards by the difficult track through the mountains which connects Hissar and Regak with the rich plains about Shahr-i-sabz. Finally, on October 22, I arrived at Samarkand and the Russian Central-Asian railway. Since the start from my camp in the Kashgar Mountains my journey had lasted just over three months, and within these we had covered on foot and on horseback an aggregate distance of close on 1700 miles.

A new and distant field of work lay ahead for me on Persian soil. So only a few days could be spared for renewed visits to the great monuments of Muhammadan art and Mughal power at Samarkand. It was the same at Bokhara, where I could personally thank M. Shulga, then officiating as the Imperial Russian representative, as well as the Diwan-begi, the head of H. H. the Amir of Bokhara's administration, for all the kind help and hospitality I had received in the State. So much survives, in that fascinating great city, of old-world Central-Asian life and of its own historical past that my three days' stay seemed a sadly brief time. Then the Trans-Caspian railway carried me to Askhabad, the great Russian cantonment on the Persian border, and crossing this I reached Meshed by November 4 after a four days' hard drive.

There, at the old capital of Khorasan, Colonel T. W. Haig, H. B. M.'s Consul-General for Khorasan, and a distinguished Oriental scholar, offered me the kindest welcome and the chance of a much-needed short rest. Under the hospitable roof of the Consulate and within its fine large garden I felt as if brought back to some English country house. Constant toil at much delayed official accounts kept me busy and, alas, left little time for glimpses of the interesting city outside. Seistan was my goal for the winter's work, and considering its great distance and the uncertain state of political affairs in Persia, I had much reason to feel grateful for the kind help and shrewd advice by which Colonel Haig facilitated my rapid onward journey.

On November 11 I left Meshed for Seistan. In order to reach it I had chose a route which, keeping off the main roads, gave opportunities for useful supplementary survey work and offered the further advantage of being the most direct. It first took us by little-frequented tracks through hills held by Hazara and Baluch tribal settlements to Rui-Khaf. Thence we travelled south in an almost straight line parallel to the Perso-Afghan border, where it passes through a nearly unbroken succession of desert depressions and of equally barren hill ranges. Near a few of the little oases we passed, as at Mujnabad, Tabbas, and Duruh, I was able to examine remains of sites abandoned since early Muhammadan times. At Bandan we struck the high-road, and two days later, on December 1, reached Nasratabad, the Seistan "capital." The excellent Persian mules hired at Meshed had allowed us to cover the total distance of over 500 miles in nineteen marches. With the assistance of Afrazgul Khan a careful plane-table survey on the scale of 4 miles to 1 inch was carried over the whole ground. The disturbed conditions of Persia due to the War made themselves felt also on the Khorasan border, ever a happy raiding-ground for enterprising neighbours. But owing, perhaps, to the rapidity of our movements and the unfrequented route chosen, the journey passed off without any awkward encounters.

Once safely arrived in Seistan I received a very kind and hospitable welcome from Major F. B. Prideaux, H.B.M.'s Consul in Seistan, and could quickly set to work with all the advantages which his most effective help and prolonged local experience assured me. Ever since my student days I had felt drawn to Seistan by special interests connected with its geography and historical past. It had been more than chance that my very first paper, published as long ago as 1885, dealt with the ancient river names of this Iranian border-land. My present visit to Seistan, long deferred as it was, could for various reasons be only a kind of reconnaissance. Yet even thus I might hope among its numerous ruined sites to discover remains of the early periods when ancient *Sacastana*, "the land of the Sacas or Scythians," served as an outpost of Iran and the Hellenistic Near East towards Buddhist India. A strong additional reason was provided by my explorations in the Tarim Basin; for the striking analogy presented by various physical features of the terminal basin of the Helmand River was likely to throw light on more than one geographical question connected with the dried-up Lop Sea and the ancient Lou-lan delta.

It is a great satisfaction to me that in both directions my hopes have been fully justified by the results of my Seistan work. But it is only the most prominent that I can find space to record here in brief outlines. At the very start my archæological search was rewarded by an important discovery. It was made on the isolated rocky hill of the Koh-i-Khwaja, which rises as a conspicuous landmark above the central portion of the Hamuns or terminal marshes of the Helmand. The extensive and wellknown ruins situated on its eastern slope proved to be the remains of a large Buddhist sanctuary, the first ever traced on Iranian soil. Hidden behind later masonry, there came to light remarkable fresco remains, dating back undoubtedly to the Sassanian period. Wall paintings, of a distinctly Hellenistic style and probably older, were found on the wall of a gallery below the high terrace bearing the main shrine. Protected in a similar way from the ravages of man and atmospheric moisture they had unfortunately suffered much from white ants. The importance of these pictorial relics, which I managed to remove safely in spite of various difficulties, is great. They illustrate for the first time *in situ* the Iranian link of the chain which, long surmised by conjecture, connects the Græco-Buddhist art of the extreme north-west of India with the Buddhist art of Central Asia and the Far East. This connection was reflected with equal clearness by the architectural features of the ruins, which were also of great interest.

(To be continued.)

SOME INTERESTING PARALLELS.

BY HIRALAL AMRATLAL SHAH, B.A.

To begin with the use of the number 'forty', in the Vedic and non-Vedic literature.

(I) *Rig*°II, 12, 11, informs us that "Indra found out in the *fortieth autumn*, Śambara abiding in the hills"—

“यः शम्बरं पर्वतेषु क्षियन्तं
चत्वारिंश्यां शरघ्नवविन्दत् ।”

There is no convincing explanation why it should be the fortieth (autumn) and *nothing more or less* than that. Mr. Tilak's¹ hypothesis is well known and is considered to be highly ingenious. But as far as we know, it is not commonly accepted to be the right and final explanation. He construes the hymn differently, taking it to mean the fortieth *day* of the autumn and not the *fortieth Autumn* (=year).

We now transcribe passages where this number is used. First of all, we refer to the dramas of Shakespeare edited by Mr. Verity and also to his notes on the passages we select therefrom.

In *Hamlet*, we read :—

“Hamlet : ‘I lov'd Ophelia : *forty* thousand brothers
Could not, with all their quantity
Of love, make up my sum . . .’ (V, 1, 262, ff)

“*forty* : cf. ‘sonnet’ 2 (Shakespeare's).

‘When *forty winters* shall beseege thy brow’,

‘Coriolanus,’ III, 1, 243 :—

‘I could beat *forty* of them’, and the *Merry Wives of Windsor*,—I. 1, 205-6,

‘I had rather than *forty* shillings

‘I had my books of songs and sonnets here’ :

“Other numbers, e.g., 3 and 13, have become significant through some ancient belief or historical event ; and perhaps 40 gained some mysterious import through the scriptures. Thus the wanderings of the Israelites lasted *forty* years, the fast of our Lord *forty* days, likewise the fast of Elijah (1, Kings, XIX, 8) and the stay of Moses on the mount. (Exod., XXIV, 18).”

Mr. Verity adds here that the “Elizabethans use forty to imply indefinitely large number.” However, he changes his opinion a year later, commenting on a passage we are just giving, that *forty* is used constantly by Elizabethans apparently as a “significant number, where no precise reckoning was needed.”² This is a note on the lines in the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, II, 1, 175-6,

‘Puck—‘I'll put a girdle round about the earth
In *forty* minutes.’

We now dispense with Shakespeare and turn to the European history. From Macaulay, we learn that in feudal times, *forty* days made up the period, for which, men were bound to serve in a war.

The most interesting parallels, according to us, lie in ‘the wanderings of the Israelites for *forty years*’ and in the line of the Sonnet, “*forty winters* shall beseege thy brow.”

We can do no more than direct the attention of scholars to these instances. We shall now pass on to other cases where resemblance in thoughts and words is interesting.

¹ *The Arctic Home in the Vedas*, pp. 279 ff.

² [Forty is a common conventional number in ancient Jewish tradition and has been supposed to have originated in “forty years” as the conventional life of a generation.—Ed.]

About Dawn.

- (II) “चन्द्ररथा सुनृता ईरयन्ती ।³”
 “उषः प्रसीची भुवनानि विश्वो-
 र्धा सिद्धस्युतस्य केतुः ॥⁴”
 “अच्छा वो देवीमुषसं विभार्तिं
 प्र वो भरध्वं नमसा सुवृक्तिम् ॥⁵”
 “उषो वाजं वाजिनि प्रचेताः
 स्तोमं कुषस्व गृणतो मघोनि ।⁶”

—Rig° III, 61.

cf. with:—

- “Thou in the moon’s bright chariot proud and gay,
 . . . Thou Scythian-like dost round thy lands above
 The sun’s gilt tent for ever move
 And still as thou in pomp dost go
 The shining pageant of the world attend thy show.
 : . . When Goddess, liftest up thy waken’d head
 Out of the morning’s purple bed,
 Thy quire of birds about thee play
 And all the joyful world salutes the rising day.”

—Abraham Cowley: *Hymn to Light*.

[‘The moon’s bright chariot’ corresponds to ‘चन्द्ररथा’ but according to Sāyanâchârya, the word ‘चन्द्र’ means ‘golden’ and not ‘moon’ The phrase अमृतस्य केतुः is to be found in the line ‘The sun’s gilt tent for ever move’; here, Sāyanâ° takes ‘अमृत’ to mean the ‘sun.’]

About Sunrise.

- (III) “यदेद्युक्त हरितः सधस्था-
 वाद्रात्री वासस्तनुते सिमस्मै ।⁷”

—Rig° I, 115. 4.

cf. with Spencer’s *Faerie Queen*, I, 12, 2 and I. 2, 1 ff:—

- “Scarcely had Phœbus in the glooming east
 Yet harnessed his fiery-footed teeme.”
 “And cheerful chanticleer with his note shrill
 Had warned once that Phœbus’ fiery car,
 In haste was climbing up the Eastern hill,
 Full envious that night so long his room did fill.”

[‘Eastern hill’ is the well-known ‘उदयगिरि’]

- (IV) “मर्यो न योषामभ्येति पश्चात् ।⁸”
 “आमा यावापृथिवी अन्तरिक्षं ।⁹”

—Rig° I, 115, 1-2.

Translation of the Passages.

³ “O Dawn, . . . on thy golden car; awaken the sweet notes of the birds.” (Peterson.)

⁴ “O Dawn, before all the world thou risest up, the banner of immortality.” (Peterson.) According to Sāyanâ°, “proclaimer of the (immortal) Sun.”

⁵ “Come, bring to the shining Dawn your offering and bow down before her.” (Peterson.)

⁶ “O Dawn, rich in blessing, wise and bountiful, accept the song of thy worshipper.” (Peterson.)

⁷ . . . “For, when he yoked his horses from their stall, Night was spreading her garment over all.” (Peterson.)

When he (Sun) draws away (from this world) his horses (rays), the Night covers everything with darkness. (Sāyanâ°.) [This passage is understood in different ways by different scholars. We cannot say how far the parallel can help us to clear the meaning.]

⁸ “(The sun follows the divine and shining Dawn,) as a wooer follows his mistress.” (Peterson.)

⁹ “Sūrya (Sun) has filled heaven, earth and the mid-sky.” (Peterson.)

cf. with *Faerie Queen*. I, 5, 2:—

“ And Phœbus, fresh as bridegroom to his mate
Came dancing forth, shaking his dewy hair
And hurled his glistening beam through gloomy air.”

(V) “ समानमर्थे चरणीयमाना ¹⁰ ” —*Rig*° III, 61, 3.

cf. with “ The welkin way most beaten plaine ” *Faerie Queen* I, 4, 9.

Miscellaneous.

(VI) “ रघुमेव निवृत्तचर्यौवनं तममन्यत नरेश्वरं प्रजाः । ¹¹ ” —*Raghu* VIII, 5.

cf. with “ He saw in Mahomet, with his old life-worn eyes a century old, the lost Abdallah come back again, all that was left of Abdallah.” —(Carlyle's *Heroes*.—Hero as a Prophet)

There is some difference between the above two passages. The subjects (*prajā*) do not get old. Hence in the *Raghu*, we do not expect to find the ‘ old life-worn eyes ’; nor do we find ‘ all that was left of ’ because the departure of Raghu was quiet and peaceful leaving behind him nothing which would indicate hard times.

(VII) “ गच्छति पुरः शरीरं धावति पश्चादसंस्तुतं चेतः ।
वीनांशुकमिव केतोः प्रनिवानं नीयमानस्य ॥ ¹² ”

—*Śāk*° I, 29.

cf. with T. Moore's “ *The Journey Onwards* ” :

“ As slow our ship her foamy track
Against the wind was cleaving,
Her trembling pennant still look'd back
To that dear isle 'twas leaving.
So loth we part from all we love,
From all the links that bind us ;
So turn our hearts, as on we rove,
To those we have left behind us ! ”

[“ प्रनिवानं नीयमानस्य ” may hint that the flag belongs to a ship and not to a chariot.]

The following sentence is taken from the *Uttarabhāga* of Kādambari:—

(VIII) “ वानैः वानैश्चन्द्रदर्शनाद्यन्धमन्वास्मिताया वृक्षप्रभेव ज्योत्स्ना निस्पतन्ती निशाया मुखशोभामकरात् । ¹³ ”
cf. with G. Wither's “ *The Mistress of Philarete* ” :—

“ When her ivory teeth she buries
Twixt her two enticing cherries, ; . . .
If you look again the whiles
She doth part those lips in smiles,
'Tis as when a flash of light
Breaks from heaven to glad the night.”

(IX) “ त्वं जीवितं स्वमसि मे हृदयं द्वितीयं
त्वं कामुदी नयनयोरमृतं स्वमङ्गे । ¹⁴ ”

—*Uttararāmacharitam*, III, 26

cf. with R. Herrick's “ *To Anthea* ” :

“ Thou art my life, my love, my heart,
The very eyes of me,
And hast command of every part
To live and die for thee.”

¹⁰ “ Moving to the old goal.” (Peterson.) “ Treading the old (usual) path.” (Sāyaṇā.)

¹¹ “ The subjects looked upon him their sovereign lord as Raghu himself returned to youth.”

¹² “ The body moves forward, the dull mind runs back like the flag of the staff carried against the wind.”

¹³ “ Gradually, the moonlight added beauty to the face of the Night on which a faint smile lurked on account of the appearance of the moon (her lover).”

¹⁴ “ Thou art my life, my second heart; Thou art moonlight to my eyes, the nectar to my limbs.”

Let us again return to the *Faerie Queen* (II, 13) :—

- (X) " No tree whose braunches did not bravely spring ;
No braunch whereon a fine bird did not sitt ;
No bird but did her shrill notes sweetly sing ;
No song but did containe a lovely ditt.
Trees, braunches, birds and songs, were framed fitt
For to allure fraile mind to carelesse ease."

These lines remind us the first verse of the *Śukarambhāsaṃvāda*—

- " मार्गे मार्गे नूननं खूतखण्डम
खण्डं खण्डं कौंकिलानां विरावः ।
रावे रावे मानिनी मानभङ्गः
भङ्गे भङ्गे मन्मथः पञ्चबाणः ॥ 15 "
(XI) " कमण्यर्थं त्विदं ध्यात्वा वक्तुं प्रम्फुरिताधराः ।
बाष्पस्मृत्स्मितकण्ठस्त्वावन्नुन्नवैव वनं गताः ॥ 16 "

—*Pratimā* of Bhāsa, II, 17.

This way Rāma, Sitā and Lakshmana went to forest according to Bhāsa. It is quite different in *Rāmāyana*, wherein we read a long farewell message. Whether Bhāsa or some one else be the author of the dramas published by Mr. Ganapati Sāstri, the skill of the dramatist is quite evident. He has heightened to an extraordinary pitch the pathos of the situation by dropping the message altogether, and thus making it an indication of intense grief.

In *Rāmāyana*, the farewell message was meant to show the feelings of grief ; but by a stroke (we should consider it to be of the pen of a genius) it has been dropped, in spite of *Rāmāyana*, simply to express the grief. That Rāma went away without leaving a message behind him is sufficient to drive mad his affectionate father. We have come across many cases where Bhāsa puts aside older authorities, or historical facts. Here is one of them where he does so with great success and rare effect. We cite a parallel to the above verse of Bhāsa :

" Neither could say farewell, but through their eyes
Grief interrupted speech with tears' supplies."

—T. Carew's "*A Pastoral Dialogue*:" last lines.

The following lines are perfectly oriental in sentiment, although we read them in the *Faerie Queen*, I, 12, 36-7.

- (XII) " And to the knight his daughter dear he tied
With sacred rites and vows for ever to abide."
" His own two hands the holy knott did knitt
That none but death for ever can divide ;
His own two hands, for such a turne most fit,
The houseling fire did kindle and provide,
And holy water thereon sprinkled wide ; . . . "

" The houseling fire ", we consider, is more connected with India and the Indian life than with any other race on the earth. Even in the drama of Shakespeare we read .

" For in the temple, by and by, with us
These couples shall eternally be knit." —

—*A Midsummer Night's Dream*, IV, 1, 185-6.

Here the parallels come to an end. We hope their significance will not be lost upon the reader.

¹⁵ " On the road there are clusters of mango-trees and every such cluster resounds with the cooings of cuckoos; Every note of cuckoo makes the proud lady give up her pride: and with that, springs up (in her heart) the five-arrowed god."

¹⁶ " For a long time they thought: and (then) quivered their lids to utter something ; but tears prevented their speech; hence, without uttering a word, they went away to forest."

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.

BY V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T., MADRAS.

*(Continued from p. 219.)***Chanda's entry into Trichi and his aims.**

An evil day it was for Madura and its queen when Chanda Sahib made his entry into the Trichinopoly fort. It did not take long for Minākshi to find out that her friend was really her master, soon an enemy. For the love of power, she had sacrificed the unity of the State and invited the foreigners, and she now found that, in spite of her sacrifice, she was far from exercising power. Greedy and ambitious, Chanda Sahib could not check his interested diligence or voracious appetite. His soaring ambition longed for the time when the queen would be no more in his way, and when he could openly rule as the undisputed master of the region from the Kāveri to the Cape. True, he did not at first so behave as to divulge the desire of his heart. He had the wisdom to proceed with caution, to use the name of Minākshi in all his actions and proceedings, so as to divert suspicion and invite confidence. An analysis of Chanda Sahib's motive in this period of his life shows that he had three things in view. He wished first to overthrow Baigāru Tirumala in the name of Minākshi, so that the Madura kingdom would once again be a strong and united power and free from rebellion and treason. Secondly, the consolidation of Madura achieved, he hoped to depose Minākshi and place himself in the capacity of the Nawab's lieutenant, on the throne of Trichinopoly. When this was done he evidently hoped, as the last step of his ambition, to turn traitor to his master and declare himself an independent king. The first of these he expected to accomplish by acting in the name of Minākshi and by using the Nawab's countenance, the second by the Nawab's countenance alone, and the third, after his elevation, by his own unaided resources. Chanda Sahib was, in other words, actuated by a secret motive in every step and a secret understanding against everybody. To use Minākshi as the means of Baigāru Tirumala's destruction, then to use the Nawab's name against Minākshi, and then to use his new powers against his master, were the methods which his ambition inspired and planned. No better instance have we in history of a clever schemer who combined the victims and the agents of his ambition in such a skilful manner. The means of his elevation to-day were, according to his plan, to be the victims of his tyranny tomorrow. Self was the only God whom Chanda Sahib knew, and it is not surprising that he proved to be the evil genius of the Nāik kingdom.

His tacit allowance of the partition of the kingdom.

In accordance with his plan Chanda Sahib seems to have,²¹ as Mr. Nelson says, first advised Minākshi to sacrifice the life of her rival Baigāru, so that ostensibly there could be no scope for the progress of any rebellion in his name, but really that he himself might have a free hand in the administration of the kingdom. It seems that Minākshi displayed on this occasion, a rare generosity, and refused to do so. Ill-treated as she had been by her adopted child's father she apparently forgot or ignored the past, and refused to injure him in any way. Indeed, she did not only protect him by a noble act of oblivion, but evidently came to an understanding with him, by which, in a reasonable spirit of modera-

²¹ Nelson no doubt based his account

on such grounds.

tion, she agreed to partition⁹⁴ the kingdom into two divisions, by which she was to live at Trichinopoly and get the revenues of the North as far as Dindigul, while Baṅgāru was to have his headquarters at Madura and rule the rest of the kingdom. The extent of Minākshi's conciliation can be imagined from the fact that she placed even her adopted son and ward under the protection of Baṅgāru Tirumala. It is not difficult to perceive in this extraordinary agreement that Minākshi was inspired not only by the desire not to stain the fair reputation of her name, but by her probable repentance of the past, and by her generous recognition that, after all, Baṅgāru was, next to her, the sole claimant to the throne, and that any harm or violation done to his person might result in the final ruin of the kingdom. It shews the triumph of reason over prejudice, of her wisdom over her selfishness. Chanda Sahib did indeed, for his own reasons, urge her to give up her generous behaviour and conciliatory policy, but neither her helpless state of dependence, nor the colour of plausible soundness which Chanda Sahib lent to his arguments, could deter her from resisting the unfortunate solicitation of the Musalman. And Chanda Sahib himself perhaps perceived that, in the then circumstances, the exercise of power in a portion of the kingdom by Baṅgāru was, after all, a service or rather than disservice to him; for the removal of Baṅgāru by death would necessarily betray his own designs and reveal his ambitions to the Nawab. On the other hand, the existence of Baṅgāru would, while strengthening his control over Minākshi, give him a security from the Nawab's displeasure,—a security all the more necessary for the maturity and success of his plans. Chanda Sahib therefore thought it better, in the long run, to acquiesce in the arrangements of Minākshi and the partition of the kingdom.

The intriguing temperament and the tortuous policy of Chanda Sahib however could not keep him quiet for a long time. He resolved at any cost, to overthrow Baṅgāru Tirumala, but he had not enough resources. Nor would the queen listen to him.⁹⁵ In 1735 therefore he returned to Arcot, with the idea of returning to Trichinopoly with reinforcements. It is not improbable that, during his sojourn at Arcot, he convinced the Nawab of the necessity of getting rid of the Nāik chieftain and that the Nawab, unable to look beyond his nose, consented. However it was, when Chanda Sahib returned to Trichinopoly in 1736 at the head of a large force, Queen Minākshi, alarmed by fear or ignorance of his real motive, admitted him. The historian Orme suggests on the ground of a vague tradition that Minākshi had by this time fallen in love with the Musalman and that this intoxication clouded her understanding, compromised her dignity and made her a willing tool, if not an abject slave of the adventurer.

His adoption of war-like policy and attack on Baṅgāru Tirumala in Madura.

However it might have been, the first act of Chanda Sahib after his return to Trichinopoly was to despatch, in her name, an army against Baṅgāru Tirumala and his royal son. According to the Telugu chronicle he himself set out against Baṅgāru, "beat the troops stationed in the Dindigul district, took possession of it, and proceeded as far as Annaya-pālayam.

⁹⁴ The Telugu *Rec. Carna. Gorr.* "She retained for her own expenses and charities the revenues of the districts on the Kāveri banks, and gave Tinnevely, Madura, Dindigul with Rāmnād, Sivaganga and other *pālayams* to Baṅgāru." Her share was much smaller than Baṅgāru's, or rather his son's. Wilson, on the other hand, seems to think that Baṅgāru's going to Madura was the result not of an agreement but of a desire to escape from the clutches of Chanda Sahib and the Rāpi. *JRAS.*, III.

⁹⁵ Wilson, on the other hand, seems to think that Chanda acted during all this time, with the queen's approval and not in spite of her.

Meanwhile Baṅgāru had ordered his Daḷavāi, Mutu Veṅgu Aiyar and Veṅkaṭa Kṛishṇa Nāik, the son of Minākshi Nāik, to oppose him, accompanied by 2,000 cavalry, and by Appaiya Nāik, Bōdhi Nāik, Irchaka Nāik and other Polygars. In the battle which ensued Veṅkaṭa Kṛishṇa fell, covered with eighteen wounds. The Daḷavai, seated on a howdah, discharged arrows on his foes all round, scattering 300 men and allowing none to approach. By turning the howdah elephant to turn on every side like a whirlwind, he slew a great many soldiers and wounded many more. At the same time, the enemy, by means of arrows and musket-bullets, pierced Veṅgu Aiyar's body like a sieve, covering it with many wounds. He nevertheless relaxed not, and fought like Abhimanyu with the army of Duryodhana. He did not even pause to draw out the arrows that had struck him, but when his stock of arrows were expended, he drew out those which were in his body; and discharged them, thereby slaying several of his foes. But at length from the number of his wounds he became exhausted and expired. His troops were cut to pieces. A few, however, though wounded, took his body to Madura. Soon afterwards, Baṅgāru heard that Chanda Sahib was advancing to Madura and, as he was destitute of forces, quitted that place,, together with the prince and the royal appurtenances for Sivagaṅga." The *Carna Govrs.* gives a slightly different version. It says that Chanda Sahib did not personally go against Baṅgāru, but despatched the Daḷavāi and Pradhāni Gōvindaiya and Rāvaṇaiya "at the head of 8,000 cavalry and some infantry against Dindigul. They captured it, and were about to march on Madura, when Baṅgāru Tirumala Nāikar sent his Daḷavāi Muttu Veṅgu Aiyar with a few men and 2,000 horse, to await the enemy at Ammaianayakanur Pālayam and give battle. In the battle which consequently followed the heavy odds of the Trichinopoly army gained the day, and the howdah of Muttu Veṅgu Aiyar was surrounded. From his seat he discharged all his arrows and killed many of the enemy's horse, but was eventually slain. The victorious army then marched on Madura. Baṅgāru Tirumala had no army to support him. So he left Madura and came to Sivagaṅga, the estate of Uḍaya Tēvar."

Baṅgaru's Exile.

At this important crisis of his life Baṅgāru had the consolation, the only consolation, of the loyalty of some of his Polygars. When he fled from Madura⁹⁶ for safety, he was welcomed by the Sētopati Kāṭṭa Tēvar and the Sivagaṅga Chief Sākiva Tēvar. They met him with golden and silver flowers, paid him homage, and escorting him in pomp to their estate, placed at his disposal a number of villages for his maintenance, and also supplied everything needed. The village of Vellaikkuruchchi formed the residence of the father and the royal son, and from there they were, we can hardly doubt, reminded every day of their fallen condition, all the more by the faith of their loyal feudatories.

⁹⁶ A remarkable instance of the absurd adherence to mere political terminology, which has no meaning whatever, is clear from an inscription in the name of Baṅgāru Tirumala, dated A.D. 1733. The Vijayanagar Empire had long been extinct, the Musalmans and Marathas had come and ruled, and the Nāiks themselves had acted independently or in accordance with the dictates of the Musalmans. Yet this inscription discovered in the Kālāstisvara temple of Uttamāpālayam says that he was the servant of Śrī Rāṅga Rāya of Vijayanagar,—Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, Rājadhīrāja, Rājaparamēśvara, Rājamārtanda, Rājagambhīra, the conqueror of all countries, the giver of no country, the death to the triad of kings, the scatterer of Uriya forces, the humiliator of the Uriya pride, the scatterer of the Musalman forces, the humiliator of the Musalman pride, the king of kings who collected tribute from all kingdoms, the lord of horses, the lord of elephants, the lord of men, the Navakōṭinārāyaṇa,—the Rāyya of Anagundi!—See Taylor's *Rest Mack. MSS.*, II. p. 276-8.

Chanda Sahib's betrayal of Minākshi.

After the flight of Baṅgāru and Vijaya Kumāra, Madura lay open to the forces of Chanda Sahib. Rāvaṇaiya and Gōvindaiya occupied it promptly, and after securing it continued their march southward as far as Tinnevely. The Polygars yielded and took the oath of allegiance to the queen. But it was not for long that that queen was to rule. With the conquest of Madura and Tinnevely, with the full acquisition of the kingdom, and with the flight and exile of the king and the regent, the necessity on the part of Chanda Sahib to assume a sham loyalty to Minākshi was gone. He could now openly throw off his disguise, and make his outward behaviour consistent with his secret desire. Chanda Sahib therefore confined the queen in her palace and openly flouted her authority. He assumed a supercilious air and a dictatorial tone, placed the defence of the fort in the hands of his own men, secured the treasury, seized the administration, and ordered the relations and followers of Minākshi to leave the fort. It must have been a shock and a surprise to them and to the people, but all defence, all hesitation, was useless. The villain had taken every precaution to back up his commands, and resistance would mean nothing but suicide.

Her Suicide.

The result was that Minākshi was a prisoner in her palace, her men in exile and her emancipation beyond hope. The only man who was likely to present an effective check to her oppressor was an exile. Did Baṅgāru Tirumala know her actual condition? Or, did he believe that the army which Chanda Sahib had recently sent against him was an army in reality sent by Minākshi? We have no materials from which we can pronounce an opinion on these questions. It is highly probable that Baṅgāru Tirumala was ignorant of the tyranny to which Minākshi was subjected at Trichinopoly; that he might have even believed, from his recent disaster, that Chanda Sahib and Minākshi were on cordially amicable terms. He was, in other words, ignorant of the miserable situation of his rival, the ambitions of Chanda Sahib, and the consequent feeling of friendship which Minākshi must have in her heart entertained for him. However it might have been, he did not stir a finger, after his flight to Sivagaṅga, to recover his kingdom. Either his ignorance of the actual state of things at Trichinopoly, or his incapacity with the resources he then had, to go to war, made him harmless. It is not improbable that the counsels of his supporters looked on an attempt to recover the kingdom by force would end in failure. Consequently, with the lapse of days, the position of Minākshi became intolerable. Every day the Mussalman was getting haughtier and she was treated with humiliation and insult. Every accident betrayed the impotence of her party and the turbulent temper of her guards, and it was not long before she realised that the conspiracy formed in her very palace-prison was too formidable to be quelled. The courtiers, who were loyal to her, were either exiles or powerless men, who had no access to her on account of the Mussalman soldiers stationed in the gateways and galleries, the vestibule and portico of the prison, and some were prepared, thanks to bribery and persuasion, to take part in Chanda Sahib's designs. Life became a burden under these circumstances. The loss of crown and freedom, the pressure of remorse and the poignancy of grief, prepared her for removal from this world, and the last Hindu sovereign of Trichinopoly died broken-hearted by her own hand.

Such was the ignominious fate of the last Nāik ruler of Madura and Trichinopoly. She had been on the throne only for a space of five years, and the penalty she had to pay for her short-sighted opposition to her cousin, with whom she might have come to an under-

standing of an amicable nature, in the very beginning of her reign, was her life, and the extinction of her kingdom. The Musalman was now firmly seated at Trichinopoly and Madura. The most powerful remnant of old Vijayanagar, the dynasty which had survived the vicissitudes and political revolutions of two centuries after the downfall of Vijayanagar, was now no more. The institution of Viśvanātha Nāik and Aryanātha Mudaliār became extinct; and if the Polygars of Madura still assumed the title of Polygars, few traces can be discovered of their political subordination.

Chanda Sahib's March against Baṅgaru.

The ambition of Chanda Sahib impelled him, after the acquisition of the kingdom, to prompt and decisive action. In accordance with his preconceived design, he resolved to employ his new resources in the renunciation of his allegiance to his relation and suzerain. At the same time, he wanted to be tactful enough not to rashly provoke him against himself. Tempering his ardour by this consideration, he kept on friendly terms with his master for a year. In the meantime, he devoted himself to the consolidation of his new kingdom. He repaired and strengthened the fortifications of Trichinopoly, and appointed his two brothers as governors of the stronghold of Dindigul and Madura. He then embraced the resolution of marching against the Polygars of Rāmnāḍ and Sivagaṅga who, as we have already seen, had given refuge to Baṅgaru Tirumala and Vijaya Kumāra. Vijaya Kumāra was still the titular Kartā, and so long as he lived, and commanded the allegiance of the Polygars, the Muhammadan would be, in the eyes of the people, a usurper. Chanda Sahib, therefore, proceeded to remove the obstacle.

Baṅgaru's Alliance with Tanjore, and Failure.

Baṅgaru Tirumala was alarmed. He saw that the heart of Chanda Sahib was set on his ruin, that the chiefs who had given him refuge could not, owing to their limited resources, aid him any further. He sought for allies; found one, a companion in trouble, who was prepared to sympathise with him and to co-operate with him in undertaking means to overthrow the haughty Musalman. That companion in trouble was the contemporary King of Tanjore, Sayaji. Sayaji⁹⁷ had ascended the Tanjore throne in 1738 as successor to queen Sujana Bai, the wife of his elder brother. Immediately after his accession, Sayaji found himself in an exceedingly difficult and embarrassing position. An impostor named Savai Shahji or Siddoji, who pretended to be the son of Sayaji's elder brother and therefore the legitimate heir to the throne, disputed his right and set up a formidable standard of rebellion. The progress of this treason in fact was so startling that Sayaji found himself, with a tragic suddenness, a deserted chief and had to seek refuge by flight. Proceeding to Chidambaram he asked for the assistance of the French at Pondichery, in return for the cession of Kāraikāl, which they had been long desirous of obtaining. Dumas, the French Governor, agreed, and was about to occupy Kāraikāl and send an army to assist Sayaji, when the latter, who had in the meanwhile been engaging other means than force, succeeded by dint of bribes and promises to the nobility of Tanjore, in effecting a *coup d'état* and recovering his crown, cancelled his treaty with the French. Governor Dumas was highly indignant at this turn of events, but he had no other alternative than to acquiesce in it. At this crisis, Chanda Sahib invaded the Tanjore dominions in the name of the Nawab to collect tribute, and he made an alliance with the French by which he was to

⁹⁷ See *Tanj. Gazr.*, 44-5.

compel Sayaji to surrender Kâraikâl to them, a measure which he thought he could take, as the Nawab was the suzerain. The place was then forcibly taken and Sayaji was compelled to agree to his treaty and ratify it in a formal agreement (Feb. 1739). He at the same time was compelled to pay enormous booty to Chanda Sahib.

Baṅgâru Tirumala calls in the Marathas.

It is not surprising that Sayaji was, like Baṅgâru Tirumala, embittered in his feeling against Chanda Sahib and ardently longed for his overthrow. Both the chiefs put their heads together and embraced the resolution of calling the Maratha Peshwa to their assistance. The Peshwa⁹⁸ of the time, the celebrated Baji Rao I., was not the man to let slip an opportunity which promised so much for Maratha expansion. He, therefore, eagerly seized the proposal of the ex-chief. With characteristic astuteness he suppressed domestic disunion for the sake of common ambition, and persuaded even his rival, Raghoji Bhonsle, to take part in an expedition into South India, ostensibly to take the cause of Baṅgâru, in reality to extend the sovereignty of the Mahârâshtra to the furthest corner of India. Raghoji Bhonsle and his colleague Fateh Singh were soon on the march to the south. The troops of Dost 'Ali vanished before them, and the Hindu powers, headed by Tanjore, hastened to renounce the Musalman⁹⁹ yoke and rally round the invaders. The coast being thus not only clear but inviting, Raghoji Bhonsle was soon at the foot of the Trichinopoly fortifications. The place was promptly invested, and after a few months' blockade, was induced to capitulate. The acquisition of Trichinopoly was followed by the acquisition of Madura; for its Governor, Bade Sahib, the brother of Chanda Sahib, had already met, in an engagement with the Marathas, in the vicinity of Trichinopoly, with defeat and death.

The Maratha Occupation of Trichinopoly.

The Maratha conquest and occupation of Trichinopoly and Madura had naturally the effect of reviving the fortunes of Baṅgâru Tirumala and his royal ward. One of the Chronicles¹⁰⁰ describes how Fateh Singh summoned, after his victory, the regent and the crown prince to Trichinopoly; how in an interview with them, he dwelt on the great trouble he had

⁹⁸ *Hist. of the Carna. Dynas.* Duff does not mention this.

⁹⁹ Duff points out that Safdar Ali, being defeated, bought off the Marathas, and also entered into a secret compact by which Raghoji was to crush Chanda Sahib in Trichinopoly, in return for the cession of that place. "No ~~base~~ could be more allowing to the Marathas than Trichinopoly, and the troops only retired 250 miles towards Mahârâshtra to prepare for the promised conquest and lull suspicion of an attack" (pp. 2-3). Raghoji then returned to Poona to prevent the accession of Bâlâji Bâji Rao to the Peshwaic dignity. He failed, and then returned to attack Trichinopoly, accompanied by Śrīpat Rao Pratinidhi and Fateh Singh Bhonsle. "In regard to the subsequent operations of the Marathas in the Carnatic, very little illustrative of what has been so ably recorded has fallen within my observation in the Maratha country. It appears, however, that the Tanjore State, though then agitated by factions, entered into a friendly correspondence with their countrymen, but whether to avert attack or to afford assistance is not mentioned." Trichinopoly surrendered, 26th Mar. 1741. It will be seen from this that Duff was ignorant of the fact that the Marathas attacked Trichinopoly not only to fulfil the promise of Safdar Ali, but ostensibly to restore the Madura dynasty.—According to the *Madura MSS.*, moreover, Tanjore was distinctly for assistance.

¹⁰⁰ *Hist. of the Carna. Dynas.* Here it closely agrees with Duff. See II, p. 5. The *Mys. Gazr.* says that the Marathas, when they took Trichinopoly, "took Chanda captive to Satara, and disregarding the claims of Baṅgâru Tirumala," appointed Murâri Rao as the governor of the conquered kingdom. This, it will be seen, is not supported by the chronicles.

taken to restore their kingdom to them ; and how he demanded, as the price of his service, a war indemnity of 30 lakhs of rupees and a regular payment of the old annual tribute of three lakhs. Baigârû Tirumala, we are further told, replied to these demands, that, in consequence of Chanda Sahib's appropriations of all the ready money and jewels of the crown, he was unable to pay the thirty lakhs in a lump sum, and that he agreed to pay it in three yearly instalments of ten lakhs. The Maratha chief agreed and, after taking a written agreement to that effect from Vijaya Kumâra, deputed the task of reinstating him to his gallant lieutenant, Murari Rao, and then left for his distant home, with Chanda Sahib as his prisoner. Murari Rao, the chronicle continues, discharged his duties with sympathy and with justice. He brought the whole country into order and, "giving it over to Baigârû," himself stayed in Trichinopoly to ensure proper cultivation and collection of revenue. Another chronicle, differing slightly from this version, says with greater probability, that after the capture of Trichinopoly, Fateh Singh placed Murari Rayar in charge of the fort instructing him to send for and call Baigârû Tirumalai Nâicker hither, to crown him and give the country over to him ; appointing an acknowledgment for the crown of 30 lakhs of Rupees, to be paid to Murari Rayar ; that Murari Rao, in consequence, wrote to Udaya Têvar to bring Baigârû with him, when the Nizam invaded the Trichinopoly dominions and put an end to the Maratha power there. According to this authority then, no interview took place between the Maratha general or his representative and the Nâik chief ; nor was the latter restored to power ; for, before that task was accomplished, the Maratha had to surrender Trichinopoly to the Nizam and return to the Mahârâshtra. A third manuscript gives some more details than the other two, though it is silent in regard to the actual treatment accorded to Baigârû Tirumala. It says that Fateh Singh (whom it wrongly calls a Mysore chief) slew Bade Khan, dispersed the Muhammadans, captured Trichinopoly, and placed Murari Rao as the chief of that fort, ordering that the Siva and Vishnu temples should be conducted according to custom. Fateh Singh then returned to the north. "Murari Rayar," continues the record, "was a just chief. He despatched Appâchi Râyar with 20,000 cavalry (to Madura)" ; and the latter took immediate steps to restore the gods of that place. He recompensed the Sêtipati for his services and expenses and, on Saturday, the 17th of Âvani, *Dumukki*, two hours after sunset, brought the images to their own temple at Madura. Appâchi, it is further said, caused all the villages and lands endowed by the Karnâta kings to be restored.

The Nizam's Conquest and promised Naik Restoration.

From this it is clear that the relations between the Marathas and the Nâiks are not certain. We cannot definitely say whether Vijaya Kumâra was restored and invested with full power of sovereignty or not. But the question is, after all, not important ; for, as has been already mentioned, the Maratha occupation of the South barely lasted two years. In the early months ¹ of 1743, the Nizam, whose natural desire was to drive the Marathas from the assertion of supremacy over a kingdom which was tributary to his Subah of Arcot, marched at the head of 10,000 cavalry and encamped at the foot of the Trichinopoly walls. In the engagements which ensued, Murari Rao was defeated and compelled to leave the Carnatic. The *Record of Carna. Gorr.* says that, when Murari Rao was unable to prevail over the formidable forces of his adversary, he entered into negotia-

¹ In January 1742, Safdar Ali had been murdered by his brother-in-law and there was general confusion in Mughal territory, S. of the Krishna ; and the Nizam took advantage of this opportunity to establish his power there (Duff).

tion with him and explained "that he had been entrusted with the task of reinstating Râja Muttu Tirumalai Nâik, and that, as His Highness was come in person, he was relieved of his task. He, therefore, gave up the fort to the Nizam and went² to Poona." Asaf Jah immediately took possession of the fort and despatched, we are told, messengers to Baigârû Tirumala, summoning him and the king to meet him. The interview took place at Trichinopoly. The Nizam was gracious enough to acknowledge the sovereign power of Vijaya Kumâra, but imposed, as a condition of his restoration, the payment of 30 lakhs promised to the Marathas and the payment of the tribute of three lakhs every year. A written agreement bearing the signature of the boy-king was prepared to this effect; and the Nizam then returned by way of Arcot to Hyderabad in accordance with this arrangement.

The Nizam's Treachery.

If the Nizam had left Vijaya Kumâra to rule as of old at Trichinopoly, his motive can be pronounced to be sincere, but there are ample reasons for believing from his subsequent conduct that his sympathy with the Nâik chief was a pretence, and the document he got from him a sham. For, the same manuscript tells us that when the Nizam proceeded to Arcot, he took Baigârû and Tirumala with him practically as prisoners, though he assured them that they were to be his friends and guests. "Subsequent" to their arrival at Arcot, Safdar Ali Khan died and, as his children were young, the Nizam gave it in charge of Alivardi Khan till the children of Safdar could be competent to manage the affairs of Government. He also charged him to conduct the Karnâtaka⁴ prince, Vijaya Kumâra, to Trichinopoly and reinstate him on his ancestral throne, and receive and remit the tribute due from him. Giving these instructions to Alivardi Khan in the presence of Baigârû Tirumala and further directing him to return (to the North) when these affairs were adjusted, the Nizam returned to his own dominions." But no sooner was the back of his master turned on him than Alivardi Khan became an indifferent agent of his. He had been apparently, at least, ordered to instal the Nâik king promptly, but either a secret understanding with his master, or his own unwillingness to part with the extensive and beautiful region from Trichinopoly to Cape Comorin, made him a tardy executor of his superior's command. Baigârû Tirumala did not see that he was a dupe and a plaything in the hands of his Muhammadan allies, and with characteristic simplicity, he asked Alivardi Khan to hasten his favour, but the latter gave a plausible reply that he would devote himself to his service after the country was reduced to order. At the same time he allotted to the royal exiles the daily stipends of 100 pagodas and Rs. 100 respectively till their return with himself to their capital. As for Baigârû, he seems to have believed entirely in the sincerity of his Muhammadan friend. So ardent a believer in it was he, that he spared no efforts to help him in the restoration of order in the discontented province of Arcot. When the people of Venkâtagiri and Kâlahasti, for instance, defied the power of Anwaru'd-din and defeated, with great slaughter, his armies, Baigârû Tirumala it was, we are informed, that

² This was in August 1742. The fact is, as Grant Duff says, Murari Rao had never been loyal to his own countrymen. He was guided solely by his interests, and he would fight on behalf of Europeans and Mughals if he could gain advantage. The Nizam recognised him as Chief of Gooty, and he in return gave up Trichinopoly and went away.

³ This is wrong. He had been murdered in 1742 and Nizam's invasion was caused by that.

⁴ Anwaru'd-din was appointed for Carnatic *pryinghat* and Hidayat Muhâyu'd-din Khan (Muzaffar Jang) for the Carnatic Proper, with Adôni as *jâgir* and Bijapur for headquarters (Duff).

saved the Nawab and turned disaster into success. The ranks of Anwaru'd-din's army became sorely thinned. His howdah fell into the enemy's hands. Never did the Nawab sustain so serious a disgrace in the hands of such petty chiefs. Baigaru Tirumala saw this and argued that the disgrace of the Nawab, inasmuch as the refractory chiefs were his subordinate Polygars, was his own disgrace. He, therefore, took a leading part in the campaign and ultimately succeeded in shattering the Polygar levies.

Anwaru'd-din's Murder of Baigaru Tirumala.

The hope of the Baigaru Tirumala to secure, by means of his services, the gratitude and the favour of Anwaru'd-din Khan was, however, not destined to be realised. As we have already seen, Anwaru'd-din had his own designs on the Naik Kingdom and the sanction he gave for pensions to Baigaru and his crowned son was evidently intended to be a final disposal of the question. The little lingering doubt he may have had was shattered by the heroism which Baigaru displayed on his own behalf in the affair of Kālahasti. The Nawab admired his valour, but with the feeling of admiration was combined the feeling of fear. He felt that the restoration of such a man would hardly conduce to the strength of his own position. He, therefore, issued secret orders to his men to remove the regent for ever from his path of ambition. And the murder was perpetrated in a singularly mean manner. In the late war, Baigaru had received two wounds of a deadly nature and the Nawab, with a pretended solicitude, sent his own men to dress his wounds and administer medicine. The physicians were then instructed to mix poison with the medicine, so that the patient died within an hour of his taking it.

Vijaya Kumāra's Flight to Sivaganga.

Thus perished the only man who could, if any man at all could have done so, secured the revival of the Naik power. There is something pathetic, something melancholy, about the figure of this ill-fated prince. Born of a younger line and excluded from the throne by a combination of circumstances, he fought without success for the exercise of his power; and when he at length got it by the moderation or the death of his rival he and the king and kingdom, whose destinies were in his guidance, became the victims of a formidable foreign power. Even in the court of the Nawab he did not lose faith either in the fortunes of himself and his royal son or the honesty of the Nawab, and in that faith he was so firm that he himself took part in the settlement of his country, forgetting or little thinking that, by his loyal assistance, he was only rousing jealousy in the heart of Anwaru'd-din and thus digging his own grave. Never in the annals of Indian history do we find such simplicity and trust repaid by ingratitude and treachery. As for the nominal king of the Naik dominions, Vijaya Kumāra, he was in a peculiarly hard and embarrassing position. Deprived of his crown and kingdom, of his father and guardian, himself a boy of inexperience, he was in the midst of enemies, the very destroyers of his power and father. Life was no longer safe at the Nawab's

court. Every day the events transpiring therein proved it. For some time after the murder of Baigāru, a young son of Safdar Ali, whose guardian Anwaru'd-din was, was also assassinated at the instance of the latter, by a band of Pathans who, under pretence of asking for arrears of pay, raised an altercation, and stabbed the young prince. The only possible claimant of the Nawabship was Chanda Sahib, the son-in-law of Safdar, and he was rotting in the dungeons of Satara. Anwaru'd-din, therefore, became the undisputed Nawab of Arcot. His next measure would be, it was feared, the removal of Vijaya Kumāra also from the scene. The relations of the Nāik chief were alarmed and advised immediate flight. Thus it was that, on a dark night, when the Nawab and his men hardly knew what was happening, Vijaya Kumāra left Arcot with his retinue, and came in hot haste to Sivagaṅga. He could not go to either Trichinopoly or Madura, for these places had been already occupied by the Nawab's own men, and to go thither "would be to go straight into the jaws of death."

The chiefs of Rāmnād and Sivagaṅga played at this crisis a very noble and honourable part. Frequent sources of trouble as they had been in the time of peace and of Nāik magnificence, they now proved themselves, by their loyalty and support, to be true friends. They welcomed the unfortunate refugee from Muhammadan treachery and behaved towards him as if he was still the undisputed sovereign of his ancestral dominions. They paid him homage, congratulated him on his escape from the scene of danger, and expressed the hope that, with the advent of some legitimate king in the future, his claims would be recognised and his kingdom restored. With great kindness, they urged him to stay till that time in their own estates, and arranged for his comfort and convenience.

The practical end of the Nāik Dynasty.

With the flight of Vijaya Kumāra to Sivagaṅga we may date the extinction of the last hopes of the revival of the Nāik dynasty. The Nāik dominions were now not under a king tributary to the Nawab, but under the direct rule of that functionary. The legions that garrisoned the Nāik capitals no longer uttered the names of Baigāru or Vijaya Kumāra, but openly acknowledged the Nawab as their master. The real king was an exile depending for his safety and support on the precarious loyalty and generosity of his own vassals. From Madras to Cape Comorin, in other words, the whole country, excepting the subordinate kingdoms of Tanjore, Travancore and Cochin, was under the administration of the Nawab. Arcot was henceforth the capital. Trichinopoly and Madura (to which Tinnevely continued to be attached) were henceforth provincial capitals, the headquarter of the Viceroys appointed by the Nawab. The Polygars had henceforth to wait not on the Telugu descendants of the veterans of Viśvanātha Nāik, but on the agents and representative of the Muhammadan rule at Arcot.

It was at this juncture that Chanda Sahib effected, thanks to his friendship with Dupleix, his liberation from Satara, and immediately after his emancipation, came to the Carnatic, and set up his claim to the Nawābship. The campaigns which followed, the

simultaneous succession dispute in Hyderabad between Nazir Jang and Muzaffar Jang, and other events are, it is well known, of the greatest moment in Indian history, and they made the English and the French play for the first time an important and conspicuous part in the political affairs of South India.

The exiled Naik and Chanda Sahib.

When Chanda Sahib, with the assistance of the French, overthrew and slew Anwaru'd-din in the battlefield of Ambur and proclaimed himself the Nawab of the Carnatic in his place, the Nâik capital, within the walls of which Muhammad Ali, the son of Anwaru'd-din took refuge, became the most important place of contest in South India, the bone of contention between the rival claimants to the Nawabship of the Carnatic. Such a circumstance could hardly advance the claims of the phantom monarch, who lived in obscurity in Râmnâd and declared that Trichinopoly was his. The declaration of Chanda Sahib of his mastery over the Carnatic was followed by two events: first his attempt to reduce the provinces of Madura and Tinnevely which Muhammad Ali, with the assistance of his English allies, had been cautious enough to secure immediately after his flight to Trichinopoly³ and secondly to undertake the siege of Trichinopoly. The dominions of the Nâik kings, in fact, became the chief scene of war, Trichinopoly being, owing to its situation and its direct rule by Muhammad Ali the heart of the contest, and Madura and Tinnevely the scene of serious fights and engagements. The general of Chanda Sahib who conquered the Southern provinces was an able adventurer named Alam Khan. Endowed with tact and discretion, with the power of leadership, and the knack of managing men, Alam gained over the soldiers of Muhammad Ali at Madura by his personal address, and the tenants by his promise, in Chanda Sahib's name, to free them from the arrears of rent due by them to the State. The superior ability and the remarkable personal influence of Alam Khan were of the utmost service to his master: for his possession of Madura meant to Muhammad Ali the loss of more than one-half of his dominions. It moreover severed the communication between the Trichinopoly and Tinnevely country, and made Chanda Sahib's power as secure in the region of the Tambaparni as in that of the Vaigai. It is not surprising that, under these circumstances, Muhammad Ali endeavoured his best to reconquer Madura. In 1751 he despatched Captain Cope for this purpose; but that general was defeated and compelled to retreat back to Trichinopoly. The French, the Nizam, and Chanda Sahib were exultant and hoped every moment to reduce the place and complete the ruin of Muhammad Ali. The latter had not remained idle. He called in the aid of the English to counter-balance the French, the Marathas under Murari Rao who were more than equal to the Nizam, and the Mysoreans, who hoped in the ruin of Chanda Sahib for territorial acquisition. Vigorous fighting went on around Trichinopoly and in the provinces, and the fate of South India trembled in the balance.

(To be continued.)

³ Madura was brought under Muhammad Ali by an army of 2,500 horse and 3,000 peons (assisted by a detachment of 30 Europeans under Innes) under the command of Abdu'r-Rahim, Muhammad Ali's brother.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS.

7. Administrative rule to prevent favouritism.

28 February 1689. Letter from Elihu Yale and Council at Fort St. George to John Stables and Council at Vizagapatam. We send you also some more assistance, vizt. John Oneel, Henry Croke, Thomas Stables, and tho tis not comon for Relations to

be together, yett in respect to his father we now dispence with it, not doubting Mr. Stables will be any ways partiall to his son or spare him from such business as the Honble. Companys service may requier him. —Records of Fort St. George. Letters from Fort St. George. 1689, p. 13.

BOOK NOTICE.

ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE IN MYSORE. The Kesava Temple at Somanathpur, by RAO BAHADUR R. NARASIMHACHAR, Director of Archaeological Researches in Mysore.

RAO BAHADUR Narasimhachar has undertaken to issue about half a dozen short monographs, with suitable illustrations, on the notable buildings of the Hoysala and Dravidian styles. The present monograph on the wellknown Kesava Temple is the first of the series. It contains 11 pages of description in quarto, 7 pages of introduction, some 15 illustrations and a Devanāgarī transliteration, in 4 pages, of the Sanskrit inscriptions at the Temple and at Harihar. The printing of the text and the illustrations has been very neatly executed by the Mysore Government Press at Bangalore.

We notice with satisfaction that "It is under contemplation to prepare and publish a monograph on Hoysala" architecture in Mysore. A synthetic view surveying the entire subject-matter will be more useful than booklets on individual buildings. The latter, however, are not without value.

Mr. Narasimhachar proposes to change the designation style "Chalukyan," popularised by Fergusson, and to call it 'Hoysala style,' for the style attained its fullest development in the dominions of the monarchs of the Hoysala dynasty, and also because "the name Chalukyan is undoubtedly a misnomer, so far as Mysore is concerned, seeing that all the buildings of this style in Mysore were erected during the rule of the Hoysalas." The proposal of the learned Director seems to be one which ought to be accepted.

Mr. Narasimhachar has got some 60 artistic buildings of the Hoysala style (c. 1047—1286 A.D.) and some 12 buildings of the style called the Dravidian (c. 800—1600 A.D.) in his official jurisdiction. He has thus got sufficiently large materials to build up and present a synthetic picture of Hoysala art.

The Kesava temple was built according to its inscription in 1268 A.D. by Somanātha, *daṇḍa-nāyaka* under king Narasimha III (1254—1291.) It is situated near the left bank of the Kāveri, some 20 miles east of Seringapatam. It is a *trikāṭāchala* or a three-peaked (or as Mr. Narasimhachar calls it a *three-celled*) building. "the main cell facing east

and the other two which are opposite to each other, facing north and south respectively." "They are surmounted by three elegantly carved towers, which are identical in design and execution. The two towers are attached to the *Nava-raṅga* or the Middle Hall which is again attached to the *Mukha-Mandapa* or Front Hall." On both sides of the entrance, around the Front Hall there runs a *pagoda* or railed *parapet* covered with sculptured freezes of Puranic scenes. Each *kūṭa*, each of the three members of the temple, consists of a *Garbhagṛha* or *adytum* and a *sukhanīsi* or vestibule. The chief *kūṭa* opposite the entrance, contained the image of Kesava which is no more to be found there. The height of each tower or *kūṭa* is not given by Mr. Narasimhachar. Fergusson guessed it to be 30 ft.; in Workman's *Through Town and Jungle* it is given as about 32 ft.

The illustration of the two towers which Mr. Narasimhachar gives fully bears out the praise that: "Not a square inch of the surface is without decoration. These towers captivate the mind by their profusion of detail and perfection of outline and there is no suggestion of superfluity in the endless concourse of figures and designs. To construct a building of less than 35 feet in height, load it from bottom to top with carving and produce the effect not only of beauty and perfect symmetry, but also of impressiveness, shows supreme talent on the part of the architects." (Workman).

Grandeur has been produced by an artistic grouping of materials, which in reality are not grand or too small to produce an 'architectural effect.' The structures are not grand, but the *ensemble* is grand. In this lies the greatness of the architects of the Kesava Temple. Mr. Narasimhachar, however, has not himself discussed this aspect. Possibly he is reserving it for his greater work on the Hoysala buildings.

The illustrations of images and inner details (which are accessible only to a Hindu writer) bring us in closer touch with the temple. Many of the images are signed by the artists. The image of Venū Gopāla is the most elegant of the illustrated specimens. The exquisite ceilings would furnish fine models for modern buildings.

A THIRD JOURNEY OF EXPLORATION IN CENTRAL ASIA, 1913-16.

BY SIR AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E., D.Sc., D.LITT.

(Continued from p. 232.)

IN the desert south of the present cultivated area we found interesting remains of far earlier times. My search here was greatly facilitated by the excellent topographical surveys on a large scale, which had been effected under the direction of Mr. G. P. Tate, of the Survey of India, in connection with Sir Henry McMahon's Seistan Mission of 1902-05, and which proved very helpful also in other parts. On this desert ground, which an abandoned old branch of the Helmand had once watered, excessive wind-erosion, acting on alluvial clay had produced conditions exactly corresponding to those I had found in the dried-up delta north of Lop-nor. Since moisture and vegetation had deserted this soil, the scouring effect of the sand driven by the north wind that blows over Seistan, with more or less violence but almost constantly during four months of spring and summer, had lowered the level of the ground to varying depths, down to 20 feet or more, below the original level, except where the surface had been protected by hard *débris* of some kind. The erosion terraces, thus left rising island-like above the bare plain, were always found thickly covered with prehistoric remains. They consisted of potsherds, often decorated in colours, and stone implements mainly of the Neolithic period, but in places included also relics of the Bronze Age. It was easy to pick up here an abundant archaeological harvest literally on the surface.

It was a very interesting and quite unexpected discovery, when in the same area I came upon the remains of a close line of ancient watch-stations, stretching right across the desert from the southernmost Hamun in the direction of the true terminal basin of the Helmand, the marsh and lake-bed of the Gaud-i-Zirreh. It was a fascinating task to trace this Seistan *Limes*, and the experience gained during my explorations along the ancient Chinese border-line once protecting the extreme north-west of Kansu helped me greatly. The fortified frontier posts, solidly built with bricks of great size on a uniform plan, and, as it were, to "specification," were found always to occupy erosion terraces retaining prehistoric pottery *débris*. (Chosen, no doubt, for the sake of increased command of ground and wider outlook, these elevated positions had helped also to save the ruins from complete destruction by the erosive force of wind and sand. The watch-stations were found at distances from half to about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles apart. The position of sectional headquarters could also be identified by additional structures, etc.

Seistan, in spite of its dreary arid look, does not enjoy a climate quite sufficiently "desiccated" for archaeological purposes, as it still receives a fairly regular rainfall of *circ.* 2 inches per annum. So the refuse heaps at these stations, which might have furnished us with interesting dateable records, were found to have decayed into mere odorous layers of earth. But a variety of archaeological finds and observations pointed to centuries near the commencement of our era, as the time when this ancient border-line was established. Its object was clearly to protect the cultivated portion of the Helmand delta against raids of nomadic tribes in the south, corresponding in character and habits, if not in race too, to the present Baluch and Brahui tribes to be found there. I cannot indicate here in detail the curious points of analogy presented to the ancient Chinese frontier line of Kansu constructed *circ.* 100 B.C. against Hun raids from Turkestan. But I may hint at least at an interesting question which suggests itself in view of the geographical position. Would one be justified in regarding this fortified desert border of Seistan as a link between that ancient "Chinese

Wall" in the desert and the *Limes* lines by which Imperial Rome guarded its marches in Syria and elsewhere in the Near East against barbarian inroads? Only from future researches can we hope for a safe answer.

From these desert surveys I returned to the inhabited portion of Persian Seistan by the beginning of January, 1916, and was kept busy during a few weeks with the examination of the numerous ruins surviving there. Almost all proved of mediæval Muhammadan origin or even more recent, a fact which the physical conditions of the present Helmand delta easily account for. At two sites, however, which their high level has protected from the effects of irrigation of periodic inundation, I discovered definite archæological evidence of ancient occupation. At the large ruined stronghold known as Shahristan, occupying a high alluvial terrace, this included pottery fragments inscribed in early Aramaic characters.

I should have much liked to visit the Afghan portion of Seistan, to the north of the Helmand, where Sir Henry McMahon's Mission and earlier travellers had found a large number of ruins still awaiting expert examination. Permission for such a visit could, however, not be secured, and I did not feel altogether surprised at it. So, after collecting useful anthropometric materials which help to illustrate the curious mixture of races in the population of Seistan, I returned to the desert south and supplemented my survey of the ancient *Limes* by some rapid excavations. They disclosed interesting details as to the construction and internal arrangements of those ruined watch-stations and the life once led there.

Thence I set out by the beginning of last February for the return journey to India, whither most of my archæological finds from Seistan, filling twelve cases, had already preceded me. I travelled by the Seistan-Nushki trade route, which the zeal of Captain (now Colonel) F. Webb Ware, of the Indian Political Department, had first pioneered through the desert some twenty years ago. Well known as the route is, this desert journey of close on 500 miles through the wastes of Baluchistan had for me a special interest. I could not have wished for a better modern illustration of the conditions once prevailing on that ancient route through the Lop desert, which the Chinese had opened about 110 B.C. for the expansion of their trade and political influence westwards, and which two years before I succeeded in tracking through those waterless wastes after sixteen centuries of abandonment.

It is true that wells of tolerably good water at most of the stages, comfortable rest-houses at all, and good camel grazing to be found at half a dozen points, made progress along this modern desert track seem child's play compared with what we had gone through. Even in ancient times the physical difficulties successfully overcome by those early Chinese pioneers must have been vastly greater than those which the route to Seistan ever presented in the days before its improvements. And yet the latter, by the political reasons which have necessitated its opening, by its purpose, by the character of the traffic I found moving along it, provided a most striking analogy, and neither as a geographer nor as a historical student could I fail to appreciate its significance.

By February 21 I reached Nushki, whence the railway carried me to Delhi. During my week's stay at the Indian capital I received fresh proof of the kind personal interest with which His Excellency the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, had from the start followed and encouraged my enterprise. There, too, I was able to meet again some of my oldest friends in India, to whom I had never appealed in vain for such official support as they could give to my scientific labours. A subsequent brief visit to Dehra Dun, the Survey of India headquarters, enabled me to arrange for the suitable publications of the topographical results brought back from this journey, in an atlas of maps. At the same time I secured the admission of

Afrazgul Khan to the Survey Department's service under conditions which open up to this capable young assistant the amply deserved prospects of a good career. When I subsequently paid a brief visit to Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, at Lahore, I had the great satisfaction of learning from this kind old friend that the splendid services which R. B. Lal Singh had rendered to Government for a lifetime were to be recognized by a grant of land on one of the new Punjab canals. It meant the realization of my devoted old travel companion's most cherished hope, and a reward such as I had always wished to secure for him. Finally, after the middle of March I reached Srinagar, in Kashmir, my favourite base, from which my expedition had been begun in July, 1913. It had lasted close on two years and eight months, and the aggregate of the distances covered by my marches amounted to nearly 11,000 miles.

At Srinagar the 182 cases of my collection of antiquities from Turkestan had safely arrived by October, and there the greatest part of the work demanded by its arrangement and detailed examination will have to be done with the expert help of my old friend and collaborator, Mr. F. H. Andrews, now Director of the Technical Institute and Industrial Art School of the Kashmir State.

The elucidation of the antiquities brought to light by the thousand, and in such great variety of place, time, and character, will involve heavy and manifold labours, and for them and the proper decipherment of the abundant manuscript remains, recovered in about a dozen of different scripts and languages, the help of quite a staff of expert scholars will be needed. The Government of India, though intending that the whole of my collection shall ultimately be deposited in the new museum planned at Delhi, fully realized that this expert help can for the most part be secured only in this country and in France, where after my former expedition, too, I had found the most helpful and important of my collaborators. So I was given permission temporarily to bring here whatever materials stood in need of specialist examination and research, and to come myself to England for a time to make all necessary arrangements in person. But after all the efforts and toils it has cost to recover those relics of past ages from their safe resting-places in the desert it would have obviously been unwise to expose a great and valuable portion of them to the grave risks to be faced at present on a long sea voyage round the shores of Europe. So I decided to transfer myself only across the seas, and to use a short rest in England for preparing a preliminary record of the results achieved and for organizing well in advance the work of my future collaborators.

After the greatest struggle which the history of mankind has known had lasted two years, I returned to England fully prepared for considerable changes, and I found such, some sad, some reassuring and hopeful. But no change has affected the kind interest shown in my scientific efforts by old friends within the Royal Geographical Society and outside, and the encouragement derived from this boon I shall ever remember with gratitude.

Before the paper the President of the Royal Geographical Society said: Our business this evening is to welcome Sir Aurel Stein, one of our most distinguished Asiatic travellers, on his return from his third journey to the heart of Asia. He needs no introduction here. We have heard him more than once in this hall, and we know how much he has done, not only as a geographer, as a cartographer, as a surveyor, but also as an archaeologist. We know that his travels have led him to one of the most interesting regions on the Earth's surface, where from times long before the beginning of our era the trade to and from Europe and the Nearer East crossed the Chinese frontier. Sir Aurel Stein has got so much to tell us that I am sure the best thing I can is to ask him at once to begin his discourse.

The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, said: When I came here to-night as the guest of one of your members, and even when on entering this building you expressed a desire that I should say a few words in the course of the evening, I did not quite understand the position of prominence which you intended to allocate to me, and I am afraid that I am wholly unfitted for it. I am not a fellow of your Society and I am afraid if any geographical knowledge, let alone any geographical exploration, is necessary to qualify for that position, I shall never attain to it. My recollections of geography are of a painful study which, laboriously acquired, was inevitably quickly forgotten; a study of maps of which most were already too full, and which it is the business of your Society to crowd with still more details. You and perhaps the audience will feel that these confessions hardly indicate my fitness for my present position; but at least I am trying to improve. I had the pleasure of welcoming Sir Aurel Stein at the India Office, in virtue of the position I hold there, and though I learned very little from him in the brief and very modest account which he gave me of his travels, it was at any rate sufficient to make me feel the importance of the work which he had done, and the immense interests of the results which he had achieved. I think I may fairly say—for I had nothing to do with his travels at any stage—that he was fortunate in the collaboration of the representatives of two Governments. He had the good will of the Government of India, and, as we are glad to recognize, he enjoyed equally the good will of the Russian authorities. By their aid, and above all by his own indomitable perseverance, his courage, his endurance, and his enthusiasm, he has achieved results which are of interest to all of us, which are of importance to the Governments of India and of Russia, and which, I venture to add, will serve to confirm the high reputation which he has won among explorers. I am not fitted to initiate a discussion of the kind you have invited. I am glad to pay my tribute—and to pay my tribute as Secretary of State for India—to what Sir Aurel Stein has done: but for a learned discussion of his work you must turn to other and greater authorities.

The President: Mr. Austen Chamberlain has alluded to one of the happiest points in the explorations of Sir Aurel Stein—that they constitute a new link in the friendship between the two great Empires that share the larger part of Asia, England and Russia. We are happy in having here to-night the distinguished Russian officer General Baron Kaulbars. I do not know if he would be kind enough to say a few words to us. (*General Baron Kaulbars bowed his acknowledgements.*)

Sir Hercules Read (British Museum): I am personally very glad to say a few words in order to bear my small testimony to the extraordinary qualities that my old friend Sir Aurel Stein has brought to bear upon the varied aspects of the journey that he has just described to us. I know nobody among all the explorers whom I have met, who has greater capacity for carrying on archaeological and geographical work under conditions that we all can imagine, after having seen that beautiful series of slides he has put before us. In the intervals of extremely tedious marches he has devoted himself to archaeological research in temperatures and climates which are very trying, and, as in former years, he has brought home a collection of antiquarian remains which have opened up fresh fields to archaeologists in these islands. For this we who perforce remain at home are most grateful, and not only to Sir Aurel Stein but in a very great degree to the authorities at the India Office. The atmosphere at this meeting is naturally a geographical one, and I feel that the importation of archaeological questions is somewhat of an intrusion; but I can speak only about my own business. Sir Aurel Stein has given us from time to time a *résumé* of his geographical discoveries, using

archæology, if I may say so, as a series of signposts; and very useful he has found it, as he has confessed. But when one considers that he begins with the Palæolithic period, which you may put back to any remote date, and comes up to something like the seventh or eighth century, and that we have withal not one single piece of these antiquarian remains before us, it is somewhat hopeless to discuss the archaeological questions at present. When these remains come to Europe to be studied they will be distributed amongst a number of distinguished scholars, and will then go back to the Central Indian Museum which is to be established at Delhi. That, I am sure, is a very proper place for them. I have myself taken considerable interest in the Museum, and have gladly given advice on certain administrative points regarding it; but a difficulty I find as an archæologist, domiciled in England and incapable of leaving it for more than a few months, is that there will be no opportunity for European students ever to consult these antiquities, except for those fortunate ones who are able to go anywhere at any time and for as long as they please. Sir Aurel Stein's first antiquarian results were divided between the Government of India and the British Museum. There is no difficulty therefore to some extent in still seeing in England the type of object that was discovered on the first expedition. With regard to the later expeditions the case is different, and I think presents a difficulty for the people living in the British Islands of judging the culture that belongs to Central Asia, to these ancient civilizations, dating from a century or two before our era to several centuries afterwards. Beyond the small collections to be found in Paris, nowhere in Europe will any of these remains be seen. It seems to me a pity that these objects of extraordinary interest, covering almost all periods of human activity and human industry, are not to be represented at all in these islands. I think that some measures should be taken by which adequate representations of these very interesting historical and religious remains should find their place somewhere within reach of the ordinary British citizen.

Sir Francis Younghusband: As a traveller in both Chinese Turkestan and also on the Pamirs I can testify to the splendid exploit of our lecturer this evening. I know well the hardships he must have gone through and the indomitable courage which actuated him in carrying out these explorations. Since the time of the great Russian, General Prjevalsky, there has been no traveller in Central Asia who has shown so great a persistence over such a large number of years, and such courage and determination in carrying out his explorations, or has brought back such fruitful results, as Sir Aurel Stein. I wish to congratulate him most sincerely on his magnificent achievement.

Sir Henry Trotter: Some years ago I had the pleasure on the occasion of Sir Aurel Stein's last lecture before the Society of congratulating him on the success of his work, and I laid particular stress upon the magnetic influence by which he seemed to attract such very different persons as the Trustees of the British Museum, the Viceroy of India, the *personnel* with whom he worked, and last but not least the Taotai of the Temple of the Thousand Buddhas. It is gratifying to note that he has by no means lost that magnetic power, as is proved by the record of his journey, the splendid work of his surveyor Lal Singh, and the excellent reception of the lecturer by the Russian and other authorities with whom he came in contact.

I should have liked to have made some remarks on a good many points [see note following the discussion], but the lateness of the hour prevents me from doing so. I will only take up your time with one. I was in Central Asia forty-three years ago and know many parts of the ground described by Sir Aurel. The point to which I wish to refer is the great problem as to the principal source of the Oxus River.

Lord Curzon a good many years ago gave in this hall an account of his travels in the Pamirs, and of his discovery in the mountains of Kanjud of a glacier from which flowed a river that, as he maintained, was the principal source of the Oxus. As a result of my own

previous observations I (in common with some Russian geographers) looked upon the Little Pamir Lake, also fed by glaciers, as the principal source. From the lake a river, the Aksu, flows eastward, then north, and then north-west as the Murghabi, and later on as the Bartang River, which joins the Panjah branch of the Oxus a few miles above Kila Wamar, where the river makes a great branch to the west.

Lord Curzon maintained that his (*i.e.* the Panjah) branch was the more considerable of the two. I adduced the testimony of an Indian native surveyor, who had visited the spot and clearly proved that the Bartang River at the time he visited it had a much greater flow of water than the Panjah; but Lord Curzon produced the testimony of a reliable European witness to prove that when he visited it, at another season of the year, the Panjah branch contained much more water than the Bartang. Both statements were probably true; but for my part I stuck to my theory. I regret that the lecturer has told us this evening that the Bartang River has now been completely blocked up from the effects of an earthquake, that a large lake has been formed, and that it is unlikely that any water will flow down the Bartang into the Oxus for many years to come. So at last I must confess myself vanquished.

Colonel C. E. Yate: I am delighted to add any words I can to congratulate Sir Aurel Stein on his return. We have all watched the news that has been received from him from time to time with the greatest interest, and are delighted to see him back here again. We are looking forward to seeing the results of his finds displayed here as soon as the roads are safe. As to what has just been said regarding the final disposition of the treasures I too think that a certain amount should remain in this country, and all should not be taken back to India. It seems to me a fair thing to leave some part at any rate for show in this country. I cannot see any reason why all should be taken back to Delhi, as I understand from Sir Hercules Read, is the present intention. I congratulate Sir Aurel Stein most heartily on his journey, and we all join in thanking him for the paper he has given us.

Dr. Barnett: I well remember seven years ago when this Society met to hear Sir Aurel Stein's report of his second expedition and expressed appreciation of his work. It was felt that Sir Aurel Stein had added not only great areas to the Trigonometrical Survey, but even greater realms to knowledge. Further study has confirmed that view, because we have found in result that his second journey was rich to an almost inconceivable degree. His archaeological discoveries throw enormous light on the ancient history of that important region which he has covered, and his literary documents have opened up new areas of literature. Similarly, his ethnological studies have been fruitful. Now Sir Aurel Stein, with his usual habit of eclipsing himself, has returned from a third expedition that has exceeded his former ones in importance, inasmuch as he has nearly doubled the net archaeological proceeds of the last. From the second journey he came home with 96 cases; now he has 182, after having traversed nearly 11,000 miles. I have no doubt that, in the same way as his previous journey was epoch-making in many ways, so the results of this journey will be equally epoch-making, and I feel sure that this Society in honouring him is doing honour to itself.

The President: At this what Dr. Mill would call "fraudulently late hour of the evening" I will not keep you longer, but I am sure you will wish me to say a few words of most hearty thanks to Sir Aurel Stein for the very brilliant and exhaustive account he has given us of his labours in these barren and difficult regions of Central Asia—labours that are double-sided in a way I think few travellers have been. The manner in which he first rushes over a series of glacier passes—and so many of them that I believe they would have given even the Alpine Club a surfeit—and then turns to explore buried cities and study the civilization of two thousand years ago is almost unique. We owe, I hold, special gratitude to travellers who go to the very ugly places of the Earth. It is a great temptation to most of us to go only to the beautiful places. When we see those pictures of interminable sand-dunes and rocky hummocks torn asunder and laid bare by the most cruel winds, we feel that the man

who for the sake of geographical knowledge and archaeology would linger among them deserves a double meed of thanks. The results are extremely interesting, because we find that these desert-places once maintained a great population. This fact opens up many subjects of inquiry, historical, meteorological, changes of climate, migrations of peoples. We also find this charm in these particular trade-routes, that they were the old trade-routes between Greeks and Romans and the farthest East. Sir Aurel Stein tells me that in those days the trade caravans must have gone, not over the easiest routes but over hundreds of miles of desert, in order to avoid the marauding tribes who were living where there was some possibility of human beings living happily. We have followed, perhaps with some difficulty owing to its very complexity and richness, the account of his labours put forward by Sir Aurel Stein. We shall all read it with the deepest interest when published in the *Geographical Journal*, and we may hope that it will not be published without specimens of the appropriate illustrations which we have admired to-night. The perseverance with which Sir Aurel Stein photographed as he went along is, even in these days of photography, deserving of the highest praise. I will say no more, but offer to him the very hearty thanks of this meeting and all geographers in this country and the rest of Europe—except perhaps in Berlin, where they may grudge him some of his Buddhist frescoes. I am sure his reputation over Europe as one of the greatest travellers of modern times is now firmly established. Three times we have seen him here and each time he comes back with a richer harvest than he did the time before.

Additional Note by Sir Henry Trotter.

I at one time took considerable interest in the geography of the Oxus below Kila Wamar. In the spring of 1874, when leaving Wakhan to return to India, I despatched the Munshi Abdul's Subhan (an employé of the Survey of India) to follow the course of the river from Kila Panjah to Roshan and Shighnan. The account of his journey was published in the *R. G. S. Journal*, vol. 48, pp. 210-217. He followed the course of the river for 60 miles from Kila Panjah to Ishkashim, where turning northwards he followed the Oxus for nearly 100 miles further, passing successively through the districts of Gharan, Shighnan, and Roshan—countries which had hitherto only been known to us by name. He could not penetrate beyond Kila Wamar, the chief town of Roshan; but curiously enough another employé of the Survey, "The Havildar," who had been dispatched by the late General Walker from India in 1873 on an independent exploration, went from Kabul to Faizabad, the capital of Badakhshan, and thence started on a tour which, combined with the Munshi's exploration to Kila Wamar, entirely altered the map of that hitherto little-known portion of Central Asia. He visited the towns of Kolab, Khawaling, Sagri Dasht, Kila Khum (the capital of Darwaz), Kila Wanj, and Yaz-Ghulam. At Kila Khum the Havildar struck the Oxus (still called the Panjah), and his road for 40 miles lay on the right bank of the river—never previously mapped or, as far as I know, visited by any explorer. At Yaz-Ghulam, the eastern frontier village of Darwaz, he was unfortunately turned back—just as he had got within a long day's march of the Munshi's farthest point at Kila Wamar. The Havildar, who was ignorant of what the Munshi had done only a few weeks previously to his own arrival at Yaz-Ghulam, was most anxious to complete his own work. In order to do so he went back by Kolab to Ishkashim, and endeavoured to make a survey down the river to Yaz-Ghulam; but he was again stopped, this time at the southern frontier of Shighnan, and was prevented from carrying out his intentions. Thus there was a gap between the explorations of the Havildar and the Munshi, the existence of which was much regretted; fortunately the missing link was a short one—some 20 miles as the crow flies. A Russian scientific mission visited these parts ten years later, in 1883; but the map then compiled differs greatly from their latest published map of 1910, which again differs from an intermediate map published in 1900. I fancy that accurate surveys of these little-known countries have still to be made.

JOB CHARNOCK—HIS PARENTAGE AND WILL

BY SIR R. C. TEMPLE, Bt.

ALTHOUGH much has been written concerning the Founder of Calcutta, his origin has hitherto been wrapped in obscurity. It has now been my good fortune to clear up this point. While annotating a series of 17th century letters, written in India and now appearing in *Notes and Queries*,¹ the occurrence in the collection of a letter from Charnock induced me to try to establish his parentage.

Sir George Forrest in his article on Job Charnock² gave an abstract of his will. Among the legacies was one to "the poor of the parish of Cree Church, London." This led me to believe that by birth he was a citizen of London, and a search among the wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury resulted in the discovery of his father, Richard Charnock.

The will of Richard Charnock³ is an interesting document and I therefore give it in full.

"In the Name of God Amen the second day of Aprill Anno Domini one Thousand Six Hundred Sixty Three And in the Fifteenth year of the Reigne of our Sovereigne Lord Charles the Second by the grace of God King of England Scotland France and Ireland defender of the Faith &c. I Richard Charnocke of the parish of St. Mary Woollechurch London Yeoman being in good health of Body and of perfect mind and memory (praysed be God therefore) But considering the Frailty and uncertainty of this present life Doe therefore make and ordaine this my present Testament (conteyning therein my last will) in manner and forme following (That is to say)

"First and principally I recommend my soule to Almighty God my maker and Creator hoping and stedfastly beleiveing through his grace and the alone meritts of Jesus Christ my blessed Saviour and Redeemer to receive full and Free pardon and forgiveness of all my sinnes and life everlasting

"My body I Committ to the Earth To be buried in the parish Church of St. Katherine Creechurch London And my will is That not above the summe of Eight pounds shall be spent upon the Charge of my funerall And I will that all such debts and duties as I shall truly owe to any person or persons att the tyme of my decease shall be well and truly paid within as short a tyme after my decease as may be conveniently

"And as touching That worldly meanes and estate That it hath pleased Almighty God of his mercy and goodness to bestow upon me (my debts by me oweing and my funerall Charges thereout first paid or deducted) I doe give devise bequeath and dispose thereof in manner and forme following (That is to say) —

"First I give and bequeath unto my sonne Stephen Charnocke All that my message Tenement or Inne with the appurtenances comonly called or knowne by the name or signe of the Bell scytuate lying and being in Markett Streete in the County of Bedford And all the land now thereunto belonging and therewith used All which premisses are now in the tenure of George Sayers or his assignes To have and to hold the same unto my said sonne Stephen Charnock and his assignes for the terme of his naturall life And the Reversion of the said Messuage and Land with the appurtenances expectant after the decease of my said sonne Stephen Charnocke I doe give and devise unto the Parson and Church wardens of the Parish of Pennerton⁴ in the County of Lancaster And to their successors and assignes for ever upon Trust and confidence that out of the Rents thereof The said Parson

¹ *Correspondence of Richard Edwards*, 1669-78 (N. & Q. from Jan., 1917).

² *Blackwood's Magazine*, June, 1902, pp. 771-782.

³ *Wills, P. C. C.*, 58 Hyde.

⁴ Penwortham, a parish in the hundred of Leyland, Lancaster, two miles S. W. of Preston.

and Churchwardens and their Successors shall yearly and every yeare forever place out to Apprentice in London Two poore Boyes borne in Hutton⁵ in the said parish of pennerton, or within some other village or place in the same parish

“ **Item** I give and bequeath unto my said sonne Stephen Charnocke the summe of Twenty pounds of lawfull money of England And a Trunke with Barres Corded upp with such Linnen and other things as are or shall be therein att the tyme of my decease

“ **Item** I give and bequeath unto my sonne Job Charnocke the summe of six hundred pounds of lawfull money of England

“ **Item** I give to my brother William Marsh the summe of Twenty pounds of lawfull money of England And to my sister Mary Marsh his wife the summe of Forty shillings of like money And to each of their Foure Children now at home with them the summe of Forty shillings a peece of like money

“ **Item** I give unto Samuall Waters Grocer in Candleweeke Street⁶ London the summe of Tenn shillings of like money to buy him a Ring

“ **Item** I give unto Mr Thomas Bateman Merchant somotymes servant to Mr Michaell Markeland the summe of Six pounds of lawfull money of England And unto James Hall Woollen draper in Candleweeke streete aforesaid the like summe of Six pounds of like money

“ **The Rest** and residue of all and singuler my goods Chattells ready moneyes Plate Leases debts and other things whatsoever to me belonging and not before in these presents given and bequeathed I give and bequeath unto my said Two Sonnes Stephen Charnocke and Job Charnocke to be equally devided between them which said Stephen Charnocke and Job Charnocke my sonnes **I Doe make** ordeine and appoint the full executors of this my present Testament and Last will

“ **And I Doe** make nominate and appoint my said brother William Marsh and the said Thomas Bateman and James Hall the Executors of this my will in Trust for the benefitt of my said sonnes in case my said sonnes shall be out of England att the tyme of my decease And my will and mind is That if my said sonne Job Charnocke shall happen to depart this life before his returne to England Then the Six hundred pounds to him above herein bequeathed shall be disposed of and accrew as followeth (That is to say) one Hundred pounds thereof shall accree and come to the Five Children of my said brother William Marsh in equall shares and proportions And the other Five hundred pounds residue thereof shall come and accree to my said sonne Stephen Charnock

“ **And** my will and mind is That my Executors in Trust in the absence of my sonnes shall have power to put forth any moneyes of myne att Interest for the benefitt of my sonnes The bonds for which moneyes Soe to be put out shall be taken in the names of my said Executors in Trust and in the Conditions of the same the moneyes shall be expressed to be for the use of my said sonnes And then and in such case if any losse doe happen to my Estate my Executors shall not be therewith Chargeable

And I doe hereby revoke all former wills by me made And doe declare This my present Testament to be my very last will and none other **In witnes** whereof I have hereunto sett my hand and seale the day and yeare First above written.

“ The marke of the said Richard Charnocke

⁵ A township in Penwortham containing a free grammar school.

⁶ Candlewick Street, at the east end of “Great Eastcheape,” now known as Cannon Street.

"Signed sealed Published and declared and delivered by the said Richard Charnocke the Testator as and for his last will and Testament in the presence of John Alsop S orivener William Braxton and John Bargeman his Servants."

Probate was granted to Stephen Charnocke on the 2nd June 1665, power being reserved to issue the same to Job, the other executor, on his return to England.

The Charnocks were a Lancashire family. They are said to have assumed the local name of their dwelling places in Leyland Hundred in that county, and to have given them the distinguishing epithets of Charnock Richard, Heath Charnock and Charnock Gogard. These are all mentioned in the 13th century and the villages of Charnock Richard and Charnock Heath are still so called.

The legacy of Richard Charnock to Penwortham and Hutton indicates that he had cause to be specially interested in those parishes, one of which may have been his birth-place. Unfortunately, the early registers of Penwortham, which might have cleared up this point, were destroyed by fire in 1857.

A branch of the Charnock family settled in London and another in Hullcote, Bedfordshire, both in the 16th century, and Richard Charnock, as a London citizen and the owner of property in Bedford, may possibly have been connected with both branches; but no actual proof is forthcoming.

As regards the relationship between Richard and Job Charnock there can be no reasonable doubt. No record has been found of any other Job Charnock at this period and the fact that Richard Charnock's younger son was out of England when the will was drawn up goes far to establish his identity with the famous Anglo-Indian. There is, moreover, the additional proof of Job's bequest to the poor of the district in which Richard Charnock resided.

The identification of Richard Charnock's elder son Stephen presents rather more difficulty. There is a great temptation to connect him with Stephen Charnock, puritan divine and chaplain to Henry Cromwell (a son of the Protector), and there are several reasons in favour of this theory. The divine was born in the parish of St. Katharine Cree in 1628, where Job also appears to have been born some two or three years later. Subsequently, Richard Charnock probably removed to the parish of St. Mary Woolchurch⁷ where he died. At any rate, the divine's father was also a Richard Charnock. The absence in the will of any allusion to Stephen's profession may be accounted for in two ways. First, the chaplain had fallen into ill odour after the Protector's death and he remained in obscurity in London for fifteen years with no regular charge. Secondly, Richard Charnock was probably a Royalist and High Churchman and consequently would have little sympathy with his son's puritanical views. The main obstacle to the identification of the divine with the brother of Job Charnock lies in the statement in Wood's *Athenæ* (ed. Bliss, III, 1234-6) that Stephen's father, Richard Charnock, was "an attorney or solicitor." However, I have searched in vain for any record of a Richard Charnock, solicitor at this period. I have also discovered but one will of a Stephen Charnock⁸ and this was proved in 1680, the date given as that of the death of the divine.⁹ I am therefore inclined to think that the *Athenæ* must be in error and that Richard Charnock, yeoman, was the father of both Henry Cromwell's chaplain and the founder of Calcutta.

⁷ The church of St. Mary Woolchurch was not rebuilt after the great fire of 1666. Its site was roughly that of the present Mansion House.

⁸ *Wills, P. O. C.*, 92 Bath.

⁹ See the article on Stephen Charnock in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

It now only remains to quote the will of Job Charnock who spent at least 37 years of his life in India and ended his days there on the 10th January, 1693. The will was dated from the infant settlement of Chuttanuttee (Sûtanati), afterwards to become famous as Calcutta. So far as I am aware, no complete copy of the document has been printed and I therefore give it in full.¹⁰

In the name of God Amen.

"I Job Charnock at present Agent for Affaires of the Right honorable. English East India Company in Bengall being indisposed in body but perfect and sound in mind and memory doe make and ordaine this to be my last Will and Testament (*Vizt.*)

"Imprimis I bequeath my soul to Almighty God who gave it and my body to be decently buried at the discretion of my Overseers and for what estate it hath pleased Almighty God to bless me withall I doe hereby will and bequeath it as followeth.

"Secondly I will and bequeath that all debts or claines lawfully made on me be discharged by my Overseers.

"Thirdly I give and bequeath to my beloved Friend Daniel Sheldon¹¹ Esquire Seventy pounds Sterling as a Legacy to buy him a Ring.

"Fourthly I give and bequeath to the honorable. Nath[aniel] Higginson¹² as a Legacy to buy him a Ring four hundred Rupees.

"Sixthly I give and bequeath to Mr. John Hill¹³ as a Legacy to buy him a Ring two hundred Rupees and that likewise he be paid out of my parte of the permission Trade Commission one hundred Rupees more in all three hundred Rupees.

"Seventhly I give and bequeath to Mr. Francis Ellis¹⁴ as a Legacy to buy him a Ring one hundred and fifty Rupees.

"Eighthly I doe hereby ordaine and appointed [*sic*] the honorable. Nathaniel Higginson President of Madras and Mr. John Beard¹⁵ of Councill in Bengall to be overseers¹⁶ of this my will.

"Ninthly I give and bequeath to the poore of the Parish of Cree Church London the Summe of fifty pounds Sterling.

"Tenthly I give and bequeath to Budlydasse [Badli Dās] one hundred Rupees and the meanest sort of my souns Cloathes lately deceased.

"Eleventhly I give and bequeath to the Doctor now attending me fifty Rupees.

"Twelfthly I give and bequeath to my Servants Gunnyshams [Ghanśyām] and Dallub [Dalab] each twenty Rupees.

"Thirteenthly I give and bequeath after the payment of the abovementioned debts Legacies that all my whole Estate in India and elsewhere be equally given and distributed to my three daughters Mary Elizabeth and Katherine only with this reservation that as an addition to my daughter Marys portion there shall be paid her out of my daughter Eliza[beths] and Katherines two thirds Six hundred pounds Sterling.

"Fourteenthly I will and desire my Overseers beforementioned that my three daughters be sent with a convenient handsome equipage for England and recommended to the Care of my well beloved friend Daniell Sheliton [*sic*] Esqr. in London and that their Estates

¹⁰ *Wills, P. C. C.*, 91 *Irby*.

¹¹ Chief at Kāsimbāzār, 1658-1665. He returned to England in 1666.

¹² Governor of Fort St. George, Madras, 1692-98.

¹³ Captain John Hill, "Secretary and Captain of the Soldiers." See Yule, *Hedges' Diary*, II. 92.

¹⁴ Then Second of Council at Hūgli. He died at Fort St. George in 1704.

Governor of Bengal, 1701-1710.

¹⁶ Executors in Bengal.

be invested in goods proper for Europe and sent as by the Right honoble. Companies Permission on as many and such shippes as my Overseers shall think convenient.

"Fifteenthly I hereby acquitt Mr. Charles Pate from his debt to me of Fifty Pagodas lent him at the Fort.¹⁷

"Lastly I will and ordaine the honoble. Daniell Sheldon and my eldest daughter Mary Charnock to be Executors of this my last will and Testament revoaking and disanulling all former or other Will or Wills that have beene made in witness whereof I have hereunto putt my hand and seale this ninth day of January one thousand Six hundred and ninety two [1692/3].

JOB CHARNOCK

Signd and Sealed in the presence of Jonathan White

Francis Houghton
John Hill."

Probate was granted on the 12th June, 1695, to Robert Dorrell, attorney to Mary Charnock, Daniel Sheldon renouncing.

Job Charnock's behest with regard to his daughters' return to England was disregarded. The three girls, children of his native wife, remained in India and married there. Mary became the first wife of Charles Eyre, Charnock's successor as Agent in Bengal. She died on the 19th February, 1697. Elizabeth married William Bowridge, a junior merchant in the Company's service. He died in April, 1724 and his widow survived in Calcutta until August, 1753. Mary Charnock, Job's youngest daughter, married Jonathan White, also a servant of the Company. He became Second of Council and died in Calcutta on the 3rd January, 1704, three years after the death of his young wife.

It is interesting to trace the fate of Job Charnock's bequest to the poor of his native parish.

A vestry minute of St. Katharine Cree of the 28th August, 1695, records the gift of "Mr. Job Charnock, late of the East Indies, merchant, of 50*l.* to the poor of this parish," and further states that it was ordered at that vestry, that "in consideration of the said 50*l.* the poor should have distributed amongst them 3*l.* yearly, for ever, by two equal payments, upon the 5th November and 5th February."

At a subsequent vestry, held on the 1st February, 1699, it was ordered that "the 50*l.* given to the parish for the use of the poor by Mr. Job Charnock, and the 100*l.* given for the like use by Mr. John Jackson should be settled on the house belonging to the parish, situate in Fenchurch-street, and the said house was thereby charged with the repayment thereof, with five per cent. interest, such interest being 7*l.* 10*s.*, to be yearly paid for the use of the poor.¹⁸

In 1860, the house, No. 91, Fenchurch-street, was let on lease to John Moore for a term of 21 years from Christmas, 1849, at the rent of £42 per annum, and Charnock's £2-10-0 interest was carried to the bread account for the distribution of twenty 2-lb. loaves to 20 persons every Sunday.

For the later history of the bequest I am indebted to Mr. Henry Bowyear, Chief Charity Commissioner, who informs me that "The house, No. 91, Fenchurch-street, was taken under the provisions of Michael Angelo Taylor's Act (57 Geo. III. c. XXIX) and the purchase money was paid into Court and was represented by a sum of £1,949-10-8 Consols. By the statement prepared under the City of London Parochial Charities Act, 1883, for the Parish of St. Katharine Cree, this sum is scheduled as the endowment of the three Charities of Richard Lingham, Job Charnock and John Jackson, and by the operation of that Act and the Central Scheme made thereunder, on the 23rd February, 1891, it was merged in the Central Fund of the City Parochial Foundation."

¹⁷ Fort St. George, Madras.

¹⁸ *Reports made to the Charity Commissioners, Accounts and Papers* (H. of C. Vols. 71 and 334 of 1904).

THE DATE OF KANISHKA.

BY RAMESH CHANDRA MAJUMDAR, M.A., CALCUTTA.

THE most characteristic feature of all the recent discussion about the date of Kanishka is the tacit admission of the scholars that the initial year of his reign must be either 58 B.C. or A.D. 78. Both the theories are, however, beset with serious difficulties that have been quite clearly brought forth in the discussion held in the hall of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.¹ I propose, therefore, to offer my own views² about the matter, which are substantially different from those mentioned above.

Two classes of evidence alone throw direct light on the question of Kanishka: the Chinese historical texts, and Indian coins and inscriptions. I believe that if they are interpreted without any bias, they agree in placing Kanishka in the first half of the third century A.D. I propose to show how the evidence of Chinese history directly leads to this inference, which is again supported by the Indian evidence when interpreted without any pre-existing bias.

Chinese Evidence: Two Chinese historical texts throw important light upon the history of the Indo-Kushans. These are the "Heou Han Chou" or the "History of the Later Han Dynasty" and the "Wei-liao". The former covers the period between A.D. 25 and 220 and was composed by Fan-Ye who died in A.D. 445. The latter was composed by Yu Houan between A.D. 239 and 265, and the events mentioned in it come down to the period of Emperor Ming (A.D. 227-239).³

Fan-Ye gives the following accounts of the Kushan conquest of India:

"In old days the Yue-chi were vanquished by the Hsiungnu. They then went to Tchia and divided the kingdom among five 'gabgous,' viz. those of Hsien-mi, Chouang-mi, Kouei-chouang, Hitouen and Tou-mi. More than hundred years after that, the Yabgou of Kouei-chouang (Kushan) named K'ieou-tsieou-kio (Kozoulo, Kadphises) attacked and vanquished the four other 'Yabgous' and called himself king; the name of his kingdom was Kushan. He invaded Ngan-si (Parthia) and took possession of the territory of Kaofu (Kabul). He also overcame Pouta and Kipin (Kashmir?) and became completely master of these kingdoms. K'ieou-tsieou-kio died at the age of more than eighty. His son Yen-Kao-tchen (Omo-Kadphises) succeeded him as king. In his turn he conquered India and established there a 'Chief' for governing it. From this time the Yue-chi became extremely powerful. All the other countries designate them Kushan after their king, but the Han retain the old name and call them Ta-Yue-che."

In the course of his description of India Fan-Ye adds the following:—

"At this time all these Indian kingdoms were subject to the Yue-chi. The Yue-chi had killed their king and installed a 'Chief' to administer the government."⁴

Now if we altogether banish from our mind all preconceived theories regarding the Kushan Chronology the meaning of the passages quoted above offers no difficulty. As Fan-Ye dates past events by referring them to distinct chronological periods (apparently the Chinese equivalent of our method of dating in the years of an era) it appears plainly, from the

¹ JRAS., 1913, pp. 627-650, 910-1042.

² These were propounded at first in a thesis submitted to the Calcutta University in October, 1912.

³ My accounts of these books are based on the French translations that appeared in *T'oung Pao*, 1907, (p. 153 ff.) and 1905, (p. 519 ff.)

⁴ *T'oung Pao*, 1907, p. 193-4.

use of the phrase "at this time", that at the close of the period with which Fan-Ye is dealing (*i.e.* about A. D. 220) the different kingdoms of India were subject to the Yue-chi king; who had installed a 'Chief' to govern the country. Fan-Ye is quite explicit on this point as the last quotation will show. It will be observed that the separate accounts which Fan-Ye gives of the Yue-chi and the Kabul kingdom are quite consistent with this. The last thing he records of the Yue-chi is their conquest of India under Wema-Kadphises and the consequent increase in their power, and the last thing mentioned of Kabul is also the Yue-chi conquest of the country. There can hardly remain any doubt that the picture of the Yue-chi which he has preserved is true of the period with which his history closes.

This plain interpretation is, however, fatal to all the theories that have hitherto been entertained regarding the chronology of the Kushans. It has been therefore confidently asserted that the above accounts were all taken from Pan-Young, and it has been implied that the significant words "at this time" were taken verbatim from Pan Young's report, and that therefore the historical accounts of the Yue-chi and India were only true of the period when Pan Yong wrote, *viz.*, about A.D. 125.

This explanation, originally propounded by M. Chavannes, has been improved upon by Mr. Kennedy, and it is therefore necessary to consider in detail the basis upon which it is founded. M. Chavannes in the introduction to his 'Translation of the 118th chapter of Fan-Ye's work' refers to a passage, where the author says that he took '*all his facts*' from Pan Yong's report,⁵ and argues that the whole account of the western countries, as given by Fan-Ye, was based upon that report. It is quite clear, however, that, either the French translation is faulty or there is something wrong in the copy, for '*all the facts*' that Fan-Ye describes could not possibly have been based upon Pan Yong's report, inasmuch as just before this statement, Fan-Ye mentions incidents which took place in A.D. 132, 134, 152 and 153 and were therefore posterior to Pan Yong's report. As a matter of fact, in regard to almost all the countries, of which he gives historical account, he narrates events which were posterior to the time of Pan Yong and could not therefore have been described in the latter's report. These facts, of course, did not escape the notice of the French savant, but he seeks to explain away their importance by the following observations:—

"It is true that as regards Khoten, Kashgar or Tourfan, Fan-Ye mentions some events which took place between A.D. 150-170. This does not, however, weaken the importance which must be attributed to the Text of Pan Yong in this chapter. In reality it is this text itself which constitutes the whole account of the western countries. Only, in regard to countries which were nearer to China, and with which she had continued her intercourse for a longer time, the historian adds some facts which were posterior to the report of Pan Yong."⁶

Against this view it must be observed in the first place that it is not only as regards Khoten, Kashgar or Tourfan that Fan-Ye mentions events which were posterior to Pan Yong, but also as regards India, Kiumi (pp. 170-171), Ta-tsin (Syria) and incidentally of Parthia (p. 185).⁷

The view cannot, therefore, be maintained that the only additions that the historian made to Pan Yong's report were with regard to countries nearer to China. As he gives additional accounts of India, Parthia and Syria he had certainly not to depend upon the

⁵ *T'ung Pao*, 1907, p. 168.

⁶ *T'oung Pao*, 1907, p. 150.

⁷ The pages refer to *T'oung Pao*, 1907.

report of Pan Yong alone in his account of the Yue-chi country and Kabul kingdom which lay in an intermediate position between China and those countries.

But all possible doubts on this point are removed, so far at least as India is concerned, by the express statement of Fan-Ye, that he had access to later authorities than Pan Yong's report. In the dissertations which end the chapter, Fan-Ye remarks that very meagre accounts of Buddhism are given in the geographical treatises on India of the Han period and then observes as follows :—

"Changkien merely writes 'the country is mostly warm and the inhabitants ride on the elephants when fighting.' As to Pan Yong, although he has stated that the people adore Buddha, and that they neither kill nor attack, still he does not convey any information regarding the perfect style and the excellent doctrine (of the Sacred Books), and the merit these possess of guiding the people and making them comprehend (the truth). **For me here is what I have heard spoken on the subject by others at a subsequent period.**"⁸

Fan-Ye thus positively asserts that he had utilised other sources of information regarding India, besides Pan Yong's report, and that these belonged to a period subsequent to it. No doubt it was from these sources that he learnt the events which he records to have happened subsequent to Pan Yong's time.

Besides it has been elsewhere clearly shown by Chavannes himself that Fan-Ye's work was based upon previous works, not less than ten in number and all posterior to Pan Yong's time.⁹

There is thus no reason to suppose that the events mentioned by Fan-Ye had all taken place before Pan Yong's report. As regards the phrase "at this time", on which Chavannes remarks "Apparently, at the time when Pan Yong wrote", the case is still more clear. As Fan-Ye drew upon sources of information, both anterior¹⁰ and posterior to Pan Yong's time, there is no reason why that phrase should refer to it. Besides, Fan-Ye was not reproducing the report of Pan Yong, he was writing an independent account of India: and even if it were wholly based on that report, he could not borrow any such expression; because any man possessed with a grain of common sense (and Fan-Ye has clearly proved that he had a fair share of it) could not have been blind to the fact that such expressions, if they were meant to refer to Pan Yong's time, would be entirely misleading in a work which professes to record the historical events down to A.D. 220. It would indeed be a most astounding thing if a writer, usually so precise about dates, would so far forget himself as to

⁸ "Tchangkien s'est borné à écrire" Ce pays est le plus souvent chaud et humide; les habitants montent sur les elephants pour combattre.

"Quant à Pan Young quoiqu'il ait exposé que ces gens adorent le Buddha et qu'ils ne tuent ni n'attaquent, cependant il ne nous a rien transmis sur le style parfait et sur la doctrine excellente (des livres saints) sur le mérite qu'ont ceux-ci de guider les hommes et de leur faire comprendre (la vérité).

"Pour moi voici ce que j'ai entendu dire à ceux qui, plus tard, en ont parlé de ce sujet." *T'oung Pao*, 1907, p. 218.

⁹ An old Chinese authority has furnished us with a list of historical treatises which were written before Fan-Ye's time and to which evidently Fan-Ye had access, for we are told that Fan-Ye "rassembla et compléta tous ces auteurs." The extract has been translated by Chavannes in *T'oung Pao*, 1906, pp. 211-214.

¹⁰ It is quite evident that Fan-Ye had access to Changkien's report. See the first sentence of the quotation in footnote 8. Chavannes remarks on observations attributed therein to Changkien: "These two sentences are found almost word for word in the 96th Chapter of Sumachien's history which is based on the report of Tchangkien." *T'oung Pao*, 1907, p. 218, F. N. 2.

reproduce an expression from Pan Yong's report which could not but mean an entirely different thing to the readers of his own work. Now such a strange phenomenon can be accepted as true only if adequate proofs are forthcoming ; but what are the proofs?

Fan-Ye, no doubt, says that the facts he describes had been related by Pan Yong in his report. But this applies to India as well as to all other countries of the West described by him, and as we have seen that all the facts he describes about them could not be taken from that report, inasmuch as many of them are posterior to it, we cannot suppose that his Indian account was brought down only to the period when Pan Yong wrote. Further Fan-Ye merely says that "all these facts were related by Pan Yong", but he nowhere says that he gives extracts from Pan Yong's report, so as to warn the reader that all personal references to time should be taken to apply to the period of Pan Yong alone.

When Fan-Ye describes events of Pan Yong's time, and in which Pan Yong himself played a part, he does not use the first person nor indicate the time by any such expressions as "at the present day," "at this time," "Now," "last year," or "so many years ago," &c., which must have been used in Pan Yong's report, but he indicates the time as a later author would naturally do, even when his facts are all taken from Pan Yong's report, by referring them to distinct chronological periods.

The position with regard to the question under discussion may therefore be described as follows :

Fan-Ye in the course of his description of India says, "At this time, all these kingdoms were subject to the Yue-chi."

It has been contended that the phrase 'at this time' apparently refers to the time of Pan Yong. The contention rests on two grounds :—

- (1) Fan-Ye tells us that he borrowed his facts from Pan Yong's report.
- (2) He expressly indicates (or actually tells us, as Mr. Kennedy would have us believe) that some of his sentences are borrowed from Pan Yong ('borrowed verbatim' according to Mr. Kennedy). (See *JRAS.*, 1912, p. 678, F. N. 2.)

Against this view it has been clearly demonstrated that

- (1) Fan-Ye did not take all his facts from Pan Yong ; he did not even confine himself to the period when Pan Yong wrote, but noticed events which happened posterior to it.
- (2) The phrase 'at this time' if quoted verbatim from Pan Yong's report would mean an entirely different thing in Fan-Ye's work, and it would be absurd to suppose that Fan-Ye could have remained ignorant of it. Fan-Ye has proved himself too critical to be capable of quoting in such an absurd way. Strong and definite proofs are therefore needed to induce us to believe that he actually did any such thing and such proofs are entirely wanting. There is no clear indication that any sentence was borrowed from Pan Yong in the sense that it was reproduced word for word.

The conclusion is therefore obvious that the phrase 'at this time' should be taken, in its normal sense, to refer to the closing years of the period with which Fan-Ye dealt, i.e., sometime about A.D. 220. Any forced construction of it would be inadmissible as there are no circumstances warranting the same.

The results obtained by the plain and natural interpretation of Fan-Ye's history are fully corroborated by Yu Houan, the author of the Wei-liao. In describing the

three routes that lead from China to western countries, he mentions, in connection with the southern route, that it passes along the kingdoms of Kipin (Kashmir?), Ta-hia (Bactria), Kao-fu (Kabul) and T'ien-tchou (India) all of which are subordinate to the Yue-chi.¹¹ There cannot be the slightest doubt that this state of things was true of the period with which Wei-liu concluded. This has been recognised by the French translator of the work, M. Ed. Chavannes, who remarks on the above passage: "So at the middle of the third century of our era, the power of the Kushan kings was at its height."¹²

It is evident that the conquests of the Yue-chi, as described by Fan-Ye, entirely agree with the above account. Both the works speak of Kao-fu, Kipin and T'ien-tchou being conquered by the Yue-chi. But this agreement is brought out more fully in connection with another kingdom, called Tong-li by Fan-Ye and Ki-li, Li-wei-to or Pei-li-wang by Yu-Houan.¹³ That both the authors mean the same country is placed beyond all doubt by the almost identical descriptions which they give. Thus both place the country at a little more than 3000 li to the South-east of T'ienchu, and both name 'Cha-Ki' as the capital of the country. Indeed no doubt has been entertained on this point.¹⁴ Now Fan-Ye says in regard to this country that "the Yue-chi attacked this kingdom and made themselves masters of it."¹⁵ Yu Houan tells us about the people of the same country, "Now the Yue-chi have conquered them and imposed taxes upon them."¹⁶

The two works thus speak in the same strain about the Yue-chi and the facts they relate about them perfectly agree with each other. Now one of these works describes the events which took place about the year 239, and about this no doubt has hitherto been entertained. The other work also covers the period down to A.D. 220 and naturally enough the accounts in the two works perfectly agree. And yet we are asked to suppose that this latter work describes events which took place 100 years earlier. If proof were needed, that Fan-Ye really recorded events down to the year A.D. 220 as he professes to have done, the *Wei-liu* furnishes it, and even scepticism itself can no longer refuse to believe that the natural interpretation of Fan-Ye is the true one.

But even the *Wei-liu* has not been spared the hands of critics who are determined to make the Chinese texts fit in with preconceived theories of their own. According to Mr. Kennedy, the Yue-chi, referred to in the *Wei-liu*, mean the later Kushans.¹⁷ But what are these later Kushans of whom so much has been made by him? The only definite evidence of their existence is furnished by a number of coins, mostly debased imitations of the early coins of Kanishka and Vâsudeva and mechanically repeating these illustrious names. Of the earlier class of these coins the greater number were found in the Punjab, and only a few gold coins have been discovered in stupas in the Kabul valley: while the coins of the later class

¹¹ "La route du sud, en allant vers l'ouest, passe par..... le royaume de Kipin (Cachemire), le royaume de Ta-hia (Bactriane) le royaume de Kao-fu (Kabul), le royaume de T'ienchou (Inde) qui tous dépendent des Ta-Yue-tehe." *T'oung Pao*, 1905, pp. 535, 538-9.

¹² "Ainsi, au milieu du troisième siècle de notre ère, la puissance des rois Kouchans était à son apogée." *T'oung Pao*, 1905, p. 539, F. N. 1.

¹³ For Fan-Ye's account, see *T'oung Pao*, 1917, pp. 194-195. For that in *Wei-liu*, see *T'oung Pao*, 1905, p. 551.

¹⁴ Thus in a footnote to Fan-Ye's account of Tong-li, Ed. Chavannes remarks: "In the *Wei-liu* the kingdom is called Ki-li, or Li Wei-to or pei-li-wang." *T'oung Pao*, 1917, F. N. 5.

¹⁵ "Les Ta-Yue-tehe attaquèrent ce royaume et se l'asservirent." (*Op. cit.*)

¹⁶ "Maintenant des Yue-tehe les ont asservis et leur ont imposé des taxes." (*Op. cit.*)

¹⁷ *JRAS.*, 1913, pp. 1054-1064.

are confined to the Northern Punjab alone.¹⁸ The style of these coins does not also favour the supposition that they were issued by a line of powerful rulers. The available evidences therefore seem to indicate that the so-called later Kushans were a line of weak rulers, who at first held sway over Kabul and the Punjab, but whose territory was afterwards confined to the Northern Punjab alone.

Now the empire of the Yue-chi, as described in *Wei-liao*, extended from Bactria to the East Indies, and according to Mr. Kennedy it even included the kingdom of Magadha. Does Mr. Kennedy seriously ask us to believe that this description is applicable to the later Kushans? There is not a particle of evidence to show that these held either Bactria¹⁹ or any Indian territory to the east of the Punjab. If they really held sway over such a vast extent of territory, it is almost incredible that definite evidences should not be forthcoming to establish the fact, and that their coins should indicate such debasement, when compared with those of the great Kanishka line.

Mr. Kennedy has referred to some other evidences in support of his theory of a Later Kushan kingdom, but they do not deserve serious criticism.

The description of the Yue-chi as found in *Wei-liao*, is only applicable to the great line of Kushan Emperors in India, beginning from Wema Kadphises and ending with Vāsudeva. This, as we have seen above, is in entire agreement with the account of Fan-Ye, which when plainly interpreted refers to the Indian conquests of Wema-Kadphises shortly before A.D. 220. The joint testimony of these two writers cannot be lightly ignored and we are therefore bound to hold that the Yue-chi had established their supremacy in India in the beginning of the third century A.D., and that their power was at its height by the middle of it.

We next turn to the **Indian evidence**. It is held by almost all the scholars, with the exception of Dr. Fleet and the supporters of his theory, that the Northern Satraps and Gondophares preceded the Kushan Emperors, and that among the latter, the Kadphises group preceded Kanishka. I accept this view and refer the reader, for reasons, to the printed report of the debate held in the Hall of the Royal Asiatic Society. (*JRAS.*, 1913, pp. 627 ff., 911 ff.)

Now we have a series of epigraphic dates for these rulers which may be arranged as follows:—

So-lāsa	..	..	..	..	..	..	72
Patika	..	..	..	..	..	..	78
Gondophares	..	..	..	..	..	..	103
Kushan Kings (without any proper name)	..	113,	122,	136 ²⁰			
Kanishka. Vāsishka. Huvishka and Vāsudeva	..	..	3-99				

It is quite evident that the dates 3 to 99 cannot refer to the same era as the others. The inscriptions, which refer to Kushan rulers, without any name, should naturally be placed before those of Kanishka. for we know from the Chinese writers that the early Kushan

¹⁸ *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1893, pp. 116, 121; also Rapson's *Indian Coins*, § 74, pp. 18, 10.

¹⁹ The so-called Scytho-Sassanian coins are regarded by Drouin as the coins of Kushans themselves, while, according to Cunningham, they were issued by the Sassanians. In any case their date is limited to 300-450 A. D., and they do not therefore belong to the period contemplated in the *Wei-liao*. (Rapson's *Indian Coins*, § 75, p. 19).

²⁰ Kuldarra (*JRAS.*, 1903, p. 41), Panjtara (*ASR.*, p. 61, pl. xvi) and Taxila (*JRAS.*, 1914, p. 975 ff.) Inscriptions.

Emperors did not personally govern India, but a Viceroy ruled there in their name. We have a series of coins (the coins of the so-called Nameless kings) which are in some respects parallel to these inscriptions and have been referred, on independent grounds, to the period of Wema Kadphises.²¹ These coins and inscriptions may therefore be referred to the period of interval between the first Kushan conquest of India and the assumption of the Indian Government by the Kushan Emperors themselves.

It is legitimate, on numismatic and palæographic grounds, to take all these dates ranging from 72 to 136 as belonging to one era.²² Kanishka, according to this view, would have to be placed after the year 136 of that era, and a great advance may thus be made in the solution of the Kanishka problem, if we can fix the initial point of the era.

Dr. Fleet has emphasised the principle that we should, whenever practicable, avoid the assumption of an era, for the existence of which there is no actual evidence at all.²³ Dr. Oldenberg made a similar remark in connection with the Gupta era. "The fundamental mistake," said Dr. Oldenberg, "which has vitiated several of the most detailed disquisitions about the Gupta chronology, consists in their touching only incidentally upon the direct and very clear ancient tradition, which we possess regarding the Gupta era, instead of placing distinctly this tradition in the foreground and of systematically discussing the question whether any serious objection can be opposed to it. We shall try to proceed in this way so clearly prescribed by the nature of the question."²⁴

These principles, applied to the question at hand, limit our choice in the first instance, to the two well-known eras which commenced in 58 B. C. and A.D. 78.

On general grounds, the era of A.D. 78 must be preferred to that of 58 B.C., in interpreting the dates of these foreign rulers. In the first place, tradition attributes the inauguration of the first to the accession of a Saka ruler, while it assigns an indigenous origin to the second. Secondly the Western Satraps, who undoubtedly used the era of A. D., 78 indicate close connection with the north-western parts of India by the Kharoṣṭhi letters on their coins,²⁵ and all the rulers we have to deal with belong to that quarter.

Interpreted by the 'Saka Era', the dates of the various rulers will be as follows :—

Śodāsa	A.D. 150
Patika	A.D. 156
Gondophares	A.D. 181
Kushan Kings (before Kanishka)	A.D. 191 to 214
Kanishka	Some time after A.D. 214

²¹ *JRAS.*, 1913, p. 661.

²² Sir John Marshall has disputed the validity of the generally accepted belief that the date of the Taxila copperplate of Patika and the year 72 of Śodāsa refer to one and the same era. (*JRAS.*, 1914, pp. 985-86). His arguments, I am afraid, are not quite convincing to me. The inconsistency which he has pointed out may be removed either in the way suggested by Dr. Fleet (*JRAS.*, 1907, pp. 1034-35), or by supposing that the number of small inscriptions which cover the entire face of the Mathura Lion pillar capital were written at different times by different individuals. Both the styles of writing as well as the subject matter support this hypothesis (See M. Barth's remarks in *ante*, 1908, p. 245). It must also be remembered that the inscription of Satrap Śodāsa need not necessarily be referred to a period earlier than that of Mahākshatrapa Śodāsa for though, as a general rule, the transition is from the state of Kshatrapa to that of a Mahākshatrapa, the reverse case is not unknown: cf. e.g., the case of Rudrasimha I. His coins show him to be a Mahākshatrapa in the years 103, 106, 109 and 110 and a simple Kshatrapa in the years 110 and 112. Rapson's *Andhra Coins*, &c., pp. 87-91).

²³ *JRAS.*, 1905, p. 231.

²⁴ *Ante*, Vol. X, p. 217.

²⁵ Rapson's *Andhra Coins*, p. CIV.

The results may appear to be too startling for serious consideration; but, when calmly considered, they are found to be opposed to nothing but vague prejudices inherited from earlier writers, who had to form their conclusions on very insufficient grounds.

The Northern Satraps have usually been referred to very early times, but there are no positive data to determine their dates, and their chronological position has been fixed solely with reference to that of the Greeks and the Kushans. As the date of the Kushans is the matter of dispute, it would be begging the question to rely upon it, and the Greek chronology is far from being settled as yet. It must never be forgotten that numismatic and palæographic evidences can only supply relative dates and never an absolute one (unless of course the coins are dated in a known era, which however is not the case in the present instance). When specific dates are given to a king on numismatic and palæographic evidences, they are simply conjectured on the basis of the dates of other king, or of kings with relation to whom his chronological position has been established by means of coins and inscriptions. Everything therefore depends upon the latter, and the specific dates of the former, arrived at by numismatic and palæographic evidences, possess no more value than may be attached to it. We should therefore distinguish the numismatic and palæographic *facts* from the *theories* based upon them. The establishment of these facts requires a great deal of technical skill and observation, and they should not be slightly treated, when their accuracy is established by the joint testimony of a number of experts in these branches. The chronological theories established on the basis of these facts do not stand however on the same footing. They are based on some assumptions with regard to historical events, and must stand or fall with them. As regards the Northern Satraps, early dates were assigned to them on the basis of the assumed date for the extinction of the Greek rule in India. This was first taken to be 120 B. C. and next shifted to a period 100 years later, but even this did not rest on secure grounds. Already a still later date has been proposed and generally accepted, and more shifting will probably take place in future. While therefore we should accept in general the priority of the Greek sovereigns, we are unable to rely much upon any specific date assigned to the Northern Satraps. The proposed date for the Northern Satraps is not therefore *primâ facie* an impossible one.

There seems to be a consensus of opinion among the scholars as regards the date of Gondophares, but the unanimity is more apparent than real. By a curious coincidence they have come to maintain the same point, though their views are based on diametrically opposite principles. Thus Dr. Fleet arrives at the date by referring the year 103 of the *Takht-i-Bahai* inscription to the Vikrama Samvat of 58 B.C., which he considers to be the historic era of Northern India being founded by the great emperor Kanishka. Dr. Thomas, Mr. V. A. Smith and Mr. Rapson, who all deny any association between Kanishka and Vikrama Samvat, and do not even recognise the possibility of the Vikrama Samvat having ever been used in those regions at so early a period, arrive at the same conclusion on numismatic and palæographic evidences, which place Gondophares a little before Kanishka, whom they refer to about A.D. 78.

The position with regard to Gondophares is briefly this: A Christian tradition associates him with the apostle St. Thomas and thus refers him to the middle of the first century A.D. It is generally admitted, however, that the tradition by itself is unworthy of serious belief.

Thus Mr. V. A. Smith says: "The whole story is pure mythology, and the geography is as mythical as the tale itself After much consideration I am now of opinion that the story of the personal ministration and the martyrdom of St. Thomas in the realms of Gondophares and Mazdai should not be accepted."²⁶ Dr. Fleet also expresses a similar but a more moderate opinion as follows: "Now in the Christian tradition there are details which tend to prevent us from placing implicit reliance upon it. And as regards its external bearings, it would hardly suffice, standing alone, to allow us to introduce into the early history, as a proved fact, the existence, at some time between about A.D. 33 and 68 of two kings of India, or of parts thereof, whose names should be found in the Gudnaphar, Gundaphar, Goundaphoros or Gundaforus, and the Mazdai, Misdaios or Mesdeus of the tradition."²⁷ Mr. Burkitt who has made a special study of the subject is also of opinion that "That the stories in the Acts of St. Thomas have little or no historical basis is indeed almost self-evident."

The tradition about Gondophares therefore cannot be accepted as an historical fact, unless it is corroborated by independent evidence. Reliable independent evidence however there is none, and scholars do not even agree as to the bearing of the numismatic and palæographic facts with regard to the question. Dr. Fleet and Mr. R. D. Banerji do not hesitate to place Kanishka before Gondophares, while Dr. Bühler, Dr. Thomas, Mr. V. A. Smith, Mr. Rapson and others would reverse the position. I am inclined to accept the latter view, and hold it as an established fact, on numismatic and palæographic grounds, that Kanishka flourished later than Gondophares. But the specific date proposed for Gondophares on this ground possesses little value, as the date of Kanishka itself is open to dispute and forms the subject-matter of the present discussion. There is thus no good ground for the assumption that Gondophares flourished in the middle of the first century A.D.

The above discussions make it quite clear that no serious objection can be opposed to the results obtained by referring the dates under consideration to the era of A. D. 78.

The Chinese evidence is thus corroborated by the results deduced from Indian inscriptions regarding the date of Kushan sovereignty. We have seen that, by referring the Indian inscriptions to the well-known era beginning in A.D. 78, the date of the Indo-Parthian king Gondophares falls in A.D. 181 and that of the Kadphises kings between A.D. 191 and 214. The Chinese evidence also shows that Kozoulo-Kadphises defeated the Parthians and conquered Kabul, and that his son conquered India, shortly before A.D. 220. This perfect agreement between two such different sources of information shows that we are on the right track.

It follows from what has been said before that Kanishka must be placed after A.D. 214. The silence of Fan-Ye regarding Kanishka seems to carry this limit to about A.D. 220. We must therefore look for the initial point of the Kanishka era very near this date, for he cannot well be very far removed from Wema-Kadphises. As I have said before, we should, whenever practicable, avoid the assumption of a brand new era for the existence of which there is no actual evidence at all. Our choice must therefore fall upon a known era which commences close to A.D., 220 if there be any. Such an era is to be found in the so-called "Traikūṭaka, Kalachuri or Chedi era," the initial point of which falls in A.D. 248-249, and assuming our main arguments to be correct, there can be scarcely any hesitation in looking upon Kanishka as the inaugurator of the era.

²⁶ *Early History of India*, 3rd Edition, pp. 233-234.

²⁷ *JRAS.*, 1905, p. 227.

The origin of this era is shrouded in mystery. The earliest instance where its use can be definitely established is afforded by an inscription of the Traikûṭaka king Dahrasena dated in the year 207. From this time onwards the era was mostly prevalent in the Gurjara country and Konkan without any definite name, being simply referred to as 'Samvatsara'. In one instance it is referred to as "*Tr-(ai)kûṭakânâ(m) pravarddhamâna-râjya-sa(m)-vatsara-sata-dvaye pañcha—chatvâri(m)sad-uttare*," which seems to show that it was mostly in use in the Traikûṭaka kingdom. It is not until the year 893 of the era that a definite name, viz., Kalachuri Samvatsara, was given to it. In all these there is nothing inconsistent with the assumption that the era was founded by Kanishka and made current in Gurjara and Konkan by dynasties of feudatory kings. An analogous instance is afforded by the Gupta era, which was prevalent in western parts of India long after it had ceased to be current in its home provinces, and even came to be known as the Valabhi Samvat.

A close study of the coins of the Western Satraps seems to show that the influence of the Kushan Emperors had made itself felt in this quarter. The following remarks of Rapson, who has made a special study of the subject, show the gradual process of decline in the power of the Western Satraps.

"Already in this reign (of Vijayasena) appear the first symptoms of a decline about the year 167 or 168 (A. D. 245-246); and from this time onwards until the end of the dynasty it is possible to observe in the coinage a process of continuous degradation, varied occasionally by short-lived attempts to restore a higher standard." (Rapson's *Andhra Coins*, p. 137).

"In any case there must have been a long interval in which there was no Mahākṣatrapa. The first part of this interval is taken up with the reigns of two Kshatrapas, Rudrasimha II, 227-23 (5-9) [A. D. 305-31 (3-7)] and Yaśodaman II, 239-254 [A.D. 317-332]; during the latter part, 254-270 (A.D. 332-348) the coins of this dynasty cease altogether."

"All the evidence afforded by coins or the absence of coins during this period, the failure of the direct line and the substitution of another family, the cessation first of the Mahākṣatrapas and afterwards of both Mahākṣatrapas and Kṣatrapas seems to indicate troublous times. The probability is that the dominions of the Western Kṣatrapas were subject to some foreign invasion; but the nature of this disturbing cause is at present altogether doubtful." (*Ibid*, p. 142.)

It will be observed that my theory about the Kushan chronology fully explains the process of continuous degradation noticed by Rapson. The first symptoms of decline appear shortly after the Kushans had established their supremacy in India. The dynasty is shorn of power during Huvishka's time, altogether ceases to exist as a ruling power during the rule of Vāsudeva, and revives some of its power and influence only after the death of this prince and the consequent downfall of the Kushan power. It is quite permissible to hold, therefore, that a rival dynasty was established in Gujarat to hold in check the power of the Western Kshatrapas, and this ultimately became instrumental in preserving the era of the Kushans long after it had become extinct in the province of its origin.

Another circumstance corroborates the theory that Kanishka flourished about A.D. 249. We have a Mathura Inscription dated in the year 299 whose letters resemble those of the Sarnath Inscription of Kanishka, and which must therefore be placed, on palæographic grounds, close to the period of Kanishka. It is admitted by all that this date cannot be referred to the era used by Kanishka or the Northern Satraps. Those who place Kanishka in A.D. 78 are thus compelled to refer it to a second unknown era (the first unknown era being that to which they refer the dates of Śoḍāsa and Gondophares).

According to my theory all difficulties are removed by referring it to the Vikrama Samvat which places it about ten years earlier than the Sarnath Inscription, and seven years earlier than the inauguration of the Kushan era. This latter fact probably explains the use of Vikrama Samvat in Mathurâ. The Śaka power had been extinguished and the new dynasty of the Kushans had not yet established an era. Under such circumstances one who is conversant with Vikrama Samvat may use that era in Mathurâ. This seems to me to be the most satisfactory solution of the difficulty, for it must be remembered that the era was current for about 300 years and can hardly be explained by the theory of a local origin without any definite proof.

The position may thus be summed up as follows: The natural interpretation of the Indian and Chinese evidences place Kanishka after A.D. 220, and as there is a well-known Indian era running from A.D. 248-9 we can hardly be mistaken in looking upon Kanishka as its inaugurator. This proposition is fully supported by the history of the Western Satraps and the inscription of Mathurâ dated in the year 299.

I shall now proceed to show that the theory I have put forward is in perfect agreement with the known facts of palaeography and numismatics.

Palaeography : According to my theory the Kushan period is brought quite close to that period of the Guptas, of which we possess epigraphical record. This is fully in agreement with palaeographic facts. Dr. Bühler, after an exhaustive analysis of the peculiarities of the Kushan inscriptions, makes the following remarks :—

“ All these peculiarities, as well as the advanced forms of the medial vowels, of *â* in *râ*, of *u* in *ku* and in *stu*, and of *o* in *to*, reappear constantly in the northern alphabets of the next period, those of the Gupta inscriptions and of the Bower MS., or are precursors of the forms of those documents. The literary alphabets used in Mathurâ during the first two centuries A.D. very likely were identical with or closely similar to the later ones, and the admixture of older forms, observable in the inscriptions of the Kushan period may be due purely to an imitation of older votive inscriptions.”

Thus Dr. Bühler fully noticed the remarkable similarity of the letters of the Kushan and Gupta periods. But as he was not prepared for its logical consequence he had to maintain the identity of alphabets separated by more than two centuries. The theory, I have advanced, shows that the alphabets of the two periods were similar for the very natural reason that one of them closely followed upon the other.

Numismatics: My theory offers a more satisfactory explanation of the close connection between the coins of the Kushans and the Guptas than any that has yet been proposed. Dr. Oldenberg, while placing Kanishka in A.D. 78 made the very apposite remark that, “ It is one of the earliest known and best established facts within the sphere of Indian numismatics that this [Kushan Coinage] is the place from which the very important coinage of the Gupta dynasty branches off.”²⁸ He further added, “ that the vacant period between Vāsudeva and the Guptas is already [by placing Kanishka in A.D. 78] perhaps greater than might be expected.”²⁹

Mr. V. A. Smith practically agrees to this, when he says: “ The close relationship in weights, types, and palaeography between the coins of the Imperial Gupta Dynasty (A.D. 320-480) and those of the Kushan kings, Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vāsudeva, is obvious and has always been recognised.”³⁰

²⁸ *Ante*, Vol. X, p. 217.

²⁹ *Ibid*, p. 216.

³⁰ *JRAS.* 1903, p. 35.

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.

BY V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T., MADRAS.

(Continued from p. 247.)

Such was the position in the year 1752. The nominal king of the country, the exiled Nâik, was a refuge in the Râmnâd estate. His kingdom was an object of contest between the powers of South India. It would be exceedingly interesting to ascertain the nature of the feelings which each of the contending parties felt towards the ex-king. One thing is certain, however: he was not such a forgotten figure in the politics of the day as we have to infer from the great English historian of the period. The descendant of Tirumala Nâik did not indeed actually exercise power. But his name had a charm to the Hindu population and was received with applause and with loyalty by many of the Polygars. Vijaya Kumâra could not therefore be ignored by the parties of the war. Intrigues and counter-intrigues must have passed between him and them, but the details of these we unfortunately do not possess. With regard to the Policy of Chanda Sahib, or at least his lieutenant Alam Khan, however, we have got ample material to pronounce a judgment. Chanda Sahib had behaved, as has been already mentioned, like a determined opponent of Vijaya Kumâra. It was his want of sympathy, in fact, that made Baigaru Tirumala apply to the Mahrattas for help in 1741. But it seems that, after his conquest of the Carnatic, Chanda Sahib apparently changed his attitude towards the ex-king of Madura. He seems to have no longer regarded him as an adversary to be removed at any cost from the field. Either a wise policy of conciliation or a hypocritical pretence, for the time, of friendship, induced him to negotiate with Vijaya Kumâra and recognize his birthright as the king of the cis-Kaveri region. Perhaps he feared that Muhammad Ali might befriend him and thereby strengthen his cause. Perhaps he thought that he would strengthen his own cause by respecting the loyal sentiments of the Hindus and recognizing their titular monarch. Whatever the reason was, his lieutenant Alam Khan tried his best for the restoration of Vijaya Kumâra to Madura. He himself could not do it in person, for the state of affairs at Trichinopoly called his immediate presence, there to stand by his master. When departing to the scene of war, however, he ordered his own son-in-law and representative,^a Muda Miyan, whom he appointed the Viceroy of Madura and Tinnevely, to immediately restore the Carnatic prince to his birthright. "From the time of our ancestors," he said, "we have been the servants of the Trichinopoly Raj. The same is the case with me now. The Karnâṭaka Monarch is now in the Marava country. Call him thence, crown him, and seek from him a *jâgîr* for your service."

The Nâik restoration.

With this order, Alam Khan proceeded to Trichinopoly to join his master. There unfortunately, he fell a victim to a skirmish against Lawrence and Clive. His orders were, if we are to trust the chronicle, scrupulously carried out by Muda Miyan. Proceeding

^a Orme does not mention all this. He simply says that Alam Khan in 1752 left Madura under the management of three Pathan officers, Muhammad Barki (Myana), Muhammad Mainach (Muda Miyân), and Nabi Khan (Katak), while proceeding to Trichinopoly.

to Râmnâd, he had an interview with the Sêtopati's *padhâni*, (*velian, sêrvaikâran*), a man of absolute loyalty and honest bravery, and expressed the purpose of his visit. The Marava Minister was transported with joy at the turn of his master's fortune. He immediately took Muda Miyan to Srîraigam where, Dorasâmi Tâṇḍavarâya Pillai heartily joined them. All the three officers then went to Vellai Kuruchchi, and congratulating Vijaya Kumâra on his change of fortune, escorted him in pomp to his capital. Then in accordance with the custom of his ancestors, he received, from the hands of Goddess Minâkshi, the sceptre, and the symbols of sovereignty in Âṅgîrasa Mârḡali. Mounted on an elephant, seated on a howdah, he was taken in procession around the city; and to the great joy of the people, crowned with pomp. Almost all the Polygars graced the occasion with their presence, and hastened to perform homage. They prostrated themselves before him as if before a divinity, and showered on him gold and silver flowers.

Muhammad Ali's final overthrow of it.

Vijaya Kumâra enjoyed his kingdom only for the space⁷ of two years according to one account and six months to another. Even during this short period he seems to have been merely a nominal king. The Muhammadan officers of Chanda Sahib, Myana, Muda Miyan and Nabi Khan, either remained in the Madura fort or *jâgîrs* near, and made no hesitation in ignoring the power of the restored monarch and treating him as their tool. But so long as Chanda Sahib was alive, they at least nominally obeyed the Nâik king. But late in 1752 Chanda Sahib was captured and killed, and the Carnatic became the undisputed possession of Muhammad Ali. A man of a mean and unscrupulous temperament, Muhammad Ali at once took steps to remove Vijaya Kumâra. With a bribe of a lakh of rupees, he persuaded a Muhammadan saint, Asafu'ddin Sahib by name, to proceed to Madura and give Muhammad Miyan, the son-in-law of Myana, a written document in which he mentioned that he would offer a jagir of the value of a lakh of rupees and a cash of Rs. 50,000 in case he treacherously seized the person of the king. Myana was consulted in the matter by his son-in-law, and was mean enough to readily yield to it. The project, however, was looked upon with disfavour by Hussain Khan, a brother of Myana. He expressed in a bitter invective his contempt and abhorrence for the author of such a crime, rebuked his brother for his treachery towards a master whose salt he and his ancestors had eaten, and pointed out how his treason, which deserved death, was detestable in the eyes of both God and man, while it would bring eternal shame on the whole family of which he was the head. But the obstinacy of Myana, seconded by the passions and interests of his colleagues, Muda Miyan and Nabi, ignored the advice of his brother. Hussain saw that it was hopeless to reform his brother or to prevent the conspiracy. He therefore secured an audience with the king and, after making known to him the evil machinations of the Nawab's emissaries and the treachery of his own servants, persuaded him, for the sake of his life, to leave Madura, for the present, to a more secure locality. The fears of Vijaya Kumâra were alarmed by the view of the least danger. A coward of a despicable character, he held life more precious than honour and yielded a ready consent to the proposal of his Musalman friend. The village of Vellai Kuruchchi in the Sivagaṅga Zamindary became, thanks to the constancy of the Sêtopatis, once again the place of exile. It was soon however exchanged, in accordance with the advice of the same chief, to a place, more remote from

⁷ The 1st is *Carn. Lords* and the 2nd the last *Mist. MS.* The latter distinctly says that he was restored in Âṅgîrasa Mârḡali and that he ruled in the Karnâṭaka fashion down to Srîmukha.

Madura, and therefore more secure, from the Nawab's designs. The generous loyalty⁸ of the Sêtipati built for him a palace at Dharbha-Sayanam, the place of his new exile, endowed the village of Virasôren in his name, and furnished him with the expenses of his household and his maintenance.

Muhammad Ali was now the master of Madura and Tinnevely. His first work after the assumption of Government was to endeavour to complete the ruin of his rival. Umad Aleam Khan, the son of the Nawab, was despatched to reduce the Râmnâd and Sivagaṅga pālayams and to bring the king as a captive.

The Karta in exile.

Umad was soon near Râmnâd, and when he was about to take it, he sent men to search the surrounding country and discover the whereabouts of Vijaya Kumâra. The agents of the latter at Râmnâd acquainted him with the fact, and he instantly resolved to leave the place. Horses and camels, elephants and palanquins for the ladies, were at once set in motion, and that very night Vijaya Kumâra went westward to the Pālayam of Tirumalai Gaṇḍama Nâik. The latter with a rare and commendable loyalty, met the fallen and flying king at the boundary of his estate, and prostrating himself at his feet, performed homage and presented gold and silver flowers. He declared that his estate, as well as his life and services, were at his disposal. He built for him a residence, and left for his sole maintenance the village of Têgâmbaṭṭi.⁹ Besides, he supplied him with all the expenses of his household, and himself paid homage twice every day, waiting in respectful attendance for more than an hour. This intercourse of respectful duty he steadily continued.

Glimpses of the Naik family in later times.

With the final fall of the Vijaya Kumâra, now a helpless exile, the history of the Nâiks of Madura closes. They did not entirely die from the current politics of the age; for as we shall see presently, the Polygars looked¹⁰ to the Royal exile as their right chief and even, as late as 1757, tried, by concluding an alliance with Mysore, to bring about his return. No doubt, by this alliance it was resolved to restore the fallen monarch. Mahfûz Khan (who was then a rebel against Muhammad Ali's authority) was to be given a suitable establishment in Mysore, and Mysore was to have the Dindigul province. The alliance, however, was shattered by the military genius of Yusuf Khan. In 1777 Minâkshi Nâik, an agent of Vijaya Kumâra, waited on Lord Pigot in Madras and obtained his sympathy and promise to consider the past history of his master and his claims.

But before he could do anything he was himself, as every student of Madras history knows, a victim of party squabbles and a prey of his adversaries. Vijaya Kumâra therefore continued to live in Gaṇḍama Nâikanûr till his death on Mârgaṣi 23, Hêṇṇambl (1777)—more than forty years after the death of the unfortunate Minâkshi. His son Râja Viśvanâtha Nâik succeeded to his claims and was even formally anointed and waited upon by the Polygars of Gaṇḍama Nâikanûr, Bôdi-Nâikanûr, Irchaka Nâikanûr, Elumalai, etc., and was paid formal homage, presents and offerings. Next year these faithful chiefs celebrated the marriage of their phantom chief. He remained there for six years and subsequently settled with his people once again at Vellai Kuruchchi. The rule of the East India Company was now firmly established, and the son of Viśvanâtha Nâik, Vijaya Kumâra, Viśvanâtha Baṅgaru Tirumala, whose poverty was acute in consequence of the resumption of the two villages granted of old by Râmnâd and Bôdi-Nâikanûr, endeavoured, as late as 1820, to obtain pecuniary assistance from Government. He and

⁸ *Hist. Carna. Gouv.*

⁹ Caldwell's *Tinnevely*.

¹⁰ A *Mist. MS.* (May, 1820) says that Setṭikkuruchchi in the Bodhinâyakhan Zamindari was also given him, See *O. H. MSS.*, II, 200.

his family lived at Vellai Kuruchchi and their children were there until quite recently.¹¹ "It is said that they still kept up the old form of having recited, on the first day of Chittrai in each year, a long account of their pedigree and the boundaries of the great kingdom of which their forebears were rulers." (*Madura Gazr.*, p. 60). These titles alone, recognized by a few obscure men, remained their possession out of the large Empire their ancestors once ruled.

(Concluded.)

MISCELLANEA.

BANDHU-BHŪTYA OF THE MUDRĀ RĀKSHASA.

THE explanation¹ given by the *Tikākāra*, of the phrase श्रीमद्बन्धुभृत्यः in the *bharata-vākya* to the *Mudrā-Rākshasa* (स श्रीमद्बन्धुभृत्यश्चिरमवतु. महीं पार्थिवश्चन्द्रगुप्तः) is not satisfactory. The honorific *Śrīmat* excludes the meaning offered by Dhunḍhirāja. *Bhṛityāh* would be hardly called *Śrīmantah*. I would take it as "He whose *bhṛitya* (servant) is Śrīmān Bandhu."

Who was this Bandhu, who was important enough to be mentioned in the *bharata-vākya* to denote the greatness of Chandragupta II?² In the next reign we find Bandhuvarman, son of Viśhavarman of Mālavā, as a governor (or vassal) of the Gupta emperor at Mandasor (Daśapura). But in the time of Chandragupta, Bandhuvarman's father must have been ruling over Mālavā, as he was ruling even after him in 423 A.D. (Gaṅgadhār inscription of

480 M. E.).⁴ It appears that neither Viśva-varman nor his ancestors at Pokarana acknowledged the suzerainty of the Guptas.⁵

It seems that Bandhuvarman, son of the sturdy Viśva-varman had come away to the court of Chandragupta II, most probably against the wishes of his father. The event would have caused some sensation at Pātali-putra, for the Pokarana sovereigns claimed to be great monarchs, Chandra having conquered up to Baktria only a generation before. Bandhu's acceptance of service or offer of allegiance would have promised the certainty of the allegiance of the great monarchy of the Varmans to the Imperial Throne in the near future. The event would have very well appeared to Viśākhadatta worthy of being associated with the name of his Emperor to indicate his great prestige.

R. P. JAYASWAL.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS.

8. Punishments for Piracy.—hanging, whipping, branding.

28 April 1689. Letter from Elihu Yale and Council at Fort St. George to the Honble. Rhede, Commissary General for the Rt. Honble. Netherlands East India Company. The 9 English prisoners your Honr. was pleased to send us from Pollicat were lately tried by a Court Martiall, one of whome being pardon'd accused the rest confessing their several robberies and Pyracies; when upon examination, some being found more culpable then others, the Court Condemned the most notorious Criminal to be

hanged aboard ship at the yard arme, another to be whipt at the severall Europe shippis in the road, and afters to be branded with a hott Iron in the forehead, and the remaining 6 to be likewise stigmatized in their foreheads with a P, which censures were accordingly executed, and all banisht the Countrey. grant their sad examples may terrefye others from the like horred crimes. This I thought necessary to acquaint your honr. with, since some of their wicked crew remain stil in your Custodye. *Records of Fort St. George. Letters from Fort St. George, 1689* pp. 21-22.

R. C. T.

¹¹ Buchanan, while on his way from Dodora Balapura to Sira, met at a particular place a ruler of some villages "named Trimula Nayaka, from whom I received the intelligence which I consider as the most accurate that I procured during my whole journey." He says that he was a descendant of the Madura Rājas and that his ancestor was "a brother of the then reigning prince who, in a dispute, was savage enough to threaten the life of so near a relation." See Vol. I, p. 252.

¹ श्रीमद्बन्धुभृत्यः : श्रीमन्त-भृत्याश्च यस्य सः : Dhunḍhirāja, Telang's *Mudrā-Rākshasa*, p. 318.

² *Ante*, 1913, p. 265.

³ Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 82.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 74.

⁵ Haraprasad Shastri, *Ante*, 1913.

BOOK NOTICE.

VIJŪNĀPTI-TRIVENĪ, A JAINA EPISTLE.

THE Jain community of the Hindu people is showing laudable activity in bringing to light pieces of their hidden literature, which are as valuable as any other ancient literature of the country. The *Jaina-Ātmānanda-Sabha* of Bhavnagar has undertaken to publish an historical series (*Itihāsa-māla*) and the *Vijūnāpti-trivenī* is its first number. The work is edited in Hindi, which the Jain community has adopted as its common language. The text, however, is given in the original Sanskrit. The introduction in Hindi covers 96 pages containing valuable information, and the text covers 70 pages of octavo print.

The *Vijūnāpti-trivenī* is a Sanskrit epistle dated Māgha Sudi 8, 1484 V. S. and the text is edited from the original MS. of the author. That manuscript is at present in the Jain library of Vāḍipura-Parśvanātha at Pāṭan in North Gujarat. It has been brought to light and edited with care by Muni Jina-Vijayaji, pupil of Mahārāja Pravartaka Muni Śrī-Kānti-Vijayaji.

This epistle is one of the many literary epistles called *Vijūnāptis* written by mediæval Jains to their spiritual leaders on the last day of the Par-yushanā week. On that day the Jains are supposed to forgive others and ask for others' forgiveness. The week falls in Bhādra (Vadi 12th to Sudi 4th) or in Śrāvaṇa according to local reckonings. After the week the Jains write letters between themselves and also to their *Āchāryas* asking for forgiveness. Some of the letters written on the occasion in the Middle Ages used to be profusely illustrated with pictures of well-known buildings, e. g., palaces, temples, mosques and various scenes, from still-life to acrobatics. One such letter covers a roll of nearly 60 feet! Generally letters written by 'Munis' to their *Āchāryas* are so many attempts at artificial Sanskrit poetry. The *Indu-dūta* and *Cheto-dūta* are such epistles written in imitation of the *Meghadūta*. Our present epistle, however, is more sedate and contains more valuable materials.

The author Jayasāgara-Upādhyāya addressed this epistle from Malik-vahana in Sindh to Śrī-Jinabhadra Śūri, *Āchārya* of the Kharatara Gachchha at Anahilapura-pāṭana in Gujarat. It describes a journey to Kāngrā. The description is divided into three sections. The journey was undertaken by a number of merchants at the invitation of Jayasāgara, and the *saṅgha* on its way was protected by armed retainers. The object of the journey was the worship of a Jain deity in the hill fortress of Kaṅgadaka (modern Kāngrā), situated by the capital called Nagara-kotṭa, which in those days was held by an independent Hindu King, Narendra-

chandra of the Somavamśā. The names of the capital and fortress are now combined in our present-day Kōṭa Kāngrā. The old fortress has been unfortunately destroyed within living memory, by the dreadful earthquake of 1905.

The time of Jinabhadra is fully ascertained. He is well-known for having built many Jain temples and for having established a number of Jain libraries in Western India, one of which survives in the present library of Vāḍipura-Parśvanātha at Pāṭana, where the MS. of the *Vijūnāpti-trivenī* has been discovered. The present number of the volumes in the Pāṭan library is about 750. They are written on paper-leaves of generally one size and also generally in letters of one and the same type. This was done in the age when the Jain *Āchāryas* had old manuscripts on palm-leaves transferred to paper. Jinabhadra took a leading part in that movement. From the existing manuscripts of the Pāṭan Library it appears that Jinabhadra carried on this mission of manuscript-making from 1475 V. S. to 1515 V. S.

The epistle is useful for tracing the route from Western India to the Punjab in the 15th century; and the place-names on that route may be consulted for the purposes of comparison and identification. The document, like the majority of the Jain records of the Middle Ages, is reliable for dates and other material data. A great contribution of the epistle to the history of Kāngrā is that it settles the date of King Narendrachandra whose coins we possess. No date with certainty could yet be given to him; Mr. V. Smith tentatively placed him about 1465—80 A.C. (*Coins in the Indian Museum*, p. 278). Now we know on contemporary evidence of the epistle that he was reigning in 1427 A.C. and also the fact that he was a Jain. This definite date brings order at least on one point into the chaos of the Kāngrā chronology. There are some further informations of historical value. The kingdom of Kashmir extended upto Hariyānā in those days, which also marked off the boundaries of Jālandhara, Madhya-deśa and Jāngala-deśa (Kuru-Jāngala). Apparently to the east of Hariyānā (modern Hariyānā) lay the Madhya-deśa. Near Hariyānā on the Bias the pilgrims witnessed an engagement between the troops of "Sakander, King of Turushkas" and those of "Yaśoratha, lord of Shoshara." It seems that the Epistle's *śapṛda-lakṣha* is our 'Sewalik'. We are highly indebted to Muni Vijayaji for bringing this unique kind of composition to the notice of scholars and for writing a valuable preface to it.

K. P. J.

AUSTRIA'S COMMERCIAL VENTURE IN INDIA IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

BY SIR R. C. TEMPLE, Bt.

Introductory Remarks.

TWO and a half years ago my attention was drawn to a MS. account of a survey of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands in 1787 by Captain Alexander Kyd.¹ In his description of Car Nicobar, Kyd refers as follows to a settlement made under the auspices of Austria in 1778 :—

“The Imperial Company, by the advice of Mr. Bolts, established a factory upon one of these Islands a few years ago, but no support was given to the first settlers, who being ill-supplied with every necessary for a hot climate and miserably lodged, mostly all perished, probably more from the above causes than from the badness of the climate.”

In my endeavour to obtain further details of this settlement, I made a search among the India Office Records and found a number of documents dealing with Austria's attempt to seize a share of the trade with India. These I have extracted from the many ponderous tomes in which they are buried, and by the courtesy of the authorities of the India Office, I now reproduce them verbatim, only altering the punctuation where necessary for the sense.

As I understand that a detailed work on William (or Willem) Bolts and his career under the East India Company, as well as during his employment by Austria, is in preparation, I have not attempted to present an exhaustive history either of the man or his schemes. I have merely made a collection of papers relative to the Austrian venture, arranging them in groups with suitable headings, and adding brief notes to elucidate the text.

The papers so collected fall under the following divisions :—

- I. Measures taken in the Presidency of Bombay to nullify the Austrian enterprise.
- II. Measures taken by the Council at Fort William to obstruct the endeavours of Bolts to trade in Bengal.
- III. Obstructive measures at Madras directed against individuals interested in the Austrian venture.
- IV. Details and prospectus of the Triestine Society promoted by Bolts in 1783.

A few words regarding the man entrusted with the carrying out of Austria's plans for trade in the East are necessary to complete the story.

Willem Bolts, a Dutchman, was born in Holland c. 1735. He went to England when fifteen years old, and thence to Lisbon, where he witnessed the great earthquake of 1755. Shortly afterwards he proceeded to India and arrived in Bengal subsequent to the tragedy of the Black Hole in June, 1756. Owing to the want of clerks, he was taken into the Company's service at Calcutta, became factor in 1762, and junior merchant and second in Council at Benares in 1765. In that year he was recalled to Calcutta and was charged with using the authority of the Company to further his own interests. In 1766 he resigned the Company's service and accepted a post as Alderman at Calcutta. From that time,

¹ The account is to be found in *Factory Records, Straits Settlements*, Vol. II. Consultation at Fort William, 14 September, 1787 (India Office Records). I had it copied and annotated it for printing in this Journal. The article, however, went down in the ill-fated *Persia* in December, 1915.

until 1768, when he was deported to England, he was repeatedly quarrelling with the Bengal Council on account of his private trade, by which he had accumulated a large fortune.

On his return to England, Bolts issued a pamphlet² recording the "oppressions" he had "suffered in Bengal." He then appealed to the Court of Directors, who, instead of espousing his cause, instituted a law-suit against him. The legal costs of the suit and the publication (in 1772-1775) of a work, in which he attacked the administration of the Company, nearly ruined him. The book (in 3 4to vols.) was entitled *Considerations on Indian Affairs, particularly respecting the present state of Bengal and its Dependencies. By William Bolts, merchant and alderman or Judge of the Hon. the Mayor's Court of Calcutta.*

The antagonism that Bolts had roused among the authorities in Bengal found vent in their letters after his departure. In January 1770 the Council at Fort William wrote that they imagined the sending home of Mr. Bolts would meet with the Directors' approbation "by reason of the just idea you entertain" of his "dangerous and intriguing spirit." They also enlarged on the extent of his illicit trade and the "little regard" he "pays either to the Commands of his Superiors or to publick faith."³ The Directors also received voluminous appeals from the attorneys appointed by Bolts, complaining of the obstacles they met with in collecting his debts.

Finding himself worsted in his struggle with the Court of Directors, Bolts proceeded to utilize his knowledge of Indian affairs for the benefit of another European power. He approached Count Belgioso, the Ambassador in London of Maria Theresa, Empress of Austria, with proposals for inaugurating a direct trade between the Austrian Empire and Persia, the East Indies, China and Africa. The proposals were favourably received, and in 1775 Bolts was summoned to Vienna to unfold his plans. There he was made an Austrian subject, was invested by the Empress with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and was granted a charter, dated 5th June 1775, for the foundation of a commercial company. In the course of his proceedings, Bolts formed establishments on the S. W. Coast of Africa (Delagoa Bay), on the Malabar and Coromandel Coasts, and in the Nicobar Islands.

These, however, were only of temporary duration, since the Company became bankrupt in 1781. Bolts returned to Europe and immediately proceeded to set on foot another trading scheme for Austrian enterprise in India under the name of the Triestine Society. One ship sailed at the end of 1783, but the undertaking was launched at an inopportune time and in 1785 the Company declared itself insolvent. Bolts afterwards proceeded to Paris and eventually died there in great poverty in 1808.

There are notices of this 18th century company promoter in the *Biographie Universelle* and in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and allusions to his Indian venture in the *New Imperial Gazetteer of India* (II. 466 and XIX. 64). The fullest account, however, that has yet been written in English of this remarkable personage is to be found in a paper entitled *Extract from the Voyage of the Austrian Frigate "Novara": The Nicobar Islands in the Bay of Bengal*, which is printed in *Selections from the Records of the Government of India, Home Department*, No. LXXVII (Calcutta, 1870. pp. 193-207).

² *Oppressions suffered in Bengal by Mr. William Bolts, &c., from the East India Company's representatives. London, 1769.*

³ *Bengal Letters Received*, IX. 180-181.

In his *History of the Marhattas* (II. 345), Grant Duff pays the following tribute to the ability of the emissary of Austria :—

“Mr Bolts, originally in the Company's service in Bengal, who was in Poona at the same time [1777] as an avowed agent of the house of Austria, received no such civilities [as those accorded to the adventurer, St. Lubin, French ambassador]. Nana Furnuwees [Nānā Farnawīs] probably perceived that St. Lubin was a fitter tool ; and Mr Bolts, who was early dismissed, might have viewed that circumstance as complimentary to his character.”

The Company's instructions to their three Presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, to obstruct the Austrian enterprise.

Letter. dated London, 24 December, 1776.⁴

We are informed from unquestionable authority that an enterprize of trade is in agitation by Mr William Bolts (formerly in our Service in Bengal) under Imperial Colours, and the protection of the Queen of Hungary, in a large ship, late the *Earl of Lincoln*, now named the *Joseph and Theresia*, which towards the end of June last imported at Leghorn from Lisbon, where besides considerable quantities of goods before shipped, ordnance, ammunition and all kinds of military stores to a great amount were received on board, with a very valuable proportion of merchandize, consisting principally of copper, iron and steel brought thither by two Danish and Dutch ship[s] from Trieste, and as the *Florentine Gazette*, published by authority, avows “belonging to a Company erected in Germany to carry on commerce between Trieste and the Coast of Coromandel, where the House of Austria means to establish a new Factory.” We are also given to understand that a number of Austrian soldiers, Lutherans, were to be embarked at Leghorn on board the said ship, which left that port the 25th of September last with her consort, an English brigantine, laden with provisions for the voyage, and that both were from the Canary Islands to continue their course to the Coast of Choromandel.

It remains for us by the present opportunity in the strongest manner to recommend to your serious and speedy consideration either separately or conjunctively with our other presidencies, to pursue the most effectual means that can be fully justified to counteract and defeat the same, observing at the same time that this commerce is not contrary to any Treaty at present subsisting.

It will be particularly necessary to counteract this scheme in the beginning, because if the adventurers meet with but indifferent success in this first essay, it may discourage them from future attempts

If their design to settle shall prove to be in the neighbourhood of your presidency, we particularly rely on your weight and efforts with the Country [Native] Powers to render their scheme abortive.

We further especially recommend the stopping all commercial and other intercourse of our covenant servants and all under our protection with the persons who conduct this expedition or are concerned therein, and to prevent the latter from being furnished by any persons subject to your authority with money, goods, stores, or any other assistance conducive to the execution of their plan, and in case of the breach of any orders issued in this behalf, it is left with you to show a resentment adequate to the nature of the offence.

⁴ *Bengal Despatches*, VIII. 271-274. The same instructions were sent to Madras and Bombay early in 1777.

As there are sufficient reasons to conclude several British subjects are employed in the expedition, who are, by the laws of this kingdom now in force, liable to be arrested and brought to Great Britain if found in the East Indies without our licence, we direct that you put such laws into force.

You will receive from us or our agents, by every opportunity in the course of the season, what further intelligence shall offer on this object, that such measures may be taken as shall appear expedient in consequence thereof.

Note on the Company's Instructions.

The allusions to the *Florentine Gazette* in the foregoing letter are important for the history of the proceedings of William Bolts, as indicating the *bona fides* of his claim to be a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Austrian forces and to his having gone to the East as the representative of the Austrian Empire. The *Gazetta di Firenze* was established in 1768, and was continued as the *Notizie del Mondo* (1768-1774) and as the *Gazetta Universale* from 1775 to 1811, when it reverted to its original title. There are several references in it in 1776 to Bolts and his ship. Some of these evidently reached the Court of Directors of the East India Company in London and caused them to take the action mentioned in their letter of instructions to their subordinates in India. I give the extracts from the Italian newspaper here translated in full. They consist of a series of items of news from correspondents.

Gazetta Universale. 29 June, 1776 (p. 413).

Italy. Leghorn (Livorno) 26 June: On Tuesday evening there anchored in the road the *Joseph and Theresa* (*Giuseppe e Teresa*) from London, Lisbon and Cadiz, under the [Austrian] Imperial flag, commanded by Captain William Bolts. The said ship is of 900 tons, is armed with 32 guns and has a crew of 60 men. It is to sail to the Coast of Coromandel for the purpose of securing to His Majesty the Emperor the re-entry into possession of those factories which the House of Austria had there as far back as the time of the Emperor Charles VI. of glorious memory. It will depart under the escort of the Royal Tuscan Frigate of War, *Etruria*, which is now ready to sail.

13 July, 1776 (p. 444).

Leghorn, 9 July: On Wednesday of last week, at the palace of His Excellency the Commandant-General and Governor of this city, at the invitation of the high officials of State and in the name of His Majesty the Emperor Joseph, Mr. William Bolts, now Captain of the Austrian ship *Joseph and Theresa*, destined for Coromandel, was declared a Lieutenant-Colonel before the Austrian soldiers, who were present and are to serve in the said ship. Afterwards the oath of fidelity was administered to them by the aforementioned officials in the usual military form. On the Thursday following he [Lieut.-Col. Bolts] was received into that rank on board his ship with a salute of artillery, and afterwards was entertained at a sumptuous dinner given in his honour by His Excellency in the presence of the nobility and persons of rank.

20 July, 1776 (p. 461).

Leghorn, 17 July: The Imperial Austrian ship destined for Coromandel began last Thursday to take in cargo of various sorts (which had been transported here from Trieste) and also arms and ammunition of war. Permission has been granted for her equipment in this port with sailors, pilots and other officials, and already many have signed on for service in the same.

3 September, 1776 (p. 566).

Leghorn, 30 August : The Company of marines embarked this morning about half past seven on board the Royal Tuscan Frigate of War, *Etruria*, which has left this harbour with all speed, whence it has now passed into the road to set sail for a short cruise of a few days against the fleet of Barbary pirates who are said to infest these seas. The Imperial ship of war and merchantman, *Joseph and Theresa*, is completing her preparations for her departure for Coromandel. She will start immediately after the return of the Royal Tuscan Frigate, which is intended to escort her as far as the Canary Islands.

21 December 1776 (p. 815).

Leghorn, 18 December : The English brigantine, which is to go with the Austrian ship, *Joseph and Theresa*, in order to carry a part of the provisions and to be serviceable to her, has just arrived.

24 December, 1776 (p. 821).

Leghorn, 20 December : The English merchant brigantine, which sailed with the Imperial Austrian ship, *Joseph and Theresa*, with a cargo of various provisions, returned here on Wednesday evening in 49 days from the Island of Madeira, whence her captain was sent back after having transferred a part of her cargo on board the same [Austrian ship]. The remainder has been brought back to the merchants Otto Francke (Ottofrank) and Co. of Hamburg, as [it would have been] a hindrance to the business as a whole. The said English captain reported that he had left the abovementioned ship at another island of the Canaries beyond Madeira, waiting for a favourable wind, and that both the Commandant and the crew were in the enjoyment of perfect health.

28 December, 1776 (p. 830).

Leghorn, 25 December : The Royal Tuscan Frigate of War, *Etruria*, which has remained disarmed in this harbour since her return from the last voyage made beyond the Straits [of Gibraltar], where she accompanied the Imperial Austrian ship, *Joseph and Theresa*, to which allusion has formerly so frequently been made, has been sent into wet dock.

I

Steps taken in Bombay.

Bombay Diary 16 July 1777.⁵

Signel a Letter to the Governor General and Council [of Fort William], in which We advised them of our having received Intelligence by a Vessel from Delagoa that a Ship under Austrian Colours and with a very rich Cargo had Arrived there and had been run ashore in endeavouring to bring her into the River. That Mr Bolts, formerly on the Bengal Establishment, was principal Owner and Commander of her, under a Commission from the Empress, and had taken in his Cargo at Leghorn and Trieste : that his Associate, Mr Ryan⁶ arrived here on the abovementioned Country [coasting] Vessel, and proceeds on the *Hastings* prow [should be Snow] to Bengal.

Consultation at Bombay Castle, 20 August 1777.⁷

Reperused the Honble. Company's Commands dated the 21st February.

We have already transmitted to the Governor General and Council all the Information

⁵ *Bombay Public Consultations* (1777), XLIV. 287.

⁶ Francis Ryan, one of Bolts' partners.

⁷ *Bombay Public Consultations* (1777), XLIV. 322.

we have gained of the Austrian ship mentioned in the 30th and the following Paragraphs, Copies of which must now be sent to . . . the President and Council at Madras, as it appears thereby that the Ship's Destination was for the Coromandel Coast, tho' by what we have heard it seems doubtful whether she can be got off from the Bar of Delagoa River, where she ran aground.

Letter from the President and Council at Bombay to the President and Council at Fort St. George, dated 28 August 1777.⁸

We enclose an extract from the Honble. Company's commands, dated the 20th February last, and a copy of the paper therein refer'd to. The Ship *Joseph and Theresa* arrived at Delagoa in the month of April last and ran ashore in endeavouring to get into the river. It seems doubtful whether she will be got off, but we think it proper to acquaint you that Mr Ryan, the person mention'd in the extract, arrived here some time agoe in a Country Vessel from Delagoa and took passage from hence in the *Hastings* Snow for your Coast, which Vessel has been forced into Damaun⁹ by stress of weather and we suppose will not be able to proceed on her voyage for some time.

Letter from the Council at Surat to the Governor and Council of Bombay, dated 7 September 1777.¹⁰

Honble. Sir and Sirs, We dispatch this by express Pattamars [*pathmâr*, courier] to your Honor &ca. purposely to advise you of the arrival of an Imperial Austrian Ship, the *Joseph and Theresa*, commanded by Mr William Bolts, Lieutenant Colonel in her Imperial Majesty's Service, last from Delagoa, after a passage of six weeks, which anchored at the Bar the 5th instant in the Evening.

Lieutenant Colonel Bolts arrived at the French Gardens yesterday Evening, and addressed a letter to the Chief [Monsieur Anquetil de Briencourt], Copy of which is now enclosed, with the reply thereto, which we hope will meet your approval [not traced].

Having duly considered the Commands of the Honble. the Court of Directors with respect to this ship, we have desired the Nabob [Nawâb, the Governor] to take effectual Care that the inhabitants in this City, under his protection, have not any commercial or other intercourse with these adventurers, and the Chief will take every Justifiable measure to prevent those under our protection and the powers about this place, and by the influence of the Nabob, the foreign nations resident here, from having any connexion with them.

In the 35th Paragraph of the commands aforementioned, the Honble. the Court of Directors have been pleased to order that if any Subjects of England are on board that vessel, they shall be arrested and sent to England by the first opportunity. But should any land here, from the situation of this Government and the neutrality of this Port, we are led to think that this would be esteemed an unjustifiable Act, And therefore beg leave to be favored with your sentiments thereon.

You will be pleased to remark the particular Claims made by Lieutenant Colonel Bolts in his letter to the Chief, and with respect to which we request your full and explicit orders.

We do not yet know what Cargo she has on board, but shall fully advise you of any particulars that may come to our knowledge respecting this vessel.

⁸ *Bombay Letters Sent*, (1777) LVI. 107-108.

⁹ Damân, old Portuguese settlement on the Gujarât Coast.

¹⁰ *Letters Received at Bombay*, (1777), XLIII.

Extract from a Consultation at Bombay Castle, 16 September 1777.¹¹

The Austrian Ship *Joseph and Theresa*, mentioned by the Honble. Company in their Commands, dated the 21st of February last, having unexpectedly arrived at Surat Bar, The President [William Hornby] still continuing much indisposed, desired Mr Carnac to summon this Meeting to deliberate what Measures to pursue on the Occasion.

The Surat Advices received yesterday were then read, together with the Honble. Companys Commands respecting the Ship, which being taken into consideration, the following Resolutions were Unanimously Agreed to.

We much approve of the Conduct the Chief has hitherto observed with respect to this Ship, and of the Answer He returned to the Application made by Mr Bolts, [not traced] and He must be directed to continue to pursue every justifiable Method to prevent all commercial and other Intercourse with every Person whatever belonging to, or concerned in this Ship, and for that purpose He must likewise make use of the Nabobs Influence.

The Chief and Council must also be instructed to raise every difficulty they legally can to obstruct Mr Bolts from making an Investment of Cotton, or any other kind of goods at Surat, and in this Point also to apply for the Nabobs Assistance.

Neither Mr Bolts or any of the Persons concerned in this Expedition must be permitted to have any intercourse with the Nabob, or any of the Officers of Government.

As the Honble. Company have pronounced that by the Laws of England now in force We have a right to seize all British Subjects who may be found in the East Indies without their Permission, the Chief and Council must be directed to take every consistent Opportunity for putting such Laws into Execution, but to prevent all Mistakes it must be observed to them that We are assured Mr Bolts himself is not a British Subject.

We are inclined to believe that when the Ships Company are apprized of the handsome Bounty Money we give to Recruits, many of them will enter voluntarily, and the Chief and Council must do their utmost to prepare a List of the Ships Crew as well as the Account they have promised of the Cargo.

With respect to the Requisitions made by Mr Bolts of Refreshments for the Sick, and Assistance for the Vessel, Humanity will not permit of our absolutely refusing them. The Chief and Council must not therefore deny them such aid in these Points as may be indispensibly requisite.

Should the Chief and Council be at a Loss on any other Points, they must refer to the Orders We have given respecting Swedish and other Foreign Ships which have at different times resorted to Surat.

Advice must be sent to all the Subordinate Settlements of the arrival of this Ship at Surat, with the most strict directions to prevent by every legal Method any Investments being provided for her within their Jurisdiction, and to carry the Company's Orders respecting her strictly into Execution.

However much We may wish to shew all possible respect to a Commission from so illustrious a Personage as the Empress Queen, We cannot, consistent with the Duty We owe to our Employers and their Orders, shew any distinction to Mr Bolts, who, after having been in their Service, has engaged in Commerce so repugnant to their Interest, and whose former Conduct at Bengal occasioned his being arrested and sent to England by an Act of that Government.

¹¹ *Bombay Public Consultations*, (1777), XLIV. 234-236.

*Letter from the President and Council of Bombay to the Chief
and factors at Broach, dated 18 September 1777.¹²*

Enclosed is an extract from the Honble. Company's commands dated the 21st February to which you will pay strict obedience.

The Austrian Ship therein mentioned having actually arrived at Surat, you are hereby enjoined upon no account to permit of any commercial or other intercourse being carried on with the persons concerned in that ship by any persons whatever under your jurisdiction, and to prevent by every legal method any investment of cotton or any other goods being provided for her in any of the districts subject to your management. In short, you are, as far as in you lies, to carry the Companys orders respecting her strictly into execution.

*Letter from the Council at Surat to the Governor and Council
at Bombay, dated 27 September 1777.¹³*

We dispatch this chiefly to advise you the Imperial Ship left the Bar some days ago for Gogo.¹⁴ Mr Bolts from the impediments he found here, not having been able to transact any business here, we imagine induced him to take this Step. His Cargo consists of Iron, Copper, Steel, Cochineal, Saffron, a large quantity of Ordnance, warlike Stores, some Jewelry and other Articles, amounting to about five (5) Lacs of Rupees, but the former are the principal. The Chief, on his departure, took every measure in his power to prevent Mr Bolts meeting with any Success, thro' his influence with the Nabob, getting him to write suitable Letters to the Rajahs of Bownagur [Bhaunagar in Kâthiâwar] and Gogo, and by advices the Chief has just received, we find Mr Bolts has not hitherto been able to transact any business there.

At the time this Ship was at the Bar, the weather would not permit our Gallivats¹⁵ laying in the road, but we shall do what We possible (*sic*) can to communicate to the Ships Company the gratuity allowed to Rocruits, to induce them to enter into the Company's Service. The other orders you have been pleased to give regarding this Ship will be duly attended to.

*Letter from the Council at Broach to the President and Council
at Bombay, dated 4 October 1777.¹⁶*

We have taken every Precaution to prevent any Subjects of this Government having any Commercial Intercourse with the Austrian Ship mentioned in your Commands of the 11th Ultimo, and shall use our Endeavours to carry the Honble. Company's Orders into Execution. That Vessel has left Surat and is now at Bownagur, the Rajah of which place, it is reported, for the Consideration of 20,000 Rupees, has given free Liberty for the Persons concerned in her, both of Import and Export Trade, without further Duties of any kind. This, We think our Duty to notice to you, altho' We have not sufficient Grounds to mention it as a Certainty.

*Letter from the President and Council of Bombay to the Residents
at Broach, Tellicherry and Anjengo, dated 11 October 1777.¹⁷*

Our Honble. Masters ships, *Rochford*, *Northington*, *Hawke*, arrived here from England the 12th, 13th and 15th August, and enclos'd is an extract of their Commands received by

¹² *Bombay Letters Sent*, (1777) LV1. 115.

¹³ *Letters Received at Bombay*, (1777), XLIII.

¹⁴ Gogâ, old seaport on the Kathiâwâr Coast, near Bhaunagar.

¹⁵ Large rowing boat (Port. *galeota*), derivation uncertain, connected with "galley".

¹⁶ *Letters Received at Bombay*, (1777), XLIII. 321.

¹⁷ *Bombay Letters Sent*, (1777), LV1. 124, 126-127.

those Ships, to which you will pay the most strict attention, and particularly to that respecting the Austrian Ship, the *Joseph and Theresa*, which has since arrived at Surat Bar. You will therefore not only avoid all commercial and other intercourse with these adventurers, but use all your influence and every other legal method to prevent any purchases being made at your Settlement or in the Neighbourhood of any article of investment for that Ship.

*Letter from the Council at Surat to the Governor and Council
of Bombay, dated 17 October 1777.*¹⁸

The Chief is informed that Mr Bolts has not yet been able to sell any part of his cargoe, the Rajah of Bownagur having absolutely forbid the merchants under his protection trading with him, but that he has landed at Gogo Musters [samples] in hopes of disposing of it, and has sent to the Pundit¹⁹ of Amadavad, offering him a present of 25,000 Rs. annually in lieu of customs, provided he will permit him to establish a factory and carry on a trade there. Captain Lofthouse, when he went to the northward, got four men from his vessel, and we hear that Mr Bolts has purchased a small snow from the Portugeze, which they had bought here and sent over to Gogo.

*Consultation at Bombay Castle, 29 October 1777.*²⁰

The President lays before Us Extract of a Letter from the Commander of an English Vessel at Delagoa to his Owners, by which We find Mr Bolts asserts a right to the Sovereignty of that Country by virtue of a Grant from the African King, and has in consequence thereof pulled down the English Colours by force and a house erected by the Captain for the purpose of carrying on his Trade. This Conduct We think excludes Mr Bolts from any right to the least Consideration from this Government and must be duly noticed to the Honble. Company.

Enclosures.

1. Extract of a letter from Captain John Cahill at Delagoa
to his Owners, dated 18 July 1777.

This Letter goes by the Europe Ship that arrived here in March last, belonging to the Empress of Germany [Austria] and commanded by Mr. William Bolts, who is a Lieutenant Colonel in the Imperial Service. He has taken possession of Delagoa since his Arrival for her Imperial Majesty: he has left ten people here and many of his Guns.

One Mr Ryan, who came out on this Ship, is gone Passenger with Captain Burton to Bombay with an intent of freighting two Vessels for this place next Season. I hope you will cross him as much as possible, if you intend carrying on this Trade.

The enclosed is a Copy of a Letter from Mr Bolts to me after he made a Treaty with the Coffree [*Kâfirî*, Kaffir, Caffre, native African] King named Copell²¹ for some Ground, desiring I would haul down an English Jack, which I hoisted on shore of a Sunday on a House that I built. I would not comply with his request, as my Colours were hoisted before his. When he found me positive, he ordered his People to pull the House down and likewise the Colours.

¹⁸ *Letters Received at Bombay, (1777), XLIII, 336.*

¹⁹ Pandit, usually shortened to Pant, Marâthâ title, here applied to the Marâthâ Governor of Ahmadâbâd.

²⁰ *Bombay Public Consultations (1777), XLIV, 464, 476-477.*

²¹ Also called in the correspondence (*infra*) Mohaar Capell.

2. Letter from Mr Bolts to Captain Cahill.

Sir

By virtue of special Powers from my Sovereign, Her Imperial Majesty the Empress Queen of Hungary, &c., &c., I have concluded a Treaty with the Rajah Copell, by which he gives up to Her Majesty for ever the Sovereignty of this River Timbe [Tembi], alias Mafumo, together with all the land within a certain district on the Western side thereof. I therefore hope that you will not take it amiss that I request you, Captain Cahill, will not in future order any Colours to be hoisted on her Majesty's Territory, where none but the Imperial Colours will be permitted. In the mean time, any Ground you may want to build Houses or Banksalls²² on for your Conveniency, will be very readily allowed, subject always to Her Majesty's Sovereignty.

On board the Guiseppe and Teresa, 4th May 1777.

(signed) WILLIAM BOLTS

Bombay Diary 16 November 1777.²³

Received by the Sloop *Leopold* a Letter from Mr. Bolts dated at Gogo, the 31st Ultimo, wherein he complained of the conduct of the Commander of an English vessel at Delagoa and of the treatment he met with at Surat, and put to Us two Queries to which he requested our Answers.

Consultation at Bombay Castle, 18 November 1777.²⁴

Read the Letter received the 16th Instant from Mr William Bolts [see *infra*], to which a Reply must be given to the following purport by the Secretary.

That We cannot in Justice decide upon the Affair at Delagoa until we have called upon Captain Cahill and heard his Account of the matter.

That We cannot consider mere Strangers in India as entitled to the same privilege and attention in our ports as the Nations who have had Establishments and traded in the Country for upwards of a Century and a half by vertue of Royal Grants and Phirmaunds [*farmân*].

That the Company, by Phirmaunds from the Mogul [Mughal Emperor] are Governors of his Castle and fleet at Surat, and as his Allies, must certainly be affected by any Acts offensive to his Government.

Mr Bolts must be further acquainted that, circumstanced as he has been with our Honble. Employers, He must be sensible he can expect no further Countenance or Attention from Us than what the Laws of Hospitality indispensibly require.

Bombay Diary, 19th November 1777.²⁵

The Secretary, by Order, signed a Letter to Mr Bolts exactly agreeable to the Preceding Consultation.

(*To be continued.*)

²² Warehouses, wharves ; derivation uncertain, probably *bankisala*, through Malay *bangsal*.

²³ *Bombay Public Consultations* (1777), XLIV, 489.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 494.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 501.

NEW LIGHT ON THE GUPTA ERA AND MIHIRAKULA.

By K. B. PATHAK.

I propose, in this paper, to determine the starting point of the Gupta era with the help of Jaina authors who preceded Albêrûnî, without relying in any way on the conflicting statements made by that celebrated Muhammadan writer, both as regards the origin and the epoch of the era so well known to the students of Indian epigraphy. I hope to be able to elucidate the problem, which has given rise to so much controversy, with greater precision and accuracy than have attended the efforts of those scholars, who have already discussed this interesting chronological question. There are four important passages in Jaina literature. Of their value as contributions to the study of Indian history it is impossible to speak too highly. The first passage¹ is the one in which Jinasena says that he wrote in Saka 705. This has elicited an interesting discussion and taxed to the utmost the ingenuity and learning of scholars in their attempts to identify the contemporary reigning sovereigns mentioned therein. The second, third and fourth passages are prophetic, in which future events are announced. Some of these events are historical, though they are mixed up with many legendary details. In the second passage² we are told by Jinasena that the Guptas reigned 231 years and were succeeded by Kalkirâja, who reigned 42 years, and that his successor was Ajitañjaya. The third passage³ is the one in which Jinasena's pupil Guṇabhadra says that Kalkirâja was the father and predecessor of Ajitañjaya, that he was a great tyrant who oppressed the world and persecuted the Jaina community of Nirgranthas, and that he reigned 40 years and died at the age of 70. As regards the date of Kalkirâja, we learn from Guṇabhadra that the tyrant was born when one thousand years of the *Dv. samakâla*, commencing from the Nirvâṇa of Mahāvîra, had elapsed, and when there occurred the union of a *saṃvatsara* with Maghâ-nakṣatra, that is to say, when there occurred a Mâgha-saṃvatsara. The fourth⁴ passage, which is an illuminating commentary on the second and third passages, is found in the *Trilokasâra*, in which Nemichandra reproduces some of these details of the story of Kalkirâja, and adds that the Saka king was born when six hundred and five years and five months had passed by from the Nirvâṇa of Mahāvîra, and that king Kalkirâja was born when three hundred and ninety-four years and seven months had gone by from the rise of the Saka king, that is, when three hundred and ninety-four Saka years and seven months had elapsed. If we add 605 years and 5 months to 394 years and 7 months—we get 1000 years, the interval of time, according to Guṇabhadra and Nemichandra, between the Nirvâṇa of Mahāvîra and the birth of Kalkirâja. The most interesting and important point, which is worth noticing here, is the fact that the date of Kalkirâja, who immediately succeeded the Guptas, is given in terms of the Saka era; he was born when 394 Saka years and 7 months had gone by, and when, according to Guṇabhadra, there occurred a Mâgha-saṃvatsara.

Before discussing the historical inferences which these facts suggest, we should know the dates of the three Jaina authors on whose statements we place our reliance. Jinasena wrote in Saka 705. He must have died about Saka 760, the latest date which can be assigned

¹ *Ante*, vol. xv, p. 143.² *Ibid.*³ Given at the end of this paper.⁴ Also given at the end of this paper.

to his unfinished work, the *Ādipurāṇa*; and his pupil Guṇabhadra must have completed his *Uttarapurāṇa* only a few years later.⁵ He was far advanced in years, when after finishing the remaining chapters of the *Ādipurāṇa*, he undertook to write his own portion of the *Mahāpurāṇa*.⁶ And the use of the past tense *आसीत्* with reference to Guṇabhadra in the concluding *prāśasti*⁷, written in the time of his pupil Lokasena, clearly indicates that the former had long been gathered to his fathers by Śaka 820 (A.D. 898). It is obvious, therefore, that he wrote shortly after Śaka 760, in the latter half of the ninth century.

As regards the date of the *Trilokasāra*, we know that its author Nemichandra enjoyed the patronage of Chāmuṇḍarāja (A.D. 778).⁸ This statement is confirmed by Nemichandra himself who, in the concluding *prāśasti* of his *Gomaṭasāra*, *Karmakāṇḍa*, ninth chapter, thus praises Chāmuṇḍarāja—

जमिह गुणा विंसीभा गणहरदेवादि इ धिप ताण ।

सो अजियसेणपाहो जं स गुरु जयउ सो राज ।

[वृत्तिः] गणधरदेवादीनां ऋद्धिप्रामाणां गुणा यस्मिन्विश्रान्ताः सोऽजितसेननाथो यस्य व्रतगुरुः स राजा सर्वार्त्तक्षणेन वर्तताम् ।

सिं धंमुदयत गयणिं मलवरणमिच्छंकरकलिया ।

गुणरत्नभूषणं बुद्धिं महं देवा भरउ भुवनचलं ॥

[वृत्तिः] सिद्धांतोदयाचले उदितनिर्मलवरनेमिचंद्रकिरणैर्वर्धिता गुणरत्नभूषणां बुद्धेश्चामुंडरायसमुद्रस्य मतिवेला भुवनतलं पूरयतु अथवा भुवने अनिशयेन प्रसरतु ।

In his *Purāṇa* completed in Śaka 700 Chāmuṇḍarāja tells us that he was the disciple of Ajitasena and had the title of Guṇaratnabhūṣaṇa. From Sravaṇa Belgola inscriptions, we learn⁹ that Chāmuṇḍarāja was the minister of king Rāchamallaadeva, an ornament of the Gaṅga dynasty, which was uplifted by the sage Siṃhanandin. This was the Gaṅga king Rāchamalla IV who was reigning in A.D. 977.¹⁰ These facts are also alluded to in the Sanskrit commentary on the *Gomaṭasāra*, which opens thus—

श्रीमद्विहितप्रभावस्याद्वादशासनगुहाभ्यंतरनिवासिसिंहायमानसिंहनंदिनंदितांगवंशलालामराजसर्व-
ज्ञाद्यनेकगुणनामधेयभागधेयश्रीमद्राज(च)मल्लदेवमहीवल्लभमहामात्यपक्षविगजमानरणरंगमल्लासहायपराक्र-
मगुणरत्नभूषणसम्यक्स्वरत्ननिलयादिविविधगुणनामसमासाहितकीर्तिक्रान्तश्रीमद्यामुंडरायप्रभावतीर्णकचत्वा-
रिंशत्पदनामसत्त्वप्ररूपणद्वारेणाशेषविनेयजननिकुरंबसंबोधनार्थं श्रीमन्नेमिचंद्रसैत्तुंतश्चक्रवर्ती
इष्टविशिष्टदेवताविशेषं नमस्करांति ।

⁵ See my paper entitled 'Bhartṛihari and Kumārila', *Journal B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 213.

⁶ Compare *Uttarapurāṇa*, chapter 57—

जिनसेनानुगायस्मै पुराणकवये नमः ।

गुणभद्रभदन्ताय लोकसेनाधितान्त्रये ॥

⁷ Compare—

प्रत्यक्षीकृतलक्ष्यलक्षणविधिर्विशेषोपविद्यान्तरान्

सिद्धांताभ्यवसानयानजनितप्रागल्भ्यदृष्टेः शुधीः ।

नानानुनयप्रमाणनिपुणो गण्यैर्गुणैर्भूषितः

शिष्यः श्रीगुणभद्रसूरिरनयोरासीजगद्विभुनः ॥

⁸ Nagar Inscrip. 46, *Epi. Car.* Vol. VIII—

त्रिलोकसारप्रमुख [प्रबन्धान्]

[विरच्य सर्वान्] भुवि नेमिचन्द्रः ।

विभाति सैद्धान्तिकसारवर्धन-

आमुण्डरायार्थितपाठपद्यः ॥

⁹ Mr Rice's *Sravaṇa Belgola Inscriptions*, Introd., p. 34.

¹⁰ Mr. Rice's *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 47.

The Kannaḍa poet Ranna, who adorned the court of the Chālukya king Tailapa II, who was born in A.D. 949 and wrote his *Gadāyuddha* in A.D. 982, had Ajitasena for his teacher and Chāmuṇḍarāja for his patron.¹¹ These facts lead to the conclusion that Nemichandra lived in the latter half of the tenth century. It is thus clear that Jinasena, Guṇabhadra and Nemichandra preceded Albērūnī, who wrote in the first half of the eleventh century.

In order to enable Sanskrit scholars to realise the importance of the facts which Jaina literature holds in store for them, I must repeat here the exact words of Jinasena (*Harivamśa*, chapter 60)—

गुप्तानां च शतद्वयम् ॥

एकविंशच्च वर्षाणि कालविद्धिरुद्वाहृतम् ॥ 487 ॥

द्विचत्वारिंशदेवातः कल्किराजस्य राजता ।

ततोऽजितंजयो राजा म्यादिन्द्रपुरसंस्थितः ॥ 488 ॥

वर्षाणां षट्शतीं त्यक्त्वा पञ्चमां मासपञ्चकम् ।

मुक्तिं गते महावीरे शकराजस्ततोऽभवत् ॥ 552 ॥

Guṇabhadra says that when one thousand years of the *Dussamākāla*, commencing from the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvira, had elapsed Kalkirāja was born. Jinasena says that the Sakarāja was born when 605 years and 5 months had passed by from the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvira. If we subtract 605 years and 5 months from one thousand years, the remainder is 394 years and 7 months. It is thus clear that, according to Jinasena and Guṇabhadra, Kalkirāja was born when 394 years and 7 months had passed by from the birth of the Saka king. Nemichandra says exactly the same thing, when he tells us that, after the lapse of 605 years and 5 months from the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvira, the Saka king was born, and that, after the lapse of 394 years and 7 months from the birth of the Saka king, Kalkirāja was born. Guṇabhadra adds that when 394 years of the Saka era and 7 months more had passed by, there occurred a Māgha-samvatsara—

चतुर्मुखाद्वह्यः कल्की राजाद्वेजिनभूतल ।

उत्पत्स्यते मघासंवत्सरयोगसमागमे ॥

This is a prophecy put into the mouth of Gautama-Gaṇadhara, who says

“There shall be born the king Kalkin, named Chaturmukha, the oppressor of the world, on the occurrence of the union of a *samvatsara* with the Māgha-nakṣatra.” When a *samvatsara* becomes मघानक्षत्रयुक्त, it is named माघसंवत्सर after the *nakṣatra*, the word मघा taking the termination अण् according to the *sūtra* of the *Jainendra Vyākaraṇa*—

गुरुदयात् भाद युक्तोद्दः (iii 2. 5.)

गुरुर्बृहस्पतिः तस्योदयो यस्मिन् नक्षत्रे तद्वाचिनो मृदः भासमर्याद् युक्त इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं त्वां भवति यो युक्तोर्थः स चैवद् स्यात् । गुरुद्वयेन पुण्येन युक्तोद्दः पौषः संवत्सरः । फाल्गुनं वर्षम् । शकटार्णवः चन्द्रिका.

Guṇanandin thus explains the *Jainendra sūtra*—

गुरुर्बृहस्पतिरुच्येति यस्मिन् नक्षत्रे तद्वाचिनो भासमर्यात् युक्त इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं त्वां भवति योऽसौ युक्तः स चैवद् संवत्सरः स्यात् । इत्यण् । एरित्यखम् (iv. 4. 150) नैष पौषं मे (iv. 4. 157)¹² इति यखम् । पौषः संवत्सरः पौषं वर्षम् । एषं-फाल्गुनः संवत्सरः फाल्गुनं वर्षम् । *Jainendra prakriyā*, part ii, p. 162, Benares ed.

¹¹ *Karṇāṭka-kavi-charita*, p. 54.

¹² Cf. also व्यस्येति च, *Pāṇini* vi, 4, 148, and निष्पुण्ययानं भवति, *Vārtika on Pāṇini*, vi. 4. 149.

Hemachandra, who owes his explanation to Śākaṭāyana, says—

उदितगुरोर्भाद्युक्तेष्वे (ii 2. 5.)

उदितो गुरुर्बृहस्पतिर्बस्मिन् भे नक्षत्रे तद्भाषिनस्तृतीयान्ताद् युक्तेऽर्थे यथावाहितं प्रत्ययो भवति सचेद्युक्तो-
र्थोऽयः संवत्सरः स्वात् । पुष्येणोदितगुरुणा युक्तं वर्षं पौषं वर्षम् । फल्गुनीभिरुदितगुरुभिर्युक्तः फल्गुनः
संवत्सरः । उदितगुरोरिति किम् । उदितघनैश्चरेण पुष्येण युक्तं वर्षमित्यत्र न भवति । भाविति किम् ।
उदितगुरुणा पूर्वरात्रेण युक्तं वर्षम् । अहर् इति किम् । मासे द्विसे वा न भवति ।

From the Jaina grammatical *sūtras* and commentaries cited above it is obvious that Guṇabhadra's expression मघासंवत्सरयोगसमागमे means "on the occurrence (समागमे) of the union (योग) of मघा[नक्षत्र] and a संवत्सर: that is to say, मघाभिर्युक्तः संवत्सरः माघः. The word माघ, in the sense of a Māgha-saivatsara, is formed from मघा, which takes the instrumental case, by the suffix अण्; the आ of मघा, being elided, is replaced by अ of the suffix अण्, while अ, the first vowel in मघा, undergoes वृद्धि. We have thus the expression माघसंवत्सर. This is the teaching of Pūjyapāda, Śākaṭāyana, Hemacandra and Guṇanandin.

The occurrence of a Māgha-saivatsara in purely literary records, apart from early inscriptions and astronomical works, is of unique interest; and its supreme importance from a chronological point of view we shall now proceed to show.

We have seen that 394 Śaka years and 7 months had elapsed at the birth of Kalkirāja. The seven months completed belong to the current Śaka year 395. The first day of the eighth month, Kārttika śukla 1, was the day on which Kalkirāja was born, since a Śaka year commences with Chaitra śukla 1. The year that is actually mentioned by the Jaina writers is the expired Śaka year 394. Let us convert this into an expired Vikrama year by the addition of 135 according to the rule—

स एव पञ्चमिकुभिर्युक्तः स्याद्विक्रमस्य हि ।

रेवाया उत्तरं तीरे संवत्सारेतिविश्रुतः ॥ २ ॥ Jyotiṣasāra.

The result is¹³ the Vikrama year (394 + 135 =) 529 expired. This expired Vikrama year is identical with the expired Mālava year 529, given as the second and later date in the Mandasor Inscription of Kumāragupta I and his feudatory Bandhuvarman and is expressed¹⁴ in the following words—

वत्सरघातेषु पंचसु विशत्य(विशत्य)धिकं नवसु चाष्टेषु ।

यातेष्वभिरम्यतपम्यमासशुक्लद्वितीयायां ॥

Vikrama Samvat 529 expired, Phālguna śukla 2

Hence it is clear that the Mālava era is the same as the Vikrama era of 57. B.C. In order to elucidate the point further, the expired Śaka year 394 may be first converted into the corresponding Christian year by adding 78 thus—394 + 78 = 472 A.D.; and then this Christian year 472 can be converted into the Mālava year 529 by adding 57; thus, 472 + 57 = 529, 472 = 529 - 57, or 394 + 78 = 529 - 57 = A.D. 472.

It is thus evident that the Mālava era is the era of 57 B.C., which is known to us as the Vikrama Samvat.

¹³ पञ्चमि=135; अमि=3, कु=1. अंकाणां वामतो गतिः ।

¹⁴ Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 83; ante, vol. XV, p. 198

The first year in the same inscription, which is 36 years earlier, is the Vikrama year 493 expired, Pauśa śukla 13—

मालवानां गणस्थित्या याते शतचतुष्टये ।
विनवत्यधिकेब्दानां रि(क्त)तौ सव्यचनस्वने ॥
सहस्यमासद्युद्धस्य प्रशस्तेहि जयोद्देशे ।

If we subtract 135 from Vikrama year 493 expired, we get Śaka 358 expired. It is there fore evident that Kumāragupta I, with his feudatory Bandhuvarman, was reigning in Śaka 358 expired, exactly 36 years before the birth of Kalkirāja in Śaka 394 expired. The year Śaka 394 expired is a Māgha-saṁvatsara. I give below four Śaka years with corresponding cyclic years beginning with this Māgha-saṁvatsara of Śaka 394 expired, according to the rule¹⁵ of Varāhamihira—

Śaka 394	expired	Māgha-saṁvatsara
„ 395	„	Phālguna-saṁvatsara
„ 396	„	Chaitra-saṁvatsara
„ 397	„	Vaiśākha-saṁvatsara

The date given in the Khoh grant of Parivrajaka Mahārāja Hastin is Gupta-saṁvat 156, which is specified¹⁶ as a Mahā-Vaiśākha-saṁvatsara—

षट्पञ्चाशोत्तरेऽब्दशते गुप्तनृपराज्यभुक्तौ महावैशाखसंवत्सरे कार्तिकमासद्युद्धप्रभटतीयायाम् ।

The four Śaka years with corresponding cyclic and Gupta years are exhibited in the following table ; that the Gupta years are expired will be proved further on—

Śaka 394	expired	=	Māgha-saṁvatsara	=	Gupta 153	expired.
„ 395	„	=	Phālguna	„	=	„ 154 „
„ 396	„	=	Chaitra	„	=	„ 155 „
„ 397	„	=	Vaiśākha	„	=	„ 156 „

It will be evident from the foregoing table that Gupta years can be converted into equivalent Śaka years by the addition of 241, in as much as each of the four equations stated above gives us a difference of 241. Kumāragupta I, with his feudatory Bandhuvarman, was thus reigning in Śaka 358, corresponding to Gupta-saṁvat 117¹⁷ and to Vikrama year 493—

Śaka 358=Gupta-saṁvat 117=Mālava or Vikrama 493.

And Kalkirāja was born 36 years later in Śaka 394, corresponding to Gupta-saṁvat 153 and to Vikrama year 529—

Śaka 394=Gupta saṁvat 153=Mālava or Vikrama 529.

It is worth noting that the birth of Kalkirāja took place only 5 years later than the latest date recorded for Skandagupta—Gupta-saṁvat¹⁸ 148, equivalent to Śaka 389,—and only one year earlier than the date¹⁹ of his son, Kumāragupta II,—Gupta-saṁvat 154, equivalent to Śaka 395.

वर्षशते गुप्तानां सप्ततुःपञ्चाशदुत्तरे भूमिम् ।
शासति कुमारगुप्ते मासे ज्येष्ठे द्वितीयायाम् ॥

¹⁵ Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, Appendix III, p. 161.

¹⁶ *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 95.

¹⁷ Bharadi inscription, *A. S. Progr. Rep. N. C.* 1907-8, p. 39. Valabhi is only another name of the Gupta era, see p. 295.

¹⁸ V. Smith's *Early History of India*, 3rd ed., p. 327.

¹⁹ *Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle*, 1915, p. 6.

That the Gupta year mentioned in this inscription, as well as the one mentioned in the Khoh grant of Mahârâja Hastin, referred to above is to be taken as expired is evident from the following inscription of Budhagupta,²⁰ Gupta-saṁvat 157 expired—

गुप्तानां समतिक्रान्ते सप्तपञ्चाशदुत्तरे ।
शते समानां प्रथिवीं बुधगुप्ते प्रशासति ॥

The general conclusion is that all the Gupta years including those given in the above table must be taken as expired.

This point can be further cleared up by a comparison of the five corresponding years of the Vikrama, Śaka and Gupta eras exhibited in the following table—

Mâlava or Vikrama.	Śaka.	Gupta.
529 expired	394 expired	153
530 „	395 „	154
531 „	396 „	155
532 „	397 „	156
533 expired	398 expired	157 expired.

The Gupta year 157 is specified as an expired year in the inscription of Budhagupta which has been quoted above. The difference between the expired Śaka year 398 and the expired Gupta year 157 is 241. The difference between the Śaka year 394 and the Gupta year 153 is also 241. The Śaka year 394 is known to be expired ; therefore the Gupta year 153 must be taken as expired. The conclusion that forces itself upon us is that all the Gupta years mentioned in inscriptions are expired years and can be converted into corresponding expired Śaka years by the addition of 241.

We have here established five uniform equations between expired Gupta and expired Śaka years, with a difference of 241 in each case. The last equation is most important.

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Expired} \\ \text{Gupta year} \end{array} \right\} 157=398 \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Expired} \\ \text{Śaka year.} \end{array} \right.$$

This date of Budhagupta inscribed on two Buddha images is thus expressed ²¹—“When the year one hundred and fifty-seven of the Guptas had expired, on the 7th day of the month Vaiśākha while Budhagupta is ruling the earth.” The 7th of Vaiśākha belongs to the current Gupta year 158 corresponding to the current Śaka year 399 .

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Current} \\ \text{Gupta year} \end{array} \right\} 158=399 \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Current} \\ \text{Śaka year.} \end{array} \right.$$

Thus the difference between current Gupta and current Śaka years is also 241, the same as the difference between expired Gupta and expired Śaka years. Now the Sârṇath date of Budhagupta, expired Gupta year 157, is only 8 years earlier than the date of the same Gupta king given²² in the Eran pillar inscription—

शते पञ्चषष्ट्यधिके वर्षाणां भूपते च बुधगुप्ते ।
आषाढमासशु[क्ल]द्वादश्यां सुरगुरोर्विवसे ॥

The date is “in the year 165, on the 12th day of the bright half of Āṣāḍha, on Thursday.” We are now in a position to explain this date thus—

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Expired} \\ \text{Gupta year} \end{array} \right\} 165=406 \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Expired} \\ \text{Śaka year.} \end{array} \right.$$

²⁰ *Ibid*, p. 7.

²¹ *Ibid*, p. 7.

²² *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 80.

"The 12th day of the bright half of Āshāḍha and Thursday" belong to the current Gupta year 166 corresponding to the current Śaka year 407—

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Current} \\ \text{Gupta year} \end{array} \right\} 166 = 407 \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{Current} \\ \text{Śaka year.} \end{array}$$

Here we cannot take the expired Gupta year 165 as current and make it correspond with the current Śaka year 407 as, in that case, the difference between 165 and 407 would be 242, instead of 241 as required by the statements of the Jaina authorities and the Sārnath inscription of Budhagupta thus—

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{Expired} \\ \text{Gupta year} \end{array} \quad \rightarrow (a) \ 165 = (b) \ 406 \leftarrow \begin{array}{l} \text{Expired} \\ \text{Śaka year.} \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{Current} \\ \text{Gupta year} \end{array} \quad \left\{ (c) \ 166 = (d) \ 407 \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{Current} \\ \text{Śaka year.} \end{array}$$

A second reason for not making the Gupta year 165 correspond with the Śaka year 407 is that from our established equation—

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{Expired} \\ \text{Gupta year} \end{array} \quad 157 = 398 \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Expired} \\ \text{Śaka year.} \end{array} \right.$$

it is evident that the Gupta year 165 is 8 years later than the Gupta year 157, while the Śaka year 407 is 9 years later than the corresponding Śaka year 398. A careful consideration of these facts leads to the conclusion that expired or current Gupta years can be converted into corresponding expired or current Śaka years by adding 241.

The date in the pillar inscription of Budhagupta has been the subject of calculation and controversy for more than half a century. Many scholars have attempted to interpret this date by the statements of Albêrûnî, which were admitted on all hands to be conflicting. It may therefore be interesting to point out how many statements of this celebrated Muhammadan writer can now be accepted as correct. He says²³ that the era of Ballaba is subsequent to that of Śaka by 241 years. The era of the Guptas also commences the year 241 of the era of Śaka. Then he mentions the year 1088 of the era of Vikramāditya, the year 953 of the era of Śaka, the year 712 of the era of Ballaba and of that of the Guptas, as equivalent years. These statements are reliable, as they are in agreement with our equation thus—

Mâlava or			
Vikrama		Śaka	Gupta
(a) 529	=	394	= 153
(b) 1088	=	953	= 712
559		559	559

The difference between Mâlava 529 and Śaka 394 is 135; that between Vikrama 1088 and Śaka 953 is also 135; the difference between Śaka 394 and Gupta 153 is 241; and that between Śaka 953 and Gupta-Valabhî 712 is also 241; the difference between the Mâlava year 529 and the Gupta year 153 is 376; and the difference between the Vikrama 1088 and the Gupta-Valabhî year 712 is also 376. It is also interesting to note that from the year of the birth of Kalkirāja in Śaka 394 or Gupta year 153, when the Gupta empire was still enduring, to the year A.D. 1031-32 to which Albêrûnî refers as his gauge-year, 559 years had elapsed.²⁴ So that his equation (b) is as accurate as if it had been formed by adding 559 to each of the equivalent years of the three eras in our own equation (a).

²³ *Gupta Inscriptions*, Intro., p. 23 f.

Ante, vol. xvii, p. 213, n. 1.

An interesting peculiarity of the years of the Mālava era deserves to be noticed here. The second date in the Mandasor inscription of Kumāragupta I and Bandhuvarman is the Mālava year 529 expired, Phālguna śukla 2. The equivalent Śaka year is 394 expired. Deduct 394 from our present Śaka year 1839 in Western India. The result is 1445. Add 1445 to 529; the result is 1974. This will be our Mālava or Vikrama year on Phālguna śukla 2 next (April 14, 1918) in Western India. This is true according to our almanac. Let us now turn to the Mandasor inscription²⁵ of Yaśodharman, where the expired Mālava year 589 with the season of Vasanta is thus mentioned—

पञ्चसु शतेषु शतदां यातेष्वेकान्नवतिसहस्रेषु ।
 मालवगणस्थितिवशात्कालज्ञानाय लिखितेषु ॥
 यस्मिन्काले कलमृगुरां कोकिलानां प्रलापा
 भिन्दन्तीव स्मरशरानिभाः प्रीषितानां मनांसि ॥
 भृङ्गालीनां ध्वनिरनुरतं भारमन्द्रश्च यस्मि-
 न्नाधूतज्यं धनुरिव नवच्छूयते पुष्पकेतोः ॥
 प्रियसमकुपितानां रामयन्बद्धरागं
 किसलयमिव मुग्धं मानसं मानिनीनां ।
 उपनयति नभस्त्वान्मानभङ्गाय यस्मि-
 न्कुसुमसमयमासे तत्र निर्मापितोयम् ॥

Here the date is the वसन्त, i.e. चैत्र and वैशाख of the expired Mālava year 589, कुसुमसमय or पुष्पसमय being synonymous with वसन्त (Amara I, 3.18). To-day is अक्षयतृतीया, i.e. वैशाख शुक्ल ३ of the Śaka year 1839 (April 24, 1917) in Western India. The expired Mālava year 589 is 60 years later than the expired Mālava year 529. Add 60 to the expired Śaka 394. The result is the expired Śaka 454 corresponding to Mālava 589. Now deduct 454 from our present Śaka year 1839; the remainder is 1385. Add 589 to 1385 and we get Mālava year 1974 corresponding to our present Śaka year on अक्षयतृतीया. But our Vikrama-samvat today is 1973 because it is कार्तिकदि and will be found to be identical with the Mālava year 1974 on our next Phālguna śukla 2, as has been shown above. This may be illustrated by the following diagram—

Expired Mālava		Expired Saka		Expired Mālava		Expired Saka	
	529	=	394		529	=	394
		+ 60 years				फाल्गुन शु. २	
Mālava	589	=	Saka				
		वसंत	454				
		+ 1385 years				+ 1445 years	
Mālava	1974	} = {	Saka	Mālava	1974	} ²⁶ {	Saka expired
Vikrama samvat }	1973			Vikrama samvat }	1974		
		वसंत	1839			फाल्गुन शु. २.	1839
		अश्वयुजीया					

The conclusion that is forced upon us is that the years of the Mâlava era in the times of the Guptas and the Hûnas were Chaitrâdi Vikrama years. This will enable us to refute the opinion of Dr. Kielhorn²⁷ who, while admitting that the Vikrama era was called Mâlava, says: "The Vikrama era was Kârttikâdi from the beginning, and it is probable that the change which has gradually taken place in the direction of a more general use of the Caitrâdi year was owing to the increasing growth and influence of the Śaka era." This erroneous view is also shared by Dr. Fleet²⁸ who says: "It can hardly be doubted that the original scheme of the Vikrama years is the one commencing with the first day of the bright half of Kârttika (October—November)."

The fact that the years of the Mâlava era are Chaitrâdi is most important. It will enable us not only to establish the absolute identity of the Gupta era with the Valabhî era, but also to ascertain the exact difference between the years of the Gupta era and of the Mâlava era on the one hand, and those of the Śaka era on the other. The date of Col. Tod's Verâwal²⁹ inscription is Vikrama-saṃvat 1320 and Valabhî-saṃvat 945, Âṣāḍha vadi 13 Ravi. From Diwan Bahadur Pillai's *Indian Chronology*, Table x, p. 92, we learn that Âṣāḍha vadi Ravivâra falls in Śaka 1186 corresponding to Caitrâdi Vikrama 1321, and is Sunday, 25th May 1264, according to the Christian era. The Vikrama year 1320 mentioned in this inscription as equivalent to Valabhî saṃvat 945 is thus southern and Kârttikâdi; therefore the corresponding Chaitrâdi Vikrama year or Mâlava year is 1321. We thus get the following equation—

	Śaka		Mâlava		Valabhî
(a)	1186	=	1321	=	945

By deducting 792 from the above we get the next equation—

	Śaka		Mâlava		Valabhî
(b)	394	=	529	=	153

By deducting 36 from (b) we get the following equation—

	Śaka		Mâlava		Valabhî
(c)	358		493		117

We know³⁰ that Kumârâgupta I was reigning in Gupta-saṃvat 117, which is thus identical with the Valabhî year 117. The last equation also proves that the exact difference between the Gupta and Śaka years is 241; while that between the Mâlava and Gupta years is 376. Here our argument is based on Col. Tod's Verâwal inscription. This argument is easier to understand than that which is founded on the Mâgha-saṃvatsara of Śaka 394 expired, and which presupposes a knowledge of the grammatical *sûtras* of Pûjyapâda and Śâkaçâyana. The conclusion arrived at by these two independent lines of argument is the same, namely, that the difference between Gupta and Śaka years is 241. We have also demonstrated that the difference between current Gupta years and current Śaka years is 241. Thus—

Expired Gupta 157 = 398 Śaka expired.

Current Gupta 158 = 399 Śaka current.

²⁷ *Ante*, vol. xx, p. 328 ff.

²⁸ *Gupta Inscriptions*, Intro. p. 66 f., n. 2.

²⁹ *Gupta Inscriptions*, Intro. p. 85.

³⁰ *A. S. Progr. Rep. N. G.* 1907-08, p. 39; *Ep. Ind.*, vol. x, p. 70.

It is of importance to note that in converting a Gupta-Valabhî year into its Śaka equivalent, it is not necessary to know beforehand whether the Gupta-Valabhî year is expired or current. If the resulting Śaka is expired, the Gupta-Valabhî year must be expired. On the other hand, if the Śaka year is current, the corresponding Gupta-Valabhî year must also be current. These observations can be illustrated by the Kaira grant of Valabhî-samvat 330 and by the Verâwal inscription of Valabhî-samvat 927. The date in the Kaira grant is thus expressed³¹—

Samâ. 300 30 dvi-Mârgaśīra śu. 2.

Here the Valabhî year 330 can be converted into Śaka 571 by adding 241. The exact date is अधिकमार्गशर्षि शुक्ल २. On referring to Hindu Tables we find that the intercalary Mârgaśīrṣa actually falls in Śaka 571. This Śaka year is therefore current and equivalent to Valabhî 330. Our equation is thus—

Current Valabhî 330 = 571 Śaka current.

The date of the Verâwal inscription of Valabhî-samvat 927 is thus expressed³²—

Śrīmad-Valabhî samvat 927 Phālguna Śu. 2 Sau (Sô) mē. By adding 241 to 927 we get the following equation

Valabhî 927 = 1168 Śaka.

By astronomical calculations the late Mr. S. B. Dikshit arrived at Śaka 1167 expired as the equivalent year. Therefore the current Śaka year is 1168, which corresponds to current Valabhî 927. Our equation therefore is—

Current Valabhî 927 = 1168 Śaka current.

These two records dated in current Valabhî years are most important and interesting— as they amply refute the erroneous theory of Dr. Fleet that the running difference between current Gupta-Valabhî years and current Śaka years is 242. Nor can we accept as correct his opinion that the two Vikrama years 706 and 1303 are southern and the nominal equivalents of the current Valabhî years 330 and 927 respectively. For, on a comparison with the following equations—

Śaka		Mâlava		Gupta-Valabhî
394	=	529	=	153
571	=	706	=	330
1168	=	1303	=	927

It is obvious that these Vikrama years are Mâlava or Caitrâdi and the real equivalents of the two Valabhî years, and do not differ from southern Vikrama years, because they are coupled with the months of Mârgaśīrṣa and Phālguna in these inscriptions.

On the other hand the year 386, which is the date in the Nepal inscription of Mânadeva, is expired, because it can be converted into expired Śaka 627 by adding 241, and does not correspond to current Śaka 628, as maintained by Dr. Fleet.³³

Alhêrûnî's first statement that Gupta or Valabhî years can be converted into Śaka years by adding 241 was perfectly accurate. [But it was invalidated by a second statement which he made to the effect that the Gupta era dated from the extermination of the Guptas. This led many scholars to discredit his statements entirely.

(To be continued.)

³¹ *Gupta Inscriptions*, Intro. p. 93.

³² *Gupta Inscriptions*, Intro. p. 91.

³³ *Ibid*, p. 95 ff.

THE WIDE SOUND OF E AND O WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO GUJARATI.

BY N. B. DIVATIA, B.A.; BANDRA.

IN an appendix to his article on the "Proposed Bardic and Historical Survey of Rajputāna" ¹ Dr. Tessitori has done me the honor of mentioning my theory on the subject mentioned at the head of this article, and very courteously advanced certain reasons for disagreeing with me. My theory is that the vocalic groups, अइ and अउ pass through an intermediate step—अय and अव (eventually अय् and अव्)—before assuming the wide sounds ई and औ. Dr. Tessitori holds that this intermediate step does not play any part, and that the अइ and अउ sounds undergo a process of contraction through suppression of the *hiatus*, the only intermediate step thereafter being that of the diphthongal forms ऐ and औ.

His reasons for differing from me are put under three heads. I shall deal with each one serially :—

(1) There are no instances of अइ—अउ of O. W. Rājasthāni having changed to अय—अव. The examples quoted by me—वयर from वइर, वयरागी from वइरागी and पयसार from पइसार are disposed of by Dr. Tessitori by stating

(a) that O. W. Rājasthāni MSS. often write य for इ; and

(b) that वयर and वयरागी are *tatsamas* ² (meaning thereby Prākṛit words used unchanged in O. W. Rāj.), and that the अय in them may be a corruption of Sanskrit ऐ instead of a modification of O. W. Rāj. अइ.

My answer to this is as under :

In the first place I take my stand on the broad basis of the general principle that, when unaccented, medial इ and उ are respectively changed to य and व during their transit into Gujarāṭi. This will include cases of such इ and उ preceded by अ as well as by other vowels. I therefore do not see why the issue should be confined to the इ and उ of अइ and अउ. Necessarily, instances under this restricted class will be fewer.³ But if instances can be shown to prove the operation of this change over a wider field, that very fact should strengthen the case of अइ and अउ passing into अय and अव. The following, then, are some instances to prove this general principle :—

Sanskrit.	Prākṛ. or Apabhṛ.	O. W. Rāj. or Gujarāṭi.
कोकिलः	कोइलु	कौयल
	पइअं (<i>Deśya</i>)	पयअं
	पइसार	पयसार
वेरं	वइरु	वयर
वेरागी	वइरागी	वयरागी
उपविष्टकः	उवइइउ-वइउउ	वयउउ

¹ JBAS. N. S. XII, 1916.

² The liberty taken with the recognized nomenclature in extending the meaning of *tatsama* to Prākṛit words that have undergone no change in transit from Prākṛit to O. W. Rāj. may at first sight strike one as a little bold. But this is another instance of Dr. Tessitori's happy choice of names, (the first one being the name O. W. Rājasthāni); for it accounts, in a single suggestive word, for the use of pure Prākṛit words in later old Gujarāṭi works, just as we should and do use Sanskrit *tatsamas* in our present-day Gujarāṭi; thus explaining the apparent anomaly of older Prākṛit words appearing side by side with words of later evolution in the old Gujarāṭi works I speak of.

³ For a further restriction see Appendix A.

Sanskrit.	Prākṛ. or Apabhṛ.	O. W. Rāj. or Gujarāti.
प्रविष्टकः	पहड़-पहड़	पबड
देवकुलं	देउलं, देउलु	देवळ (Guj.)
भधुना	भडुणा-हडणा	हवणां (हवणां) (Guj.)
आकुलकः	वाउलउ	बावरो (ग्हावरी) (Guj.)
	बाउली (Deśya)	बावली
आयुष्यकं	आऊखउं—आउखउं	आवखुं (Guj.)
मातृका	माउडी	मावडी (Guj.)
मातरः	माउरउ	मावरी (Guj.)
	(possible Apabhṛ.)	
पाहुका	पाउडी	पावडी (Guj.)
गौरी	गउरी	गवरी (Guj.—at the end of proper names, e. g., चंदागवरी, &c.)
	देसाउर	देशावर
नूपुरं	नेउरु	नेवर (Guj.—the fetlocks of a horse, “नेवर भयडाबळे”)
नाथककः	नाहलउ-नाउलउ	नावलो (Guj.) ⁴

(The practice of sometimes writing ववथा for चौथा in Marāṭhi may be noted as throwing an incidental light on this process.)

The principle of anti-samprasāraṇa operates over a larger sphere, for, not confined to medial इ and उ, it even affects final इ and उ in cases like the following :—

Prākṛit.	Apabhṛ., or O. W. Rāj.	Gujarāti.
	याइ	थाय
	जाइ	जाय
	खाइ	खाय
(पाइः)	पाआं—पाउ	पाव Hindi
(घातः)	घाआं—घाउ	घाव „
(ततः)	तउ	तव

⁴ वयर, वयरागी and पयसार are cited by Dr. Tessitori himself. I also find वयर in *Vimala Prabandha* (V. S. 1568), Khandā V. st. 25, *Gautama Rāsa* (V. S. 1412), st. 17; विवरी (=वयरी=वैरी) in a translation of *Bhuvanadīpa* (V. S. 1557) *Gujarāta Śālitā Patra*, March, 1910, p. 115, which has also विरी at p. 116, and विर at p. 112; वयरागी in the *Gautama Rāsa*, st. 35; वयडउ in *Sanghapati Samarasinha Rāsa* (V. S. 1471); also in *Vaiṭāṭa Panchaviṣi*, Prose, (about V. S. 1620), P. 88, वयटु at p. 100, वयडउ at p. 104; पयडा at p. 136; पयडउ in *Gautama Rāsa*, st. 9; गवरी in *Sudayavatsavitra charitra* (about the beginning of the 16th century of the Vikrama era); गिवरी in *Karpūramanjari chaupai* (V. S. 1605; also in Janārdana's *Ushāharaṇa* (V. S. 1548), V. 10, 1; also गवरी in “the song of Jasavanta Sonigaro” (V. S. 1670 or thereafter); extract given by Dr. Tessitori in his article under notice, p. 83; देसाउर in *Kānhaṭṭac-Prabandha* (V. S. 1512), IV, 12; also in *Vimala-prabandha*, I, 69; and in *Vaiṭāṭa-panchaviṣi* (poem, V. S. 1619), p. 3, st. 24, also p. 62, st. 646. Dr. Tessitori cites (Notes § 57 (3)) *āṅkhuṣi*, (आऊखुं) as occurring in Avachūri to *Daśavaikāṭikāsātra*, VIII, 34. The shortening of the ऊ as a next step is not unusual.

Further, ड्यहां, त्यहां, क्यहां from जिहां, तिहां, किहां; ड्यम, त्यम, क्यम from जिम, तिम, किम; and similar instances (गोव्यंशे for गोविंदी and म्यली for मिली)⁵ point to a still wider field of operation of the anti-samprasāraṇa process; and it also manifests itself in the final इ preceded by consonants, as in

आंख्य	from	अंख्य	—	अंखि
गंअ	from	गंटी	—	गन्थि:
बान्य	from	बही	—	बत्ति:
गोरय	from	गवरी	—	गौरी
जात्य	from	जाली	—	जाति:

and the like.

The list of words given above will show that the change of अइ to अय is not confined to वयर, वयरागी and पयसार, but extends over a larger, though necessarily limited, field. All I intended was to indicate the tendency, and leave other cases of wide è and ò to be explained by that process, whether actual change to अय in their case was found or not in writing, by a reasonable inference of its operation.⁶

To take (b) in the first objection first :—

I do not think वयर and वयरागी can be found in any Prākṛit grammar or work. These always recognize अइ and अउ, अय and अव (as evolutes of अइ and अउ) having come into use at a very late stage even in O. W. Rājasthānī. One would rather say that वहर and वहरागी are *tatsamas* and वयर and वयरागी are *tadbhavas*. Again, to say that अय (and अव) may in these cases be a corruption of Sanskrit ऐ (and औ) is hardly supported by Prākṛit grammar. Hemachandra notes the change of ऐ to ए, इ and अइ (as also that of औ to औ, उ and अउ), but he nowhere speaks of अय (and अव) as evolutes of ऐ (and औ), nor are they found in Prākṛit works, so far as I know. True, Dr. Tessitori has simply advanced a conjecture; but such a conjecture has hardly any basis, either in the grammatical or literary works in Prākṛit; nor are there any grounds for going behind Hemachandra and reading into his *sūtras* any such phonetic tendency, as may fairly be permitted by critical canons.

Now, as regards (a),—it is essential to know specifically the conditions under which O. W. Rājasthānī manuscripts write य for इ (and, as Dr. Tessitori states further on, व for उ): Is it in the case of initial, medial or final इ or उ? Is it when they are accented or unaccented? or, is this substitution of य (and व) for इ (and उ) dependent, like the spelling with a *w* or a *v* in Sam Weller's name, on the taste and inclination of the writer? Again, are those

⁵ I find गोव्यंशे in a poem of Padmanābha copied in V. S. 1715 (see *Gujarāt-Sātā-Patra*, XII, May, article by Mr. Chhagunlal V. Rāvaḷa); and गोव्यंशे in *Vaiṭālu-paṇchariṅī* (poem), p. 178; म्यली in Bhālana's *Kādambarī*, pūrvabhāga, p. 81, l. 16; p. 83, l. 13; and p. 102, l. 20.

This substitution of य for इ is not to be mistaken as a vagary of the scribes. Even now in Gujarāt ladies of the old generation amongst Vāḷanagarā Nāgaras and residents of Karnāli in Baroda State have this tendency to substitute य for इ in pronouncing words of this kind, e. g., त्यल for तिल, म्यरी for मिरि (मरी); and the like.

⁶ The genesis of प्रतिसंप्रसारण (anti-samprasāraṇa) may be this: when the इ-उ find themselves in a subordinate position they seek, as it were, some support for self-preservation, and an adventitious अ steps in to furnish such support, resulting in the usual *sandhi* process इ+अ=य and उ+अ=व. Pāṇini's rule, इको यणचि operates here; this rule is practically the opposite of इग्यणः संप्रसारणम्; the change of यण् to इक् being called संप्रसारण (samprasāraṇa), that of इक् to यण् may well be termed प्रतिसंप्रसारण (prati-samprasāraṇa) or anti-samprasāraṇa.

vowels and semi-vowels interchangeable in writing like **अ** and **इ** and **ए** and **उ**? In the absence of this detailed information, I shall assume that this tendency of writing **अ**, **इ** for **इ**, **उ** must have been noticed in occasional⁷ cases which Dr. Tessitori has not been able to reduce to any rule; and I shall proceed to point out instances where I discover some method in the madness of the scribe. Thus, I find **इ** written almost invariably in Bhālāṇa's *Kādambari*⁸ (about V. S. 1550), while **अ** is written only in rare cases for **इ**, and where **अ** is intended to be sounded, and not **इ**.

जाय Page 1, line 12. Here the word rhymes with **उपाय** and this at once shows that **अ** is intended and not **इ**.

Whereas **जाइ** at Page 1, line 14. Here **इ** is lengthened in reading and therefore cannot be changed into **अ**.

थाय Page 83, line 3. Where it rhymes with **काय**, and therefore intends a **अ** sound.

जाय Page 83, line 5.

ढेलाय Ditto.

जाइ Page 77, line 5.

विइ Page 85, line 2, also line 23 }

हिइ Ditto line 5 } Here even **वाये** and **हिये** are written with an **इ**.

जाय Page 164, line 14, where it rhymes with **काय**.

थाय Page 165, line 8, rhyming with **काय**.

थाइ Ditto line 14.

थाइ Ditto line 20 "स्त्रीनूँ अपलपणू थाइ तिहां" where **इ** is short and yet it is not even altered to **अ**; here was a suitable occasion for the play of the scribe's tendency to write **अ** for **इ**.

जणाइ Page 165, line 21. Here **इ** is lengthened.

(The year of copy of the manuscript is V. S. 1672.)

I take up *Gautama Rāsa* (V. S. 1412) and find the following:—

निश्चइ, st. 5; **गडरि**, st. 5; **पंचसय**, st. 6; **बइडड**, st. 7; **पयइड** (? **पयडड**), st. 9; **चउसडि** st. 11; **तड**, st. 14, 18, 20, etc.; **कउसीसो**, st. 17; **बयर** st. 17; **बयरागी**, st. 35; **उवझाइ**, st. 43; **कवण** st. 44.

(The work concludes thus:—

चउइइ सय बारोतर बरिसिहि
खंभनयारि सिरिपासपसाहि (? **इ**)
गोयमगणहर केवल दिवसिहिं
कियउं कविउ डपगार परो).

Mādhavānala Kathā (V. S. 1574, copied V. S. 1693) shows:—

कोइल (not **कोबल**), v. 190, **हइडइ** (not **हयडइ**), v. 203.

Ushāharāṇa by Janārdana (V. S. 1548) shows:—

गाबसिइ (for **गाइसिइ**).

बइडो; **पइसइ**; **कवण-कुण**; **पनउसी**; **थाइ**;

हइडइ; **जाय** (for **जाइ**).

Vimalaprabandha (V. S. 1568) has:—

भइरव; p. 37, st. 24; **बयर**, p. 147, st. 25; **देडर** (Hindi **देवर**), p. 146, st. 23 **सइ** (for **सय**), p. 90, st. 10, 11; **तव** (for **तड**), p. 200, st. 86.

⁷ I use this word because Dr. Tessitori speaks of a tendency only.

⁸ Mr. K. H. Dhruva's edition.

Glancing through the selected specimens from O. W. Rājasthāni texts given as an Appendix to Dr. Tessitori's Notes on the Grammar of the O. W. Rājasthāni (pp. 100-106), I find इ and उ written throughout as इ and उ and not as य and व; e.g., चउयउ (at three places), नउ, माउला, आऊखा, नउहइ, जाइसु, जाइसि, पइसी, बइउउ, पइसतू; all this in contrast to वयरी (at five places at p. 103, and at one place at p. 105), only in one place we see बइराणु (p. 104), जायइ (p. 100), जायइ (p. 103), रोयइ (p. 104) where evidently the य represents itself and not इ. (The य in कीयइ at p. 101, line 7, is of a different kind; it stands for ज in कीजइ, passive form, Prākṛit किज्जइ, Sanskrit क्रियते; and is therefore not to be counted in this connection.)

This much about the O. W. Rājasthāni MSS. As regards old Māravāḍī, the specimen given by Dr. Tessitori from the "Song of Jasavanta Sonigaro" has रामाइन where रामाबण would have surely been expected.

I need not multiply instances.⁹ But the above instances will be enough to show that, instead of possessing a tendency to write य-व for इ-उ, the works disclose a well-established practice of writing इ and उ, and only in particular cases and conditions did they write य and व for इ and उ: these conditions being nothing but the fact of actual phonetic change into य and व. The very fact that only in certain words such as वयर, वयरानी and the like the य is emphasized would show that the anti-samprasāraṇa process had already commenced in their case, and if बइउउ is seen side by side with वयउउ, पइउउ, it is only because the process was in a stage of beginning and not quite settled down; for changes in a language cannot proceed on regular lines of uniform march; some forms will linger, some progress, go backwards and forwards, till a final settled state is reached. Whatever may be the case, the isolated instances of य cannot be set down as the result of a tendency to write य for इ in the face of so many instances of words with इ written in them. In his "Notes," § 4, (5) Dr. Tessitori refers to the writing of य for इ, in a particular MS. (F. 722), and infers that it is a mere writing peculiarity of the MS. The instances contain क्यम, न्यम and the like. These are exactly the representatives of the pronunciation in Gujarātī at present (alternatively with क्रम, तेम, etc.). If so, why could it not have been the case of actual change then?

⁹ Vaitāla-punchavist (V. S. 1629) gives a luxuriant crop of इ, and rarely, very rarely, य (as only in cases like पयउ (p. 136), वयउ (p. 100), वयरग (p. 104), बयेउउ (p. 104), वयउउ (p. 88); which are all explained above). It has also बइउउ (p. 174) and बइटी (p. 173), which fact is also explained above. Only in two cases we find abnormal य:— जायस for जाइसि (p. 132) and जायेउइ for जाइउइ (p. 111). These two isolated instances in the midst of an extremely large number of instances of इ cannot prove a tendency to write य for इ. We have to remember that we are to detect a general current out of a bewildering variety of manifestations resulting partly from (a) the habit of scribes tampering with genuine forms, and partly from (b) the fact that words assume different changes even during the same period. An instance of the former condition is seen in Bhāḷapa's Kādambārī where, instead of the expected अइ (which is written only in rare exceptions) we find the करिठि and करि type almost invariably. We need not wonder at it when we remember that the oldest copy belongs to the last quarter of the 17th century of the Vikrama era, wherein this type was prominent and extensively used, although it began earlier. Take only one instance:—

केशवली शिववर्णी वीसिठि प्रमाण

(P. 56, l. 16.)

Hero वीसिठि gives a great metrical deficiency, whereas वीसइउइ would fill the metrical measure properly.

बोभइ at p. 6, l. 19, is a rare exception, but it betrays the scribe who evidently forgot to turn it into वीभि.

(2) Dr. Tessitori's second reason is—

That O. W. Rājasthānī changes अव to अउ invariably and it is not admissible that having begun its existence with such a change, it should retrace its steps and go back from अउ to अव again.

My answer is as under :—

Considering the comparatively limited number of cases of *samprasāraṇa*, is it safe, I would ask, to state that O. W. Rājasthānī reduces every अव of the *Apabhrāmśa* to अउ ? Assuming, however, that this process is a strong feature of the Old Western Rājasthānī, does it necessarily follow that the अउ cannot revert to अव ? Such reversion is not unknown in linguistic development. For instance, the double ण (ण्ण) of *Apabhrāmśa* derived from the न (ञ) in Sanskrit, goes back to न in O. W. Rājasthānī and its offspring languages, as in छन्नकं (Sans.), छण्णउ (Apabhr.), छानउं (O. W. Rāj.), छानुं (Guj.) and words of that type. Similarly an initial single ण of *Apabhrāmśa*, derived from the dental न in Sanskrit, goes back to the dental न in O. W. Rāj. and derived languages ; e.g., नावि (Sanskrit), णवि (Apabhr.), नवि (O. W. Rāj.), नव (Guj.).¹⁰ Take the very case of अव ; Sanskrit कः पुनः, Prākṛit कौण-कउण came to be crystallized into कवण in *Apabhrāmśa*. (This is the real progress, although Hemachandra has found it convenient for the purposes of his plan to call कवण a ready-made *ādeśa* of किम्. See *Siddha-Hemachandra*, VIII. iv. 367). This कवण has reverted to कउण (by *samprasāraṇa*) in O. W. Rājasthānī, as Dr. Tessitori points out. (See also *Mugdhārabodha Auktika*—V. S. 1450—which has कउण in nine different places at p. 3, 4, 5, 7, against four of कुण at p. 2, 7, 8.) This has again passed through a reflux, and we find कवण in *Vimala-prabandha* (V. S. 1568). p. 9, st. 25, also in *Vaiṭṭala-paṇchaviṣṭi*—Poem (V. S. 1619), p. 39, side by side with कोण or कुण also. If this be regarded as a retention of the *Apabhrāmśa tatsama* (कवण) in the 16th and 17th century literature, the same cannot be said of the कवण found frequently in still later literature and in popular *duhās* as in

कवण खट्कावे कमाड मदी छे राणकेश्वनी.

The correct explanation must be found in a process of reversion which, in this case, exhibits the anti-*samprasāraṇa* process.

If more instances of reversion and प्रतिसंप्रसारण combined were wanted, I would cite देसावर (derived from देसावर-देश + अपर) reverting to देशावर in Gujarātī (the स is changed to श by the proximity of ए and is not to be mistaken as a sign of *tatsama* for the ष is absent where we have व); and देउल (from देउल which really is the result of *samprasāraṇa* of the व in देवल from देवल, a potential contraction of देवकुल) reverting to देवळ (Guj.); and देउर (from Sanskrit देवर)—see *Vimala-prabandha*, p. 146, st. 23 reverting to देवर in Hindi. Of course, the व in

¹⁰ I have taken both these types from Dr. Tessitori's "Notes", § 41 and § 23. I have taken the छण्णउं type with certain reservation ; for, so far as I can ascertain, the double ञ of Sanskrit is not seen to change into the cerebral ण्ण either in Prakṛit or Apabhrāmśa ; Hemachandra does not show it. But Sanskrit double ञ appears as ण्ण (cerebral) in later Prākṛit, e. g., पसण्ण (from प्रसन्न), *Prākṛita Pīṅgala* (Calc. Edition), p. 355, l. 3, p. 380, l. 4 ; पण्णग (Sans. पन्नग), p. 35, l. 4 ; also अण्ण (अन्य), धण्ण (धन्य), and the like may be constructive instances in point, न्ण first turning into ञ. Only in one case I find Hemachandra giving ण्ण for a constructed ञ : उव्विण्णो (from उव्विमः)—see *Si-Hc*, VIII. ii. 79.

However, स्तनः-थणो, थणु-थान (Guj.), and वनचरकं-वणयरउं-वनेहं (Guj.), तनवः-तणभो-तन (Guj.), मन-मणं-मन (Guj.), भगिनी-बहिणी-बहेन, (Guj.), स्थानं-थाणु-थान (said specially of a horse's place in the stable), यौवनं-जौवणं (णु)-जौवन (Guj.), would be good instances of reversion.

these three instances is preceded by **अ** or **ए** and not by **अ**; none the less they instance reversion and *prati-samprasāraṇa* together.¹¹ The fact is that, as in the case of other changes,¹² this change of **अ** back to **अ**¹³ is found side by side with a different process undergone by the same double vowel. Thus, while **कउण** gave **कवण** on the one hand, it also gave **कु** on the other; **गवख** gave **गवख** (the parent of **गोख**) on the one hand, while it gave **गऊख** (the parent of **गूख**) on the other, and so forth. How or why this double operation came into play will be explained further on below.

(3) To come to Dr. Tessitori's third and last ground. It is this –

- (a) **ऐ** and **औ**, derived from **अइ** and **अउ**, are found in all the earliest manuscripts of both Gujarātī and Māravāḍī;
- (b) When **अइ-अउ** began to be written as **म्-औ**, it was because they were pronounced as diphthongs, and only afterwards they were reduced to long wide vowels (*i.e.*, **ई** and **औ**);
- (c) If **अइ-अउ** had really passed into **अय-अव**, manuscripts would have written them as **अय-अव** instead of writing them, as they do, as **ऐ-औ**, especially as they show a tendency to write **य-व** for **इ-उ**.

I should like to make my position clear before taking up each of these three sub-heads. But it will be convenient to touch one point under (a) just now, *viz.*, the state of things in earliest Gujarātī Manuscripts. So far as I have been able to ascertain, **ऐ-औ**, as evolutes of **अइ-अउ**, are not seen in Gujarātī Manuscripts of any period. Dr. Tessitori puts the rise of Gujarātī as a separate offshoot of O. W. Rājasthānī somewhere about the beginning of the seventeenth century of the Christian era ¹⁴ (*i.e.* from V. S. 1656 downward). Manu-

¹¹ It may be contended that after all **ऐवळ** is from **ऐवुळ** direct, and **ऐवर** a Sanskrit *tatsama*. But a careful consideration of the probabilities based on the place of these words in the language as words of such frequent currency as can only be acquired by *adbhava* formations, will go against such contention. Besides, **ऐवळ** is only a potential step.

¹² In some cases the co-existence of apparently different stages of formation can be accounted for; *e.g.*,

अहोतरसु बुद्धडी रावण तणह कपालि ।

एकूबुद्धि न सांपडी लंका भंजन कालि ॥

(*Manja Rāsā*, quoted from in Sāstri Vrajālal's *Gujarātī Bhāṣānu Itihāsa*, p. 44.) Here the **अइ** in **तणह** is due to a final **क** termination, while the **इ** in **कपालि** and **कालि** is the result of the absence of that termination. Similarly **लमत्तणह स्थानकि** in *Bhucanadipa bhāṣīkara* (*Gujarātī Śālā-Patra*, March, 1910, p. 112.)

This would be good in the case of nouns and adjectives. In the case of verbs the **अइ** and **इ** cannot be so explained, and must be regarded as forms different in nature.

¹³ I must note that *anti-samprasāraṇa* (or *प्रतिसंप्रसारण*) does not mean that the **इ-उ** which undergo that process have in all cases been derived by *samprasāraṇa*. They may have been evolved differently as well; *e.g.*,

मलिनकं	--	महलउं	(मयलउं—यलउं)--मल;
खहिर	--	खहर	(खयर)--खर;
वैरं	--	वहरं(रु)	वयर (वयर)--वर;
	--	उडलं(लु)	(मयर)--मोर;
	--	गडरी	गवरी (गवरी)--गौरय;
चतुष्क	--	चउक	चवक (चवक)--चाक;

et cetera. All that is meant is a process which is the opposite of *samprasāraṇa*. (In fact, where **अय** is affected by *samprasāraṇa*, there is no *prati-samprasāraṇa*, the **अइ** remains in hiatus or contracts into a narrow **म्**, or forms the diphthong **ऐ**; *e.g.*, **सैकुं** or **सहकुं**, **चापानेर**, **अवेव** (from **अवयव**).

¹⁴ *V.* de Dr. Tessitori's "Notes", p. 5 of the Introduction.

scripts subsequent to this date (V. S. 1656) showing ऐ-औ for अइ-अउ in Gujarâtî will really come as a surprise to many. I may be wrong and my research is, no doubt, limited in extent in this respect. I should really be glad, therefore, to see such instances in Gujarâtî manuscripts. May it be that Dr. Tessitori has come across such cases in Gujarâtî manuscripts written by scribes who were under Mâravâdî influence? Again, Dr. Tessitori himself regards the contraction of अइ-अउ into ऐ-औ as one of the characteristics marking the existence of Gujarâtî as independent from the O. W. Râjasthâni, and puts it at the head of the list.¹⁵ If so, is it likely that any early Gujarâtî manuscript will show ऐ-औ as the evolutes of अइ-अउ? However, we need not wander into the realm of conjecture as to probabilities, when it may be possible for Dr. Tessitori to show concrete instances. Till then I must regard ऐ-औ as evolutes of अइ-अउ to be foreign to Gujarâtî in any of its stages development.

To come to the clearing up of my position now :— I do not mean to suggest that अय-अव (as developments of अइ-अउ) were actually written, except in rare cases like वयर, वयडउ and the like; all I contend is that they were potential developments, as precedent conditions requisite for the production of the wide sound (अँ-अँ) which comes on the final अ being lost through want of accent, thus giving अय्-अव् as the causative principle of the broad sound.¹⁶ Dr. Tessitori will not be averse to accepting this principle of potential development, for he has to take his अय through a potential अइ stage, though not found in actual writing. (See p. 77 of his article on " Bardic Survey ", the article under notice.) There are several such potential intermediate changes, which I class under संक्रमणीत्सर्ग (i.e., transitional *utsargas*, or rules marking operations during transitional steps). I may cite only one instance: As a reverse process to the change of ऋ to अ (*Siddha. Hem*, VIII. ii. 57), I find a change of अ to ऋ, only as a possible middle step, in the formation of अवननुं (Guj.) from अभिनवकं (Sanskrit), through अहिनिवडं-अहनवड.

Thus, this change of अइ-अउ to अय-अव (then अय्-अव्) is only a possible phonetic process as a transitional step, and when instances in actual writing, like, वयर, वय । गी, etc., do happen to come up, I take them as clear indications of the tendency in support of my theory. Even if there were no such actual instances in support, I should still adhere to the anti-*samprasāraṇa* theory, as I find in it a potential principle supplying a clear working hypothesis.

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS.

9. Goods not up to sample.

30 August 1689. Letter from Elihu Yale and Council at Fort St. George to John Nicks and Council at Comimere. The Long Cloth you last sent us proves soe very Couree, ill washt, and packt, that tis unfitt to be sent home. To Satisfy you therein we have sent for your review and Perusal Six bales by Sloop [*lacuna*] and expect your Merchants will make a proportionable abatement thereon, or we must returne the rest upon them. Our mony being much better then Such trash. and we doe much blame the dimoited [*sic*? a form of doited = senseless] or Corrupt Sorters and receivers

thereof. Certainly they had noe Reguard to their [Musters] or Masters and tho you and your Merchants may plead the troubles and impediments of the Countrey and Scarcity of goods which may serve for an excuse for their delays; yett it can be no excuse for the badness of the goods; nothing can necessitate that, for if they reach not muster [Sample], reject them, for 'tis much better to take nothing then that which is good for nothing. Pray, if you Vallue your reputations or employs, be guilty of no such faults for the future, and Remedy this as well as you can. *Records of Fort St. George. Letters from Fort St. George, 1689, p. 41.*

R. C. T.

¹⁵ Vide Dr. Tessitori's " Notes ", p. 5. of the Introduction.

¹⁶ Vide my Note on Gujarâtî Pronunciation, *ante*, Vol. XLIV, p. 18, footnote 3, and the portion to which it is a note.

INDEX.

F. G. stands for the Supplement, Folklore of Gujarat, pp. 124—160.

Sup. stands for the Supplement, Alphabetical Guide to the Singhalese Folklore from Ballad Sources, pp. 117—120.

- Abdul Malik, servant to Sir A. Stein 221
- Abdul Subhan, Munshi, Surveyor, and the Oxus riv. 255
- Abdu'r Rahim, hunter, with Sir A. Stein, 185, 170, 204, 221
- abhaya*, pose 53
- Abhayadamshttra, Buddhist divine 52
- Abhinavagupta, author of the *Lôchana*, quotes Bharata, etc. .. 176, 179, 180, 183
- Abhûta Devi, (see *s.v.* in Index to 1916), and Visnu Sup. 117
- Ab-i-Panja, riv., main feeder of the Oxus .. 227, f.
- abuse, and the *Holi* festival .. F.G. 156—158
- Account, An, of the Different Existing Systems of Sanskrit Grammar, book-notice, 106—108
- Achchaya, minister to Maṅgamaâl 184
- Achyuta Râya, Vijayanagar Emp., subdued Travancore 162
- Achyuta Vijaya Râghava, of Tanjore, and Chokkanâtha, 58 and n.; 61 and n.; 74, f. 99
- Adagho Badagho*, or *Mariyun* ceremony. F.G. 154
- Adam's Bridge, broken (1480) 190 n.
- Adipurâṇa*, a work by Jinasena 288
- Adiśēṣha, serpent, and Mahabalipuram antiquities 65
- Adityavarma, k. of Travancore 162 n.
- Adityavarman, Maukhari k. 126
- Administrative rule to prevent favouritism, Notes from Old Factory Records, No. 7 .. 248
- Admiral Watson*, E. I. Co.'s ship 11
- Affleck, Capt. of the *Panther*, and the cyclone at Pondicherry (1761) .. 12—16 n.; 19, 21 n.
- Afrazgul Khan, Surveyor, with Sir A. Stein, 116, 137, 167, 170, 202, 204, 221—224, 226, 232; services recognised 251
- Africa, (Delagoa Bay), and Austria, in the Eighteenth Century 278; 285
- Agape 206
- agger*, great wall, in C. Asia 194
- Agiâris, Parsi temples F.G. 149
- Agnimitra, date 152 & n.
- Agnipurâṇa*, the, said to be the most ancient work on the *Alamkâra-Śâstra*, 173 and n.; internal evidence against the theory, 174, f.; external 176
- agrahârams*, established by Kumâra Mutt. .. 38
- Ahmâdâbâd, Amâdavad, and Austria's commercial venture in the Eighteenth Century, 285 & n.
- Ahmâdâbâd, The Muhammadan Architecture of, by the late Dr. J. Burgess 4
- Aihole inscrip., and Kâlidâsa 182
- Âtīhâsika Râsa Saṅgraha*, book-notice .. 133
- Ajitañjaya, succeeded Kalkirâja 287
- Ajitâpîṭa, k., date 180
- Ajitasena, preceptor of Châmuṇḍarâja. 288, f.
- Akbar, and the Raiputs of Mewâr 148
- Akik*, sacred stone F.G. 146
- Akkâl maḍan, Memorial in Râmnâ? 211
- Aksakal Badru'ddin Khan, friend to Sir A. Stein. 141
- Aksu, riv., 224, and the Oxus 254
- Alagiri Nâidu, appointed viceroy of Tanjore, (by Chokkanâtha) 62, f.; 74, 78
- Alai Valley, in C. Asia 225, f.
- Alakâdri, see Muttu Alikâdri 96
- Alamkara Literature, Outlines of the History of, Part II (contd. from Vol. XL, p. 288), 173—183
- Alam Khan, lieut. to Chanda Sahib. 247, 272 & n.
- Albêrûnî, and the Gupta Era 287, 289, 293
- Alexander, the Great, in India, route used by. 133
- Alichur Pamir, mts., and Sir Aurel Stein, 227 f.; 231
- Alivardi Khan 244
- Alphabetical Guide to Singhalese Folklore from Ballad Sources (contd. from Vol. XLV). Sup. 117—120
- Altmiş-bulak, salt-springs near Kuruk-tagh, 170, 193, 204, 221
- Alvarez, Father, R. C. Missionary in S. India, 25, f.; 100
- Amâdavad, Ahmâdâbâd 285
- Amara, and the *Agnipurâṇa*, 174, date .. 175
- Amarakôṣa*, the, and the *Agnipurâṇa* 174
- Amarâvati Pillar inscrip. 71
- Ambukkôvil, and the Tondamans 47
- Ambur, battle 247
- America*, ship, and the cyclone in Pondicherry, (1761) 6, 9, 11—15, 17, f.; 20, f.
- Amiru'l-umra, prince, killed by magic. 59 n.

- Amoghavṛtti*, the, the *Chintāmani*, and Śaka-tāyana 107, f.
 amulets, and evil spirits .. F.G. 125, f.
 Anagundi 239 n.
 anāmikā, (Sansk.), ring finger 130
 Ānanda Rao Peishwa 212
 Ānandavardhana, quotes Bharata, 176, 180;
 and Māgha, etc. 181; 183
 Ānāntavarman, Maukhikari k., inscrip. of. 125, 127
 Ānāntavarman, k. of Kashmir 180
 ancestors, as snakes F.G. 143
 Andaman and Nicobar Islands, (in 1787) .. 277
 Andhakāśura, enemy of Durga 68
 Andhras, defeated 126
 aṅgas, of the five *samādhis*, called *samādhyāṅga*. 182
 Angirasa Mārgaḥ, and Vijaya Mīnākshi .. 273
 animals, Prakrit names of, 35; names derived
 from, etc. F.G. 144, f.; 150
 Anjengo, port, and the storm (of 1761), 10; .
 and Austria's 18th century trade with .. 284
 Annals, Chinese, and C. Asia .. .112, 169, f.;
 200, 221, 223, 228
 Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological
 Department for 1916, Bangalore, booknotice 135, f.
 ant-hill, worshipped F.G. 139
Antiquary, *The Indian*, and the late Dr.
 J. Burgess, 1, 3, 131, f.; and the late Dr. J. F.
 Fleet 129—132
 Antiquities of Kathiawad, etc., and the late
 Dr. J. Burgess 2, 3
 Antiquities of Mahābalipūr .. 49—57, 65—73
anuprāsa, figure of speech .. 173; 181 & n.
 Anurādhapura 52
 Anwaru'd-din, and the Carnatic, 244 and, n.;
 his murder of Bangura Naik, etc., 245, f.;
 defeat by Chanda Sahib 247
 Apabhramsa, see Prakrit 297
 Aph—saḍ inscrip... .. . 125
 Appaiya Nāik, of Kaṇṇivāḍi 96 n.
 Appar, *Tivḍram* hymner, contemporary of
 Narasimhavarman I 55
 Apsarasas, actors, who helped Bharata .. 82
Aquitain, *Aquitains*, ship, in the storm at
 Pondicherry, (1761) 11—18
 Arab, conquest of Sind 206
 Arabs overthrew the last Persian dyn. rule in
 India, 34; rivals to Chinese in Turkestan .. 112
 Aramaic characters on pottery 250
 Arantāṅgi, battlefield in Rāmnād .. 210, 212
 Aroclini, R. C. Missionary in Trichinopoly .. 100
 archaeological finds in C. Asia 249, f.
 Archaeological Survey of India, etc., and the
 late Dr. J. Burgess, I and n... .. . 2—4
 Architecture, Muhammedan, in Gujarat, 3, of
 Ahmedabad, by the late Dr. J. Burgess .. 4, 157
 Architecture and Sculpture in Mysore, book-
 notice 248
 Arest, battle of, 5; and Rāmnād, 212, 214;
 and Madura, 217 and n., 246; and Chanda
 Sahib, 238; and Trichinopoly, etc. .. 244, 246
 Areca-sickle, (see s.v. in Index to 1916), and
 Viśvakarma Sup. 118
 Areocapang, 13; see Ariankuppam 6 n.
 Arif, unknown person, prescribed for Jahānāra
 Begam 48
 Arioncopang, Ariankuppam, near Pondicherry,
 and the cyclone (1761) .. 6 & n., 9, 14, 16, 18
 Ariyalūr, dist., and Ranga Krishna Muttu
 Virappa 105 & n.
 Arjuna's Penance, a bas-relief in Mahābalipūr,
 53; or Bhagiratha's Penance .. 54—56, 67
 Arrow, (see s. v. in Index to 1916), and
 Viśvakarma Sup. 118
 arrow-heads, Neolithic, in C. Asia, 140, 167, 171
 Art, Buddhist, in India, by the late Dr. J.
 Burgess 4
 Art, Buddhist, in C. Asia, 201, f.; textile, remains
 in C. Asia, 168; Græco-Buddhist, remains in
 C. Asia, 115; of Gandhara, etc., 144, 232;
 dramatic, first mentioned by Pānini .. 177
Arthadyōtanikā, a work by Raghavabhaṭṭa .. 179
Arthasāstra, of Kautilya, another work of the
 same name, 95; of Viśnugupta, 108; of
 Kautilya 220 & n.
 Arumbāvur, Trichinopoly dist., inscrip. of
 Ranga Krishna Muttu Virappa .. 104 n.; 121 n.
 Aryanātha, death of, 36 & n., 104; Mudaliar.. 241
 Aryans, and Dravidians, their langs., 33, 36,
 81, 94; and Varuṇa 208
 Aryas, all princes so called 94
 Asaf Jah, Nawab, and Bangaru Tirumala .. 244
 Asafu'ddin Sahib, Muhammedan saint, plotted
 against Vijaya Kumara 273
 Asālat Khān, and Surgeon G. Broughton .. 48
 ascetics, or Sanyāsins, in S. India 24
 Ashura rites, in Sind cult 207, f.
 Asia, Central, A Third Journey of Exploration
 in, 1913.. 4, by Sir Aurel Stein .. 109, ff.;
 137, 165, ff.; 193, ff.; 221, ff.; 249, ff.
 Asia, W., and China, ancient trade 203
 Āsirgadh, Nimār dist., Maukhari, inscrip. find 125, f.
 Ashkhabad, Russian cantonment near Persia .. 231
 Asoka's Pillar Edicts and Dr. J. Fleet 131
 Astana, C. Asia, burial ground remains .. 202
 astrologer, the, and ploughing, etc. .. F.G. 163, 156
 Āṣa Magula, (see s.v. in Index to 1916), and
 Viśvakarma Sup. 118
 Atiranachanda, possibly a surname of Nandi-
 varman, inscrip. of 53; (Pallava) or Nara-
 simhavarman II 68

- Atma, Raja of Rannād** 45
Atiyāttu, vil., in inscrip. 209 n.
Atyāttham, a name of Paramāvara-
varman 56, 70
Aurangabad, and Bidar, Antiquities, by the
late Dr. J. Burgess 2
Aurangzeb, and the Dakhan, etc., 121; and the
Mughal's Slipper, 123; and the Mahrattas,
124 n.; and S. India, 160; and Mangammal,
161; and Chikka Deva of Mysore 162
Aurangaib, History of, book-notice 64
Aurapaliām, Udayārpalayam 161
Austria's Commercial Venture in India in the
Eighteenth Century 277—286
Autogeny, membership of Caste by 83
Avanti, Malva 57
Avinita, or Konkaivarma, K. 136
awrinz, mountain galleries in the Pamirs 230
Ayudha-purushas 69
- *Baba-ghundi, in Hunza, remains of cultiva-**
tion 118
Bābario, a spirit F.G. 134, f.
***Bactria, and China, silk trade route, 225, f.;**
231; or Tahia, 265 and n., 266; and the
Pokarana kings 275
***Badakhshun, Pamir uplands, and the**
Chinese 228, 230
Bāhucharāji, goddess, and the cock F.G. 151
Bai, vil., in C. Asia 200, 224
***Baird, Sir Wm., Capt. of the Salisbury** 15
Baji Rao I., Peshwa, and Bangaru Tirumala 242
***Bajo-kot, in Darel, Buddhist burial-ground**
remains 114
***Bālāditya, Gupta** 152, f.
***Bālākriṣṇa Mahādānapura, Telugu [grant of**
āṅammā] 158 n.
Balamitra, date of 152
Balaśri, Andhra, q., in scrips. of 127, 164
Balder, and the Sambelu, F.G. 147; and the
plough F.G. 148
***Balevidān, ceremony** F.G. 148
ali, demon emp., Mahābali, 50, 66, 67; in
early Sanskrit drama 177 & n.
***Balkh, Balucke, and Surgeon G. Broughton** 48
Ballaba, and Śaka eras 293
***Bambas, (see s. v. in Index to 1916) and**
Mahasammata (see s. v. in Index to
1916) Sup. 117
Bāpa, and the works of Bhaṣa, 178; and the
Nāṭyasastra of Bharata, 182; and Magha 191
***Banabhatta's Gṛu** 63
- Banas, dynasty, the Mahābali (Māvalis) of**
Tiruvallam 50
Bandhu-Bhṛitya, of the Mukra-Rakshasa 273
Bangalore, and Chikka Dēva 122; 162
Baṅgāru Tirumala and q. Minākshi, etc., 214
& n.—219 & n.; 237—241; and the
Marathas 242—246, 272
Bangle, (see s. v. in Index to 1916) and Viṣṇu,
Sup. 117
Banksalls, warehouses 286 & n.
Banyan, Vad tree and Shiva F.G. 136
Barābar hills, Maukhari inscrip. 125, 127
Barkal, tn. 200
Baroda, Maharani, and ant worship F.G. 139
Baroghil Saddle, near Chinese border 117
Bartang, or Murghab riv., 226, f.; and Oxus
riv., blocked 254
Bash-gumbaz, pass in Pamirs 228
Beames, author of Comparative Grammar of the
Modern Aryan Languages of India 33
Beard, Mr. J., friend to Job Charnock 259
Bednore, attacked by Chikka Deva 162
Belaieff, Russian Consul in Bokhara 231
Belgaum and Kaladgi dists., and the late
Dr. J. Burgess
Belgiogoso, Count, Austrian Ambassador in
London, his dealings with William Bolts 278
Belgola, inscrip., and the Gaṅgas 288 & n.
Benares, and Wm. Bolts 277
Bengal, 8, 9; and the Maukharis, 127; and Job
Charnock, etc., 259 & n.; and Austria's
commercial venture in the Eighteenth
Century 277—286
Beschi, Constantius, R.C. Missionary 103 n.
betrotthed, the, death of F.G. 138
Bhagata, devotees, and snake-bites F.G. 142
Bhagiratha's Penance, or Arjuna's, bas-relief 54
Bhagvatgītā, the, and the Agnipurāṇa 174
Bhālaṇa, author of the Kādambarī 300, 301 n.
Bhāmaha, and the Agnipurāṇa, 175—177; date,
179; and Bharata, etc. 181, f.
Bhambhor, isl., Killoutis 133
Bharata and the Agnipurāṇa, etc., 173 & n.—
176; and figures of speech, 177, 182; and
Pāṇini, 178, f.; on dramaturgy 180, f.
Bhāravi, praised in the Aiholī inscrip. 182
Bhāsa, dramatist, works attributed to him 17
Bhaṭṭanayaka 180
Bhaṭṭi, date, and figures of speech 182; 191
Bhaunagar, Bownagur and Austria's venture
to trade with India (Eighteenth Century),
284 & n.; 285
Bhavāni Śāṅkara, Tēvan, illegitimate son of
Kiṭāvan Sētopati, deposed, etc. 209—213
bhāvas, and Bharata 173, 178, 182
bhēri, Sanskrit, drum 66

- Bhinmal, kings of 191
- Bhisma 95
- Bhōja, and the *Agnipurāṇa*, etc., 176, 179; and Rudrabhaṭṭa 180
- Bhojadeva, (three of the name,) Pramāra of Mālava, and the poet Māgha 192
- Bhr̥gu 68
- Bhūdēvi, the Earth 69
- Bhūmidēvi, figure in Mahābalipur 65
- Bhūtattalvar, and Mallai 52
- bhuts*, ghosts F.G. 132, f.
- Bhuranābhyaṇya*, poem by Śāṅkuka 180
- Bhūvarāha, figure in Mahābalipur 65
- Bibi Syed, cult in Sind 207
- Bidar and Aurangabad, and the late Dr. J. Burgess 2
- Bijapur, and Chokkanātha, at war, 41—43; and Aurangzeb .. 121—124 n.; 158, 160, f.
- billaur*, (Persian) crystal, and Bolar 229
- birch-bark MSS., found in Charkhlik 143
- birds' cries, as omens F.G. 127
- birth, and animal names F.G. 144
- bites, of snakes F.G. 141—143
- blockade, etc., of Pondicherry, (1761).. 5, 7, 17
- blood sacrifice F.G. 147
- Bode Sahib, gov. of Tanjore 218
- Bōdhimēghēsvāra, Buddhist divine 52
- Bohara, in Sind, River cult, 205; and cult of Bibi Syed 207
- Bokhara, and Sir Aurel Stein 230, f.
- Bol Choth*, a feast day F.G. 150
- Bolar, (and *Billaur*) in Hindukush 229
- Bolts, Wm. (Willem), E. I. Co.'s servant, and Austria's commercial venture in the Eighteenth Century, 277; death, 278 and n.; 279; 282—286
- Bombay, 9; and Austria's commercial venture in the Eighteenth Century, 277, 279 and n.; 281 and n.—286
- Bostan-arche, Kirghiz camp 224
- Bouchet, Jesuit Father, aided by Maṅgammāl, 159; and Trichinopoly 163 n.
- bow, *sārṅga* 65
- Bowridge, married Eliz. Charnock 260
- boys, and puberty F.G. 160
- Brahma, g., 66, 68; and the *Naiṣyaśāstra*, 174, 178, f.; 181 and n.; and the *nim* tree, F.G. 137; and the goose, F.G. 145; and the donkey F.G. 150
- Brahman, converts and Parangis, 103; army, of Kelki, 149; viceroy, 150; caste, meaning non-Buddhist, 192; and the *pipal* tree, F.G. 136, f.; and snakes F.G. 140
- Brāhmaṇa, customs, and the *Mārkaś* 136
- Brāhmaṇas, killed, etc., at Sringeri, 136; and Raṅghunātha 209 n.
- Brahmanism, its revival, and the *Purāṇas* .. 176
- Brahmans and Robt. de Nobilis, 24; and Martinz, 26; and magic in war, 59 n.; and caste, 89—93; and Raṅga Krishṇa, 104 n.; 121; under Vijaya Raṅga Chokkanātha, 187 and n.—189; and Vijaya Raṅghunātha, 210; and omens, F.G. 127; 129; and death, F.G. 130, f.; food from which they abstain, F.G. 145; and fire F.G. 149
- Brahui, custom in Sind 208
- branding, punishment for piracy 275
- Brereton, Capt. of the *Falmouth*, and the cyclone at Pondicherry (1761) .. 13—15
- brides, and Kshetrapal F.G. 139; 143
- Briencourt, M. Anquetil, French chief of Surat, and Wm. Bolts 282
- Brihadrathas 146 n.
- Brihaspati, and Manu 95
- Brihatpratyabhijñanavimarśiṇi*, a work by Abhinavagupta 18
- Britto, Father D., Jesuit Missionary in S. India, 23 n.; history of 100—103
- Broach, and Austria's commercial venture in the Eighteenth Century 284
- brocades, etc., in tombs, in Astana 203
- Broker's horse allowance, Old Factory Records, 48
- bronchitis, cure for F.G. 137
- Bronze Age, finds by Sir A. Stein 249
- broom, a totem F.G. 149
- Broughton, Surgeon Gabriel 47, f.
- Buchanan, Sir G., and Sir A. Stein 224
- Buddha, ninth *avatāra*, 145, 263 n.; and Viśvakarma Sup. 118
- Buddhism and the *Purāṇas*, 176; and Buddha, in India 263 & n.
- Buddhist Art in India, by the late Dr. J. Burgess 4
- Buddhist Cave Temples and Their Inscriptions, A Report on, by the late Dr. J. Burgess .. 2
- Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta, by the late Dr. J. Burgess 2
- Buddhist ruins and remains in C. Asia, 114—117, 137, 159, 141, 143, f., 197—199, 201, f.; MSS.; Temple of the Thousand Buddhas, 168, 194, 202, 253; times, etc., 223, f.; art, Græco, in India 232; 255
- Budha, Mercury F.G. 146
- Budhagupta, date 151; 292, f.
- buildings, temples, etc., of Mahābalipur .. 49
- Burgess, the late James 1—4, 49, 129, 131
- burial grounds, Buddhist, etc.; remains of, in C. Asia, 114, 168, 170, 202; or cemetery, 203, 221
- burning, of widows, 85—87; *satī*, 92; ground, and evil spirits F.G. 126
- Byzantine gold pieces, in Astana tombs .. 203

- Cadiz, and Wm. Bolts 280
 Cahil, Capt., E. I. Co.'s servant, and Wm. Bolts 285, f.
 Caitrādi, Chaitnādi or Mālava years .. 295, f.
 Calcutta, founded by Job Charnock, 256; or Chuttanutte, Sūtanati, 259; and Wm. Bolts 277
 Caldwell, Dr., and the non-Sanskrit element in Prakrit 33, f.
 canal, remains of, in Taghdumbash Valley .. 137
 Canary Is., and Austria's commercial venture in the Eighteenth Century .. 279, 281
 Candleweeke, Candlewick St., now Cannon Street 257 & n.
 Cannon St., old Candleweeke St. .. 257 & n.
 carkana, corkana, etc., registrar 220
 Carnatic, the, and Sivaji, etc., 77 and n.; and Sambaji, 120; Mughal conquest, 121, 160 n. — 162, and 246, f., 272
 caste, and Christianity in S. India, 24; in Sind, 205, f.; and *dākans* F.G. 152
 Castes in India, their mechanism, genesis and development 81—95
 castrum, fortified, in C. Asia 168
 catamarans, boats 20
 Cathay and Iran 225
 cattle, their spirit guardians, F.G. 134, f.; and small-pox, etc., F.G. 154; and the *Holi* festival F.G. 159
 Cave-Temples, Buddhist, etc., by the late Dr. J. Burgess, 2; of India, by the late Dr. J. Burgess and J. Fergusson .. 3, 49
 cave-temple of the Thousand Buddhas 194; 202
 cazernes, barracks 17
 celibacy, and caste 86, f.
 cemetery, cemeteries, ancient, remains in C. Asia. *see* burial grounds. .. 203, 221, f.
 Central Asia, *see* Third Journey of Exploration in 109, ff.
 Central Indian Museum, to be in Delhi .. 253
 ceremonies, and customs, Hindu, for Christian use, 22; of death, etc., F.G. 130, 147; and agriculture F.G. 153
 Ceylon, 15; and de Nobilis, 22; and Narasimha 51, f.
 Chainut-köl, near Tarim 222
 Chaitrādi (Vikrama) years, 295; or Caitrādi .. 296
 Chalukyan, *see* Hoysala 248
 Chāmunḍarāja, called Guṇaratnabhūṣana, minister of the Gaṅga Rāchamalla, and patron of Nemichandra, 288; and of Rama .. 289
 Chāṇakya, and war 95
 Chanda Sahib, and Minākshi, etc., 217—219; and Baigāru, etc., 237—243; at Satara, etc., 246, f.; and Vijaya Kumāra .. 272, f.
 Chāṇḍī Dāsa, Bengali poet (Fourteenth Century) and Kalki 148
 Chāṇḍika, or Mahishāsura Mardhani .. 68
 Chandimau, inscrip. 56
 Chandler, on de Nobilis, 23; and Martinz .. 26
 Chandra, Moon g. 66
 Chandragupta II; and Bandhu 275
 change, of sex F.G. 125
 Changkien, Chinese historian 263 & n.
 Charchan 222
 charity, of Maingammāl 158 n., 159 & n.
 Charkhlik, city of Lop, (Marco Polo) finds in 142—144; 222
 Charnock, Job, his parentage and will .. 256, ff.
 Charnock, R., father of Job Charnock .. 256
 Charnock, Step., son of Job Charnock, 257; chaplain to Henry Cromwell 258
 chastity, ideal 87
 Chaulukya, Vikramāditya I; copper-plate grant of 51
 Chavannes, M., and Kushan history .. 262, 263 n.
 Chedi, Kalachuti, or Traikūṭika, era 269
 cheliques, chelingo, (Arab *shalandi*) cargo boat, etc. 12 & n.
 Chenji, Gingee 17 n.
 Chetty, caste, and Christianity 7
 Chi-chi-to, (Chitor?) co., mentioned by Huien Tsiang 192
 Chiekikh Maidan, Kashgar, site of an ancient hospico 137
 Chika, Chikka Dēva, Rāja of Mysore, 57; captured Satyamaṅgalam, 76 and n.; and Ekoji, 122; death, 157 and n.; and the Mughals, 160; attacked Maingammāl 160 ff.; his Kavery dam 183 n.
 child-bed and exorcists, F.G. 142; and *dākans*, F.G. 152
 childless persons, and the *pipal* tree, F.G. 137, 139
 children, prayers for, 209; and evil spirits, F.G. 135; for the childless, F.G. 137, 139; and the demoness Dhunda, and *Holi*, F.G. 155—157; 159
 China, and Sir A. Stein, 109; and W. Asia, trade with, 203; or Seres, 225; and Austria's commercial venture in the Eighteenth Century 278
 Chinese, ancient, of Loulan, 221; in Upper Oxus Valley, 228; and Kushans, in India, 266, 269, 271; Buddhist pilgrims, in Darel, 111; conquest of Yasin, 117; trade, etc., in C. Asia, 168, f., 193—197, 200; script, etc., finds of, 166, 198, 202, f.; *Limes*, etc., 166, f., 170—172, 200; MSS., records, in Astana tombs, 203; frontier, in Kansu, etc., 249, 251; historical texts, as evidence on date of Kanishka 261, 265

- Chingiz Khan, and Kansu 197
 Chini-bagh 224
 Chin-man, Pei-ting, ancient cap., in E. Tur-
 kestan 200
 Chinna Durai, second in command 216
 Chinna Kadir Nâik, and Chokkanâtha 96, f.
 Chinna Râma Bâpa, the sword of the polygar
 of Ariyalur 105 n.
 Chint'a, oasis 196
 Chintâmani, The, and the *Amoghavṛitti* 107, f.
chirantana, title 179, f.
 Christianity, in S. India, after de Nobilis, 23 ;
 and the death of Tirumal Naik, 28 ; its
 growth in the reign of Chokkanâtha, 98 and
 n., 100
 Christians, and Christianity in S. India, 22—
 25 ; 27 ; and Rânga Krishna, 121 ; Parangis,
 and Maṅgamnâi, 159 n. ; persecuted by
 Raṅghanâtha 210
chithis, pieces of paper, and the evil eye, F.G. 125
 Chitor (?) and Chi-chi-to 192
chobdars, messengers 123
 Chokkanâtha, Nâik (1659—1682), character
 etc., 40 ; at war with Muhamnadans, 41, f. ;
 and Tanjore and Râmnâi, 43, 45 ; and
 Mysore, 44, 98, f. ; origin of the Puduk-
 koṭṭai State, 46, f. , 57, 58 and n. ; and Alagiri
 Nâik, 74 and n. ; and Ekoji, etc., 76—78 ;
 death of, 97, 104 ; and Mutta Alakadri,
 98, f. ; and Ravi Varma 162, and Vijaya
 Raṅghanâtha 210
 Chokkanâtha, ancestor of V. Chokkanâtha .. 158
 Chokkanâthapura, temple at 187 n.
 Chok-tagh, desert 140
 Chola inscrip., Mahâbalipûr 69
 Chôlas, and the Pallavas 46
choultries, etc., erected by Maṅgamnâi, 156, f.,
 159 and n. ; 185
 Chronicle, Telugu, and Vijaya Rânga Chokka-
 nâtha 156
 Chronology of Modern India, by the late Dr.
 J. Burgess 4
 Chronology, of Alamkâra Literature .. 173—183
 Chronology, Kushan 261, f.
 Chronologies, Jaina, etc., and Kalki .. 148—153
 Chudda, a spirit F.G. 135
Chudels F.G. 152
 Chûlli, a Vṛittikâra 191 and n.
 Church and State, Hindu 28
 Chuttanuttee, (Sûtanatî) Calcutta 259
 circles, as amulets F.G. 126
 clerk, shipping, as interpreter 64
 clothes, new, omens F.G. 129
 Cobra, (see s.v. in Index to 1916,) and Viṣṇu,
 Sup. 117 ; and Yamadûti, and Yaśodara, Sup. 120
 Cochin 246
 cock, the, and Bahucharâji F.G. 151
 Cocoanut, (see s.v. in Index to 1916), and
 Viṣṇu Sup. 117
 cocoanut, and human sacrifice F.G. 146
 Coimbatore, R.C. vicariate, 23 ; and Chokka-
 nâtha, 44 ; and Chikka Deva.. .. 162 & n.
 Coin, of Theodosius, and the age of Mallai .. 71
 coins, Sâh and Gupta, 2 ; Maukhari, 126 ; found
 in Spingeri, 136 ; Han, etc., found by Sir A.
 Stein, 166, f. , 171—173, 195, 198, 201 ; with
 the dead, 203, 223 ; Indian, and Kanishka,
 261, 265—267 and n., 270, f. ; of Narendra-
 chandra.. .. 276
 Collins, capt. of the *Newcastle*, and the cyclone
 at Pondicherry (1761) 13—15
 columns, of victory, 152 ; in Mandasore, erect-
 ed by Kalki 153
 Colvill, capt. of the *Sunderland* 13—16
Compagnie des Indes, French prize-ship at
 Pondicherry (1761) 9
 commercial venture, Austria's, q.v. 277
 Conjeeveram, Pallava cap. 67
 conquest, (Muhammadan) of Tanjore, 39, 76,
 121 ; conquests of Kalki, 149, 151 ; (Arab) of
 Sind, 206 ; Turki, in Bokhara, 231 ; of
 Madura, 243 ; Kushan, of India .. 261, 267
 Coote, Sir Eyre, and the blockade of Pondi-
 cherry, 5 ; and the cyclone .. 6—8, 11, f. , 21, f.
 Cope, capt., assisted Muhammad Ali 247
 Copell, Mohaar Capell, African King, and Wm.
 Bolts 285 & n., 286
 copper-plate grants, mention Chokkanâtha,
 40 n. ; of Konkanivarma, etc., 136 ; one, by
 Muttu Vijaya Raghunâtha 209 n.
 copper-seal, inscrip., Maukhari 125
 corkana, carkana, etc., revenue officer .. 220
 Cornish, Rear Admiral Sir S., and the storm at
 Pondicherry (1761) 5, 7 & n., 8—12, 15, 18
 Cornwallis, Lord, defeat attributed to magic,
 59 n.
 Coromandel coast, 18 ; and Christianity, 100 ;
 and Austria's commercial venture .. 278—282
 coronation ceremony F.G. 147
 corpse, as omen, F.G. 127 and n. , 130, f. ; cere-
 monies for, F.G. 133 ; and the *Pipal* tree,
 F.G., 136 ; and *Maravo* tree, F.G. 137 ; and
lâkans F.G. 152
 corruption, official, under Vijaya Chokkanâtha. 187
 Corruptions of English, in the Indian Verna-
 culars—Hajelhappi 28
 Costa, de, Jesuit missionary in Tanjore 25—27
 cow, sacred F.G. 145
 cow-dung, as omen F.G. 126—130

- Creechurh, St. Katherine, London, burial-place of the Charnooks .. 256, 258—260
- Crocodile, Wāghodar, cult in Indus Valley, 133 ; 206—208
- crops, spirit guardians of, F.G. 135; ceremonies, etc. F.G. 153; 155
- crows, and *rishis* F.G. 151
- Cudalore 6, 17
- cultivators and ceremonies F.G. 153
- cult, crocodile, in Sind 133, 205, f.
- cultures, cultural unity, and the Indian people 81, f.; 94
- Curtain, (see *s.v.* in Index to 1916,) and Visnu, Sup. 117; and Yama Sup. 120
- Curzon, Lord, and the source of the Oxus. 253, f.
- Customs, (see Ceremonies,) Hindu, and Christianity, 22; uxorial 87
- Cyclone, at Poñdicherry, on New Year's Day, 1761, original papers relating to .. 5, ff.
- Cyclone and storms in Rāmūād (1709) .. 190
- Dā'ād Khan, Deputy Nawab of the Carnatic, (under Mañgammāl) and the English in Madura, etc. 160 & n., 161
- Dabhoi, in Gujarat, the antiquities of, by the late Dr. Burgess 3
- Dādāmō, guardian spirit of crops .. F.G. 134
- Dādih Bāndhavi, ceremony F.G. 155
- Dākana, spirit F.G. 135
- Dākans, two kinds F.G. 152
- Dakhan, Moghul conquest of, 121; or Deccan 160
- Dalavāis, Kastūri Rāga, 187. two others.. 188
- dam, on the Kauvery 183 & n.
- Daman, Damaun, Portuguese Settlement, and Austria's commercial venture in the Eighteenth Century 182 & n.
- Dāmanās, amulets F.G. 125
- Dāmōdaragupta, author of the *Kuṭṭanimata*, refers to Bharata 181
- Dañḍāyudhapāṇi, Shrine, Palni, and Mañgammāl 185
- Dañḍin, and Alamkara literature, 173, 175; and the *Agnipārāṇa*, and Bhārata, etc. 176, 178; date, 179; and figures of speech.. 185
- Dandu-monara, (see *s.v.* in Index to 1916) and Wooden Peacock Sup. 119
- Daniel, Capt. of the *Newcastle* 13, 12
- Darant-kurghan, Kirghiz vil., probable site of the Stone Tower 225, f.
- Dard, Republic, of Raja Pakhtun Wali, 111—113; tribes 115
- Darel, Ta-li-lo, valley, and Sir A. Stein .. 111, ff.
- Darelis, and Raja Pukhtun Wali, 114; immigrations, 114; and other Dard tribes. 115
- Darkot Passes, and the Chinese Annals, 117; glacier bifurcation 118
- Darya-panth, Indus cult 205
- Daśapura, Mandasor 275
- Daśarāpakāvalōka, a work by Dhanañjaya, mentions early dramas 178, f.
- Dasharath, k., married a Nāg F.G. 143
- Dasyus, destroyed by Kalki 149
- Date of Kanishka 261—271
- dates, of Kalki, 151, 153; of Pāṇini, 177; of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* 178—180 n., 183
- Davalagiri, inscrip 76
- dawn, parallels about 234 & n.
- days, lucky and unlucky F.G. 128—130
- dead, objects buried with 203
- death, of de Nobilis, 23; of Tirumāl Nāik, theories as to cause, 27, f., 36; of Kalki, date, 153; mysterious, of Mañgammāl, 184 and n.—186; of Vijaya Rāga 189 and n., 210, f.; of Kilavan Setupati, 209; and the moon, etc. F.G. 127; 130—133
- Deccan, Sultans, and S. India, 160; or Dakhan. 121
- Dechyaṁmātya, commentator, and the *Mahim-nastava* 164
- De Costa, R. C. Missionary in S. India 25—27; 100
- definitions, of Caste 82
- deformities, and the *Pipal* tree F.G. 138
- deities, and animals F.G. 145
- Delagon Bay, and Austria's commercial venture in the Eighteenth Century 285
- Delhi, and the Carnatic, 121, and the Central Indian Museum 251, 253
- de Nobilis, R. C. missionary in Madura, retirement and death, etc., 22—25; and 'Tirumāl' Nāik, etc. 28, 100
- De Silva, R. C. missionary in Madura .. 100
- Devadatta, name of Kalki's horse 149
- Devāngas, and the sacred thread 136
- Dev Divāli, festival F.G. 136
- Devikotta, Dece Cotah, Marāṭha Fort .. 6 & n.
- development of Castes, see Castes in India .. 81
- devis, goddesses, and the male buffalo .. F.G. 145
- diāga, an amulet F.G. 125
- Dhanañjaya, author of the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, and early drama, 178; date 179
- Dhanyālōka, a work by Ananjavardhana .. 180
- Dharapuram, (Darapoor,) lost by Chokkanātha 44
- Dharma, caste 89
- Dehdas, a sect, and snake bites F.G. 142
- Dhoro Puram, riv. in Sind 206
- Dhuleti, Dhul Pāṭav, day after the *Holi*. F. G. 157

- Dhunda, demoness, and the *Holi* .. F.G. 155, f.
Dhanyâlôka, a work by Ānandavardhana 179-181n.
divvijaya, and *Kalki* 153 & n.
Dikshit, the late Mr. Shankar Balkishan, and
the Gupta date 130, 132
diṭṭhā, figure of speech, in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*,
of Bharata 178, 181
disease, of cattle F.G. 154
dishā-shul, pains F.G. 129
Divālī festival and Govardhan F.G. 156
Diri-kuduru (see *s.v.* in Index to 1916) and
Yaga-sāman Sup. 119
divine snakes F.G. 139
Doḷḍa Dēva, conquered Kongu, etc. 122
Dolan-achchik, salt springs in Kuruktagh .. 221
Domoko, Buddhist remains near 141
Dondra, has an image of Viṣṇu Sup. 118
Dorās, threads, as amulets F.G. 125
Doro, of Mahādev, ceremony F.G. 154
Dost Ali, Nawab of the Carnatic, 217; and the
Marathas 260
drama, the Sanskrit 177, f.
dramaturgy, works on, 179; and Bharata, etc.,
180—182
Draupadi, and the Arjuna Penance 54
Dravidian Element in Prakrit 33—36
Dravidian, architecture 248
Dravidians, in India 81; 94
Dronāchārya 95
Drum, (see *s.v.* in Index to 1916) and *Viśva-*
karma Sup. 118
Dry Mountains, Kuruktagh, 201, 204; river,
region, 221; settlement and remains near.. 222
Duke, the ship, (country vessel), and the cyclone
in Pondicherry (1761) .. 6—9, 11, 15, 18, 21, 22
Duke of Aquitaine, ship, and the Cyclone in
Pondicherry (1761) .. 6—9, 12—18, 20, 21
Dumas, French Governor of Pondicherry .. 241
Dupleix, and Chanda Sahib 246
Durga, in Mahābalipūr Antiquities, 67, f.;
image, gifted to Vijaya Ranganātha .. 210
Durvimita, newly discovered copper-plate by. 136
Dutch, and the Cyclone in Pondicherry (1761),
12 and n., 13, 15; and slaves in Madura .. 42 n.
Dzungaria, plateau 200

E & O, the Wide Sound of, with Special
Reference to Gujarātī 297—304
Earl of Lincoln, ship, the *Joseph and Theresa*. 279
Earth, or Bhūdevī, 69; or Prithvi, F.G. 146;
sacred F.G. 149
earthquake, in Sarez (1911) 227 & n.

East India Company, and Austria's Commer-
cial Venture in the Eighteenth
Century. 277—280, 283
East India Company and Viśvanātha Naik .. 274
East Indies, and the Yue-chi Kingdom .. 266
Eiros, Mt., the position of, suggested identi-
fication with Rerhi 133
Ekoji, son of Shahji, and Singamala Dās, 74
and n.,—78; and Chokkanātha, etc. 98, f.; 120, 122
elephant worship F.G. 150
Elephanta, remains and the late Dr. J. Burgess 1, f.
Elijah, Iliās 206
Elizabeth, the ship, in the Cyclone of (1761). 9
Ellis, Mr. Francois, friend of Mr. Job Charnock,
259 & n.

endogamy, and Caste in India .. 83—88; 91, f.
England and Russia 252
English, corruptions of, in the Indian Ver-
naculars 28
English, the, and Tippoo, 59 n.; and Sivaji,
77 n.; in Madras, and Dāūd Khan, 160 and
n.; first appear in Indian politics .. 247
Englishmen's furniture and its cost in 1682,
from Old Factory Records 106
Epigraphia Indica, commenced by the late
Dr. J. Burgess 3
Ephthalites, in the Oxus Valley .. 79, F.
Eran pillar inscrips. 292
Erandi, Jesuit Missionary in S. India .. 23 n.
Eras, Indian, and the late Dr. J. Fleet .. 131
Eras, the Gupta, 148 n.; Chedi, etc., 269, f.;
Malava, etc. 290—295
Erode, (Erroor) place lost by Chokkanātha .. 44
Etruria, frigate, and Austria's commercial
venture in the Eighteenth Century .. 280, f.
Etsin-gol, riv., the united Su-chow and Kan-
chow 196—198
Etzina, c. (Marco Polo) and Khara-khoto .. 197
European History, and the number forty .. 233
evil eye, and amulets, F.G. 125, f.; and
dākans, etc. F.G. 152, 154
evil spirits, protection from, F.G. 125, f., 132;
or *bhuts*, list of, F.G. 134; and childbed,
F.G. 135; and trees, F.G. 137; and snake
bites, F.G. 142; propitiation of, F.G. 146;
and silence, etc. F.G. 155
excavations, of Mahābalipūr 49
excommunication, and Caste in India .. 93, f.
exogamy, and caste in India 84
exorcist F.G. 154, f.

Exploration in C. Asia, A Third Journey of,
by Sir A. Stein, 109—118, 137—144, 165—
172, 193—204, 121—132
extinction, of the Nāik Rāj 218

- Eye, evil, and amulets**, F.G. 152, f.; human *dākans*, F.G. 152; and protection from F.G. 154
- Eyre, Ch., E. I. Co's. Agent in Bengal**, married Job Charnock's daughter 280
- Factory, Austrian, on Choromandel Coast**, (*see* Austria's Commercial Venture in the Eighteenth Century), 279; alleged earlier factories 280
- Factory Records, Old, Notes from**, 48, 79, 106, 192, 220, 248, 276, 304
- Falmouth, ship, and the Cyclone in Pondicherry** (1761) .. 6, 8, 9, 11—15, 17, 18, 20, 21
- famine, in Rāmnād** 190
- Fan-ye, composer of the *Heou Han Chou***, 261—264
- Far East, the, and Græco-Buddhist architecture** 232
- farmān*, phirmands** 286
- favouritism in administration, rule to prevent it, from Old Factory Records** 248
- female principle, the, (Nature or vegetation), in Sindhi cults** 205, f.
- fetus, the, burial of** F.G. 131
- Fetishism and Totemism** .. F.G. 144—148
- Field, J., Chief at Masulipatam** 106
- figures of speech, and Alamkāra literature**, 173, f.; 177, 182
- fire, "housesling,"** 230; in marriage ceremony, F.G. 138, 143; a deity, F.G. 149; the *Holi*, F.G. 155—159
- fish, (?) *pulla*** 206, 208
- Fleet, John Faithfull, 128; and the *Indian Antiquary*, 129—132; on the Kushānas** .. 266
- flesh, abstinence from** F.G. 145
- Florentine Gazette*, The, and Wm. Bolts** .. 279, f.
- foreigners, workmen in India, 56; interfere in Madura** 217
- fort, forts, Marava, occupied by Chokkanātha, 43; or *kots*, ruins of, etc., discovered by Sir A. Stein, 114, 117, 141; (castrum,) 168, f.; 196, 222; built by V. Raghunātha** 210
- Fort St. George, letters, etc., to, and from, 7—12, 22; and Nath, Higginson, and F. Ellis, 259 n., 260 and n.** 304
- Fort William, schooner** 11
- forty, the number, in Vedic and non-Vedic literature** 233 & n.
- Friere, Father Andre, Jesuit Missionary in S. India, 23 n.; or Frere** 99, f.
- French, the, in Pondicherry, (1761), 5, 241; (and Portuguese), 22, f.; and Chanda Sahib, 218; first appear in S. Indian politics** .. 247
- frescoes, ancient, remains of, found by Sir A. Stein** 144, 198, 201, f., 232, 255
- Ful Dol*, festival** F.G. 158
- furniture, Englishmen's, its cost in 1682, from Old Factory Records** 106
- Gabarkhel, tribe, and Raja Pukhtun Wali** .. 116
- Gadāyuddha*, a work by Ranna** 289
- gādya*, subdivisions of** 173
- Gafarbodo, near Gilgit** 117
- gallivats, rowing boats** 284
- Gandharahas, Græco-Buddhist art remains** .. 115
- Gandharva, and Græco-Buddhist art** 144
- Ganēsa Ratha, in Mahābalipūr antiquities**, 53, 56, 65, f.
- Ganges, riv., in the Mahābalipūr antiquities**, 54, f; water F.G. 130, f.
- Ganpati, g., and animals, F.G. 145, 150; and molasses, F.G. 153; and crops** .. F.G. 155
- garce*, measure of capacity** 6
- Gardabhila, date** 152
- Gardabhilas, or Rāsabha kings** 152
- Gardan-i-Raftar, Pass** 231
- Garuḍa** 69
- Gauḍa, name, first use of** 127
- Gauḍas, defeated by Išānavarman** 127
- Gautama-Ganadhara, and the date of Kalki-rāja** 289
- Gautamīputra Śātakarni, Andhra k., his conquests** 164
- Gantrad Vrat*, vow** F.G. 150
- genes's, of Castes, *see* Castes in India** .. 81, ff.
- Geography, of India, and S. Asia, Ptolemy's, and the late Dr. J. Burgess** 2
- geraiyās*, or *Holiās*, boys celebrating the *Holi***, F.G. 158
- Ghalchas, or Tajiks** 227
- Gharo creek, Indus Mouth** 133
- Gheṭṭi Mudalis, Gaute Moodclair, and Mysore** .. 44
- ghosts, and the Khijado tree, etc., F.G. 136, f.; and *dākans*** F.G. 152
- ghugari*, *Holi* grain** F.G. 159
- Ghund, in Pamir Valley** 230
- Gilgit, ancient seat of a Chinese imperial gar-rison** 112, 114, 117
- Gingy, Gingee, (Chenji), fort in S. Arcot, and the English, 17; or Gingee, and the R. C. Missionary Martinez, 26; seized by Sivaji** .. 77
- Ginikanda Kaḍavaras, (see *s.v.* in Index to 1916) and Yogi Gurus** Sup. 120
- Giri, (see *s.v.* in Index to 1916) and Yakṣa Giri**, Sup. 120

- girl marriage, and caste 86—88, 92
 goddesses, and the male buffalo, etc. . . F.G. 145
 gods, snakes, F.G. 139; animals sacred to, F.G. 145
 Gogo, on Kathiāwar Coast, and Austria's
 commercial venture in the Eighteenth
 Century 285, f.
 Gōkulam, foster-father of Kṛishṇa 67
 Golcondah, 23; conquered by Aurangzeb, 121—
 124 n., 160
 Gondophares, date of, 266; and St. Thomas,
 268; or Gadnaphar 269, f.
 goose, and Sarasvati F.G. 151
 Gopichand, Raja, cult in Sind 206
 Gorachōl, and Sir A. Stein 139
 Govardhana, Govardhana, hill, and Kṛishṇa,
 56; and *Divālī* F.G. 156
 Govardhana Kṛishṇa 67
 Govindappaiya, Daḷavāi to Chokkanātha . . 96, f.
 Græco-Buddhist art, remains in Darel Valley,
 etc. 115; 144; 232
 Grafton, ship, and the cyclone in Pondicherry,
 (1761) 6, 9, 10, 15—17
 Grahila, writer 164
Grahasṭha, Sk., one who raises a family . . . 86
 Grammar, Sanskrit, different existing systems. 106
 grant, grants, Telugu, of Bālakṛishṇa Mahā-
 dānāpura, 158 n.; by Vijaya Ranga Chok-
 kānātha, etc. 187 n.; 190 n.
Grantha characters, first example in Telugu . . 40 n.
 graves, remains of, in Loulan, etc. . 168, f.; 221 f.
 Great Dragon Lake, (Chinese) Victoria . . 228
 Great Wall of China, remains 193, f.; 199
 Griggs, the late Wm., and Indian inscrip. . 130, f.
 Grunwedel, Prof.; and Tarfan, etc. 201, f.
 guardian snakes F.G. 140, 143
 Guchin, Ku-ch'êng-tzu 200
 Gudnaphar, Gondophores 269
 Gujar settlers, immigrations of 114
 Gujarat, and Totems F.G. 144
 Gujarati, see *E & O* 297, ff.
 Gumarekot, castle, Darel, residence of Rajā
 Pukhtun Wali 115
 Guṇabhadra, and the date of Kalkirāja, 148 n.,
 151 n., 287, f.; quoted 290
 Gunananandin, quoted 289, f.
 Guṇas, of *Kāvya*, and *Bharata* 178
 Gupis, post, on Gilgit riv. 116
 Gupta Era and Mihirakula, New Light on . . 287—
 296
 Gupta, coins, 2; rule, in Bengal, 127; era, and
 the late Dr. J. F. Fleet, 128, 130; inscrip.,
 coinage, etc., 270, f.; or Valabhi era, 291 & n.,
 292, f., 295; power, decline of, and the date
 of Kalki, etc., 248 & n., 249 & n., cult, of
 Śiva, in Sehwan 208
 Guptas, and Huns, 153; and the Varmans, etc.,
 275, 295
 Guru, Banabhatta's, q.v. 53
 Guru, Jupiter, and the horse F.G. 145
Haḍelhappi, Marāṭhi *haḍel hap*, corruption of
 "shoulder arms" 2
 Hakims, prescribed for internal medicines . . 48
 Haider Ali, killed by magic, 59 n.; and the
 Sringeri *Math* 136
 Haig, Col., Consul-General at Khorasan . . 231
 hair, shaving F.G. 131
hala, plough 65
 Haldane, Capt., of the *America* 13—15
 Han, dynasty, coins and relics, in C. Asia, 167,
 f., 171, 193, 195, f., 199, f., 204, 222, f.;
 annals 169, 221
 Handbook on Indian and Eastern Architec-
 ture (Fergusson) and Mahābalipūr 49
 hanging, punishment for piracy, from Old
 Factory Records 275
 Hanumān, g., and amulets, F.G. 125, f.; and
 Tulsidās F.G. 134, 154
 Hārāhā Stone Inscription 125—127
 Hardinge, Lord, and Sir A. Stein 224, 250
 Harihar, Sanskrit inscrip. in 246
 Harivarman, first Maukhari k. 126
Hari-Vaṃsa, the 147 & n.
Harācharita, a work perhaps used by Magha. 191
 Harshadeva, Harshavardhana, k. 125, f.
 harvest, spirit guardians of F.G. 134
 Hassan Akhun, camel man, with Sir A. Stein,
 138, 221
Hastings Snow, ship, and Austria's commercial
 venture in the Eighteenth Century 281, f.
 Hat Adiya, (see s.v. in Index to 1916) and Viṣṇu,
 Sup. 117; and Viśvakarma Sup. 119
 Haṭadhata II, k. of Ceylon, date 51, f.
 Hawke, E. I. Co's. ship 284
 Hayward, Mr., murdered 115
 Hedin, Sven, and E. Turkestan, etc., 140, 166, 222
 Helmand, delta 249, f.
 Hemachandra, author of the *Dṛśināmamālā*, 33,
 f., 36; quoted 290, 299
 Hemun, unidentified person, prescribed for
 Jahānāra Begam 48
Heou Han Chou, the, History of the later Han
 dynasty, and Kanishka 261
Hermoine, French prize-ship, and the Cyclone
 at Pondicherry (1761) 9
 Hewit, Sir Wm., Commander of the *Duc d'Ac-*
quaine 13—16

- Higginson, Hon. Nath., friend to Job Charnock, 259
 Hill, Mr. Geo., friend to Job Charnock, 259 & n., 260
 Himālayas, and Yaśodharman 153 & n.
 Hindu Astronomy, Notes on, by the late Dr. J. Burgess 4
 Hindu, State and Church, 28; Society, and Castes, 87—93; Kings, and Christianity, 99; Dates (by Dr. S. B. Dikshit) and Dr. J. F. Fleet, 130, f.; subjects, and Mahomedan rulers, 64, 136; beliefs, and Kalki 148, f.; 151
 Hinduism, and de Britto, 101—103; and Muhammadanism, in Sind, 206; and Vijaya Raghunātha 210
 Hindukush, and the campaign of Kao Hsien-ohik 228
 Hindus, and de Nobilia, 22, 24; and Muhammadan rule in India, 64, 136; and Pir cults in Sind, etc., 206, f.; and Musalmans, in Madura, 242; and the *Tulsi* plant, etc., F.G. 138; animals, etc., sacred to them, F.G. 145, 150; and the menses, F.G. 148 n.; and fire worship F.G. 149
 Hirianiaksha, demon, and the *Holi* festival, .. F.G. 155, f.
 Hiranyagarbha sacrifice, and Muttu Vijaya Raghunātha 209 n.
 Historical Position of Kalki and His Identification with Yaśodharman 145—153
 History of the Naik Kingdom of Madura (contd. from Vol. XLV, p. 204), 22—28, 35—47, 57—63, 74—78, 96—105, 119—124, 156—163, 183—190, 209—219, 237—249, 272—275
 History of Aurangzib, book-notice 64
 History of the later Han Dynasty, or the *Heou Han Chou*, and Kanishka 261
 history, European, and the number forty .. 233
 Hsien Tsiang, on Kanchipuram, 52; and the name Mallai 71, f.
 Hobson-Jobson, (from Old Factory Records), Jacey-Bocey—Jorcey Boicy 79
Holi fire, F.G. 154; holiday, origin, F.G. 155—157
 Holika, and the *Holi* festival F.G. 155, f.
 holy trees, 208 F.G. 136
 Holy of Holies, in Indus cult 205
 homogeneity, of the Indian people 82—85
 horse broker's allowance, from Old Factory Records 48
 hospice, remains of, in Chickiklik 137
 Houghton, Francis, witness to Job Charnock's will 260
 Hoyśala, style of architecture in temples, 136; formerly Chalukyan 248
 Hsi-hsia rule, in Kharekhotō, 197; coins .. 198
 Hsin-chiang, effects of his revolution in Kashgar 138
 Hsiang-tsiang, route used by, 137, 141; on Baladitya, 152; and Ma-lo-pa, 192; and the Temple of the Thousand Buddhas, 194; and Victoria Iako, C. Asia 228
 Hugli, tn., and F. Ellis 259 n.
 human, beings and *nāga*s, F.G. 143; sacrifices, F.G. 146, f.; *dākans* F.G. 152
 Humayun Beg, Wazir of Hunza, and Sir A. Stein 118
 Hunas, 79, f.; and Kalki, 149; or Huns, 150; and Vishṇu Yaśodharman, 151; and the Mālava era 295
 Huns, or Hunas, 150; and Guptas, etc., 152, f.; and Kansu, 196; migrations of, 200; their raids in C. Asia 222, 249
 Hunza, Valley and Sir A. Stein 137
 husbands, of *dākans* F.G. 152
 Hutton, in Penwortham, Lanes., and Job Charnock 257, 259
 Huviśhka, k., date 266, 270; coins 271
 Hyderabad, and Patala, 133; disputed succession in 247
 hydrophobia, and the Vāchhado F.G. 150
 Ibrahim Beg, with Sir A. Stein 170; 204
 identification of Kalki with Yaśodharman .. 145—153
 Idikut-shahri, ruined tn. in Turian, identified with Kao-chang 201
 Iliās, (Elijah) and Sind 206
 Imam-Jafar-Sadik, Saint, Zīārat near Niya oasis 141, f.
 Imaos, mt., in C. Asia 224
 imitation, and the Caste system 91, f.; 94
 immortality, and Takshuk Nāg 140
 import, from India to C. Asia, signs of .. 143
inayithu nāma, news of arrival (of the Mughal's slipper) 122
 India, work of the late Dr. J. Burgess in, 1—4; 128, f., 131 and R.C. Missionaries, 25; 101—103; and k. Manavarma, 51, 58; and Caste, 81—95; and Kalki, 148, f., 151; great cycle of, 190; and P'tsing, 191; and the Huns, etc., 196; and Græco-Buddhist art, 232; and the "housesing" fire, 236; and Job Charnock, 259, f.; and the Yue-chi, etc., 261—267; and Greek rule, 268; and St. Thomas and k. Kozoulo-Kadphises, 269, f.; and Austria's commercial venture in the Eighteenth Century, 277—286; S., invaded by the Muhammadans, 34, 42, f., 158, 160, f.; and the

- Marathas, 57, 74, 76, 214, 242; and the R. C. Missionary de Britto, 101—103; first appearance of English and French in politics of, 247; W.; and the Pahlavas, and Zoroastrians, 34; literature of, 133; and Gupta power 148, 153
- Indian Antiquary, The*, and the late Dr. J. Burgess, 1—3, 131, f.; and the late Dr. J. F. Fleet 129—132
- Indian, vernaculars, corruptions of English in, 28; Eras, and the late Dr. J. F. Fleet, 130 f.; ornamental motifs in tombs in Astana, 203; evidence of the Yüeh-chi, etc., 266; history. and Jaina literature 287
- Indo-Kushans in Chinese history 261
- Indo-Scythians and Kansu, 196; or Yüeh-chih, 200; or early Sassanian, architecture and the Pamirs 229
- Indra, g. in Mahābalipūr sculpture, 66, f.; and the elephant F.G. 146, 150
- Indrajit, married a *Nāg* F.G. 143
- Indus, Valley, Lower, ruled by Parthian chiefs, 34; and the timber trade, 116; water-supply, and the crocodile cult, 133; river, or Daryapanth, cult of, 205, 207; and Stone Age man, and the Aryans 208
- Innes, Commander, and Muhammad Ali .. 247 n.
- insanity, and tree marriage F.G. 138
- Inscription, A Hārāhā Stone 125—127
- Inscription, Kadamba Prakrit of Malavalli. 154, f.
- Inscription, Inscriptions, in the Jayantisvara temple, mentions Chokkanātha, others, 40 n.; of Chokkanātha, 44 n.; of Tirumalāi, 45 n.; of Atiranachanda, 53, 56; Chōla, in Mahābalipūr, 69; Amarāvati Pillar, 71; Canarese, and Sanskrit, on Pallava coins, 73; at Davajagiri, 76; of Alakādri 96 n.; of Raṅga Kṛishṇa Muttu Virappa, 104 n.; Tibetan, in Darkot, 117; of Raṅga Kṛishṇa, in Arumbāvūr, 121 n.; of Maukhari dyn., 125; Nāsik cave, etc., 127; Indian, and the late Dr. J. F. Fleet, 128—132; and the late Professor Kielhorn, 129; newly discovered at Springori, etc., 136; Mandasor, 150—152, 182, 192, 294; of Maṅgammāl, 156 n., 159 n., 184 n.; of Vanaji Paṇḍitar, at Paṭṭukkōṭṭai, 163 n.; of the Andhra q. Balari, 164; Kushan, 269, 271; of Vijaya Raṅga Chokkanātha, 186 n., 187 & n., 189; of Kilavan Sētopati, 190 n.; from Vasantagaḥ, 191; Chinese, in Kao-chang cemetery, 203; of Muttu Vijaya, 209 n.; of Kōṭṭūr, 213 n.; of Baṅgārū Tirumalā, 239 n.; Sanskrit, in Somanathpur, 248; and Kanishka, 261; Kuldarra, Taxila, etc., 266 & n.—271; of Budhagupta 202 & n.—296
- Inscriptions, Tables for the Computation of Hindu Dates in, by Prof. Jacobi 3
- intellect, and the parrot F.G. 151
- Intercourse between India and the Western World, from Earliest Times to the Fall of Rome, Book-notice 164
- interest, lawful rate 126
- intermarriage, marriage, and caste 82, f.
- inter preter as shipping clerk, from Old Factory Records 64
- invasion, of Tanjore, first Maratha, 74; of S. India, by the Mughals, 158; of Koṅgu, by Mysoreans 161
- Iran 224, f.
- Irunkol, family name, and a legend of Maṅgammāl 185
- Iśa, Jesus, in Sind River cult 206
- Iśānvarman, Maukhari k., inscrip. of, 125; date, 126; and the Andhras 127
- Ishkashmi*, dialect of the Ishkashim tract .. 229, f.
- Ishkashim, tract, near Oxus river .. 229, f.; 255
- Islamites and Tanjore 38
- Iśavaravarma, Maukhari k., inscrip. of 125—127
- Jacey-Bocey, Joicey-Boicy, a new version of Hobson-Jobson 79
- Jade Gate, Chinese, in Tunhuang *Limes* .. 196
- Jaffnapatam, visited by de Nobilis, 22; and Alvarez 26
- Jagannātha, quoted Bharata 176
- Jagannāthji, g., and the *Nim* tree F.G. 137
- Jaglot, in Tangir, home of Raja Pukhtun Wali 116
- Jahānāra Begūm, and Surgeon G. Broughton. 47
- Jahejo, tn., and Shēkh Tāhīr 205
- Jain, data, and the Puranic date of Kalki, etc., 146, f.; and the Guptas, 148, 149 n.; 287; Chronicles, two 151
- Jaina Śākatāyana 107
- Jains, in W. India, literature of, 133, f.; ascetics, and hair F.G. 132
- Jakhara, guardian spirit of crops, etc. .. F.G. 134
- Jāl, evil spirit, and Vikram F.G. 134
- Jalandhar, demon, and Kṛishṇa G. 136
- Jalāsāyana tn., or Kehatriyasimha Pallaveśvaram, shrine, Mahābalipūr 68, f.
- Jalāsāyanam, tn., Talāsāyanam 69
- Jāmbavām, figure, in Mahābalipūr sculpture, 66, f.
- Jāmbuvant, bear F.G. 151
- Jambukṣēvaram, *matha*, and Vijaya Raṅga Chokkanātha 187 n.
- James V. of Scotland 105 n.

- jangero*, an amulet F.G. 125
japa, attitude of prayer.. .. . 53
 Jaunpur, Maukhari inscrip. at 125, 127
 Jayadeva, and Kalki 148
 Jayaditya, author of the *Kāśikā* 191
 Jayantēśvara temple, inscrip. mentions Chokkanātha.. .. . 40 n.
 Jesuit, Mission, Madura, founded by de Nobilis, 23; 99 n.; records and the death of Tirumal Nāik, 28, 36 n.; and Muttu Virappa, 39, f.; and Chokkanātha, 41 n.; and other Christians in Madura, 103; letters, and the regency of Mangammāl, etc., 156 n., 159, 186, n.; and Rāmnād famine, etc. .. 190 n.; 218
 Jesus, Isa 206
 Jewish tradition, and the number forty .. 233
 Jharcon, *see* Pir 206
 Jinabhadra, date of 276
 Jinasena-sūri, author of the *Hari-Vamśa Purāṇa*, 147 and n., 148 and n., 151; and Kalki, 152, f.; and the Śaka Era .. 287, 289
 Jingi, and Chokkanātha, 41, l., 98, f.; or Gingi, 122; headquarters of the Marathas .. 160
 Jodia, fort, and snakes F.G. 139
Joseph and Theresa, late *Earl of Lincoln*, ship, *see* Austria's Commercial Venture in the Eighteenth Century 277, ff.
 Journey of Exploration, in C. Asia, A Third, by Sir A. Stein, 109, ff., 137, ff., 165, ff., 193, ff., 221, ff., 249, ff.
 Jouvean Dubreuil, Prof., and the Mahābalipūr Antiquities 50, 54 & n.
 Jumna water F.G. 130
 Jupiter, planet, Guru F.G. 145
- Kabbar jhār*, holy tree in Sind 208
 Kabul, Kaofu, and Kadphises, etc., 261 and n. 263, 265, 269
 Kaechi, Kanchi.. .. . 70
 Kaehh Antiquities, and the late Dr. J. Burgess. 2
 Kadamba Prākṛit Inscription of Malavalli.. 154, f.
Kādumbārī, a work by Bhāṇuṇa, and the wide sound of *E* and *O* 300, 301 n.
 Kadphises, group of Kushan emperors .. 266, 269
 Kadphises, Kozoulo, k., K'ieou-tsieou-kio .. 261
Kag-rashids, expound the utterances of crows, F.G. 127
 Kaira grant, date 296
 Kaiṭabha, demon 68, f.
 Kakakhel, sacred clan in Indus Valley .. 116
 Kalahuri, Traikūṭaka Chedi era 269
 Kaladgi district, and the late Dr. J. Burgess.. 2
- Kala-gedī-nāṭum, (*see s.v.* in Index to 1916) and Water-pot Dance Sup. 119
 Kālahasti, battle 244, f.
 Kālayār Kōil, Marava fort, and Chokkanātha, 43; Shrine, and de Britto 101, f.
 Kalbhairav, g., and amulets, F.G. 125; and the dog, etc. F.G. 150, 155
 Kali Age, and Kalki 145, f.; 151
 Kālidasa, his *Meghadota*, 79, f.; refers to Bhārata, 178, 182, f.; and Kamandaka .. 220
 Kālī Paraj, aboriginal tribes of Gujarat, and animals' names F.G. 144
 Kalki, figure of, 136; his historical position, and identification with Yasodharman .. 145, ff.
 Kalkirāja, succeeded the Guptas, date, 287; or Kalkin.. .. . 289, f.; 293
 Kallas, tribe, converts under de Nobilis, 28; and the Muhammadans, etc. .. 39, 120
 Kallayi, S. India, a Jesuit Mission Residence, 23, f. *kalpitā*, figure of speech, and Bharata .. 181
 Kamandaka, and Kalidasa 220
 Kani mosque, in Tangir 116
 Kansa, demon, and early Sanskrit drama, 177 & n.
 Kanakasubhai, Mr., and Mavilangai 72
 Kānchi, Kānchipura, Pallava cap., tn., and sea-port, 52; or Kaechi 70
 Kanchon, riv. 198, f.
 Kanda, (*see s.v.* in Index to 1916) and Viṣṇu, Sup. 117
 Kandy, (*see s.v.* in Index to 1916), and Viṣṇu, Sup. 118
 Kandy, and Vijaya Ranga Chokkanātha .. 189
 Kangappa Nank, Dalavai, and Achyuta Vijaya Raghava 58 n., 60 n.
 Kangra, ancient Kangadaka 276
 Katheri caves, and the late Dr. J. Burgess .. 1
 Kanishka, date of 261—271
 Karapd, a city, and the Oxus riv. 253
 Kansa, and of Chinese Buddhist texts, 194; none of the Yue-chi, etc., 196, and Chungiz Khan, etc., 197, f.; *Lanes* 222, 249
 Kanthirava Narasa Raj of Mysore 5 n.
 Kao-chang (Kaocho), cap. of Turfan.. 201, 203
 Kaolu, Kabul 261, 265 & n.
 Kao-tsen-chun, Chinese general, his campaign in the Pamirs, etc. 117, 228
 Karachi, and Mangha Pir 208
 Karakal, (Karkal?) and the French.. .. 241
 Kara-khoja, oasis near Turfan 201, f.
 Kara-koram, old Mongol cap. 197, f.; 224
 Kara-kul, l. 226, f.
 Kara-kum, colony in C. Asia 223
 Kara-shahr 185
 Kara-togin, val., in C. Asia 231
 Karecal, Kārikāl.. .. . 17
 Karezes, springs in E. Turkestan 204

- Kārikāl, Karecal, French settlement, 17 & n.;
(or Kārikāl ?) 241
- Karlik-tag range 200
- Kartik Swami, and the peacock F.G. 145
- Kashgar, 223—225; or Tourfan 262
- Kashmir, and human beasts of burden, 112;
and Mihirakula's defeat by Yaśodharman,
etc., 151—153, 261, 265 and n.; extent of .. 276
- Kāśi, choultry built by Maṅgammāl 159 n.
- Kāśimbāzār, and Dan Sheldon 259 n.
- Kasim Khan, Mughal general, under Aur-
angzeb 122
- Kastūri Raṅga, Dalavai under Vijaya Raṅga
Chokkanātha 187, f.
- Kathiawad Antiquities, and the late Dr. J.
Burgess 2
- Kāṭṭa Tēvan, polygar 212, f.
- Kātyāyana, and Pāṇini 107
- Kauravas F.G. 136
- Kauṭilya, author of the *Arthaśāstra* .. 95, 108, 220
- Kavya, treated by Bharāta 173, 177, f.
- Kāvya-darśa*, a work by Daṇḍin 182
- Kāvya-lankāra*, a work by Rudrata 180
- Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, a work by Rājasekhara, book-
notice 135
- Kātyaprakāśa*, a work by Mammata 180
- Kazaks, Muhammadans, near T'ien-shui .. 200
- Kenpenfelt, capt. of the *Norfolk*, and the
cyclone in Pondicherry (1761) 14—16;
commander of the *Royal George* .. 17 & n., 19
- Kennedy, Mr., and the Kushans 262, 265
- Kermin, or Rich, Pass, in Hunza valley .. 137
- Keśava temple, Somanathpur 248
- Khara-khoja 202
- Khara-khoto, "Black town," and Etzina .. 197
- Khara-nor, l. 193
- Kharoshthi-documents on wood, found in
C. Asia 151, f., 222
- Kharuk, settlement in the Pamirs 230
- Khijado, Shami, sacred tree F.G. 136
- Khocho, Kuo-chang 201
- Khoh, grant of Parivrājaka Mahārāja Hastin 291, f.
- Khorasan 231
- Khotan and Sir A. Stein 139, 141, 153, 262
- Khushwaqt, chiefs, and Raja Pukhtan Wali .. 115
- Khawja Khizr, or Zinda Pir 205, f.
- Kielhorn, the late Professor, and Indian in-
scriptions 129
- K'ieou-tsieou-kiō, Kadphises 261
- Kilavan (old Man), Śētūpati; or, Raghunātha,
45 and n.—47, 96—99; & de Britto, etc.,
102, 188, 190; death, etc. 209—211
- Kila Wamar, cap. of Roshan 254, f.
- Killi, Chola k., and the Mahabali kings .. 50
- Killoutis, isl., Bhambhor 133
- kings, as patrons of arts and science 133
- Kinnāra Raja, and the Marathas, etc. .. 97 & n.
- Kipin, Kāśmir (?) and Kadphises, 261; route
from 265 & n.
- Kirghiz, tribe 225—229, 231
- Kiumi, co., mentioned by Fan-Ye 262
- Knight, R., capt. of the *Liverpool* 14, f., 18
- Kōhala, and Bharata 181, n.
- Kohan Beg, Minghashi of N. Pamirs 227
- Koh-i-Khwaja, Seistan dist., has Buddhist
remains 232
- Kohistan, and Stone Age man 208
- Kolu, cocoanut F.G. 146
- Konchi-darya, riv. in C. Asia 221—223
- Koṇḍamāna, donee in inscrip., Shikapur Taluq,
155 & n.
- Kongu, etc., invaded by Chikka Dēva of
Mysore 122, 161, f.
- Konkanivarma or Avānita, newly discovered
copper-plate of 136
- Koran, the, and Chanda Sahib 219 & n.
- Korkuḷam (Quilon) and Travancore 162
- Korla, oasis 222, f.
- Kota-halu, (see *s.v.* in Index to 1916) and
women Sup. 119
- kots, forts, ruined, in Darel 114
- Kōṭṭūr, inscrip. of Ananda Rao Peshwa .. 213 n.
- Kouei-Chouang, Kushan 261
- Kozoulo, Kadphises, K'ieou-tsieou-kiō, Ku-
shan, k. 261
- Kozoulo-Kadphises, k. and Kabul 269
- Koztoff, Col. and Sir A. Stein 197, 222
- Kramastōtra*, a work by Abhinavagupta .. 180
- Kṛiśāśva, dramatic author, referred to by
Pāṇini 177
- Kṛishṇa, g. and Govardhana, 56; his wives, 62;
and Kalki's incarnation, 148; and the demon
Jalandar, F.G. 136; trees sacred to, F.G. 137;
and bear worship F.G. 151
- Kṛishṇamanantapam 70
- Kṛishṇapuram, vil. grant of 40 n.
- Kṛishṇa Raja Udayar, of Mysore, and Madura. 189
- Kṛishṇa Raṅga 119
- Kṛita Age, and Kalki 150, 153
- Krokala, meaning, place of the Crocodile,
suggested identity with Waghador 133
- Kshatriya, class 91
- Kshatriyasimha Pallavēgvaram, or Jalasa-
yana shrine 68—70
- Kshetrāpāl, guardian spirit of the fields, etc.,
F.G. 134; and insanity, etc., F.G. 138; and
marriage, F.G. 143; and crops F.G. 153
- Ku-ch'eng-tzu, Guochin 200
- Kucha, and Sir A. Stein 223
- Kui-li, Tongli, co. 265 & n.

Kula Śekhara Bhaṭṭa, priest, and the murder of Tirumal Nāik 27
Kuldarra inscrip. 266 n.
Kumaragupta, k., 126; I., 149, 290—292, 295; II., date 291
Kumāra Muttu, brother of Tirumal Nāik, 37, 214—216
Kumāralingam, near Udamalpet, copper-plate grant at 40 n.
Kumāra Raṅgappa Nāik, and Muttu Virappa, etc. 38, 215
Kumāra Rāja and Madura, 120 n.; and Trichinopoly 162
Kumāra Singh Mahārājah, of Kandy, and Vijaya Raṅga Chokkanātha 189
Kumāra Tirumalai Nāik 215
Kumarilabhaṭṭa, and the *Mahimnastava* .. 164
Kunn-kuduk, well 193
kundaliās, indecent songs at *holi* festival, F.G. 158
Kuni, a Vṛttikāra 191
Kuruk-darya, riv. 222
Kurukshetra, battle F.G. 136
Kuruk-tagh and Sir A. Stein, camels from, 170, 193, 201, 221—223
Kurumbas, and Pallavas 46 n., 73
Kushan, Kouei-chouang, conquest of India, 261, 270; or Yue-chi, 265. coins, dates, etc., 266 and n.—268; inscrip. 271
Kuṭṭanimata, a work by Dāmōdaragupta, 181 & n.

Lahū Rāja, lay name of Lāvanya Samaya .. 134
Lakshmana, k. 210
Lakshmi, and the Tulsi F.G. 136
Lally, Count de, and the Siege of Pondicherry, 3, f.; 11, f.; 22
Lal Singh, Surveyor, with Sir A. Stein, 110, 112, f., 137, 143, f., 165, 170, 193, 196, 198, f., 201, 204, 223; Rai Bahadur, in recognition of services 251, 253
Lad Wadero, or Uderolāl, incarnation of the river god 205
Langar Pass 227
Lanquar-kisht, on the Great Pamir river .. 229
Lar, tn., and the *Makara* symbol 208
Laurence, General Stringer 21 n.
Lāvanya Samaya, Jaina monk (**Lahū Rāja**), author of the *Vimala Prabandha* 134
lease in 1682, proceedings for, from Old Factory Records 192
Lecoq, Prof., and Tarlan 201
legend, of Māngammāl, 158; of the *Tulsi*; F.G. 138
Leghorn, tn., and Austria's commercial venture in the Eighteenth Century .. 279—281

Lenox, ship, and the cyclone at Pondicherry, (1761) 15, 17
letters, of Tipu Sultan to the Springeri *Math*, 136; Jesuit, and the history of Madura, 156 n., 166 n.
Limes, ancient Chinese, in C. Asia, 166, 169, 171, 193—196, 199, 222, 249, f.
Limes (see *s.v.* in Index to 1916) and Viśvakarma Sup. 118
Liṅgama Nāik, general to Muttu Virappa .. 39
liquor, abstinence from F.G. 145
Lisbon, birth-place of de Britto, 100, 102; and Austria's commercial venture in the Eighteenth Century 277, 279, f.
Li-szu-yeh, Chinese secretary to Sir A. Stein. 138
Literature, Vedic and Non-Vedic and the number forty, 33; Akāṅkāra q.v. 173
Little Pamir, lake, and the source of the Oxus. 254
Liverpool, frigate, and the cyclone at Pondicherry, (1761) 9—15, 18, 21
Lōchana, the, by Abhinavagupta 179
Lofthouse, Capt., and Austria's commercial venture in the Eighteenth Century 285
Lokasena, Jaina author, date 288
Lōllata, Bhatta Lōllata, and Bharata 180
longcloth, mentioned in Old Factory Notes .. 304
Lop, region, ancient Shan-Shan or Loulan, also salt sea, 144, 193, 232; desert, 201, 204, 249, f.
Lop-nor, lake, 139, 141, 144, 165, 167, 169, 170, 196, 222
Lord Mansfield, ship, and the cyclone at Pondicherry, (1761) 10
Loulan, or Shan-Shan Kingdom, 144 and the Han Annals, and burial finds, 169—171; delta, 197, 232; ruins near etc., 204, 221; Chinese route 222
lucky, numbers, days, etc. F.G. 128

Macartney, Sir G., Consul-General in Kashgar, and Sir A. Stein 138, f. 165, 204, 224
Maehhu, goddess, and amulets, F.G. 125; and the goat F.G. 151
m idā'as, in Rāmāṇḍ 211
Madhavagupta, k., date 125
Madhu, demon 68, f.
Madras, 11, 18 and n.; R.C. vicariate, 23; and Dā'ad Khan, 160 and n., 161; and Nath. Higginson, 259 and n.; and Austria's Commercial Venture in the Eighteenth Century 277, 279 & n.
Madura, Nāik Kingdom, History of, q.v. .. 22, ff.
Ma's, the Macedonian, his agents in C. Asia .. 225

- Magadha, and Mihirakula, 152, f.; and the Yue-chi 266
- Magar or Mangho Pir 206
- Māgha, and Bharata, 181; Māgha and his patrons 191, f.
- magic, used in war, 59 and n.; and change of sex, F.G. 125; and amulets F.G. 126
- Mahabali, emp. of the Asuras, and Mahābali-pūr 50
- Maha-bali, (see *s.v.* in Index to 1916) and Viṣṇu, Sup. 117
- Mahābalipūr, the antiquities of .. 49, ff., 65, ff.
- Mahabalis, (Māvalis) or Bānas 50
- Mahābhārata*, the, 53; and Arjuna's Penance, 54, f.; 95
- Mahāmalla (Māmalla), Narasimhavarman, I., Pallava k. 51, f.; 71
- Mahārāni of Baroda, and ant worship .. F.G. 139
- Mahārāshtra, and S. India .. 242 & n., 243
- Maha-sammata (see *s.v.* in Index to 1916) and Bamba, Sup. 117; and Viśvakarma .. Sup. 118
- Mahā-Siva-Gupta, in inscrip., and Kalki .. 148
- Mahātmas*, and change of sex F.G. 125
- Mahavira, Nirvana of, and the birth of Kalki-rāja 287
- Mahendra k., excavated S. Indian caves .. 71
- Maheśvara, Pramāra k., and Maheśvarapura .. 192
- Mahimnastava*, the, and its author 161
- Mahishāsuramardhani, in Mahābalipūr antiquities, 67; or Chaudika 68
- Mahomedan, army, 124 n.; rulers, and Hindu subjects 136
- Mahomedans, Musalmans F.G. 145
- Mahrattas, and Aurangzeb, 124 n.; and Bangāru Tirumala 272
- Mai Sahib and the Pir Jharoon cult in Sind 207, .
- Maitraya Buddha, image in Darel 115
- Makara*, symbol, 206; vehicle of Varuna .. 208
- Malabar coast, and Austria's commercial venture in the Eighteenth Century 278
- Malange, 71; Malanga and Mahābalipuram .. 72
- Mālava, co., and Huang Tsang, 192; era, Vikrama Samvat 290, 292, 294, f.
- Malavelli, Kadamba Prakrit inscrip. of .. 154, f.
- Male, element, the river, in Sindhi cults .. 205, 208
- Mallai, Mahābalipūr, 51; and Kadalmallai, two towns of the name 62; 71
- Mallar, possibly a people so called 52
- Mallikārjuna, g. of Mallapura 74
- Ma-lo-pa, or W. Mālava 192
- Matsarā Raja (see *s.v.* in Index to 1916), see Viśvakarma Sup. 118
- Malva, Avanti 5
- Māmado, Māmo, guardian spirit of harvest, etc. F.G. 134
- Mamallapuram, probably Mahamalla 51, f.
- Mahābalipuram 69, f.
- Mammata, quoted by Rudrabhaṭṭa, quoted Bharata, 180; has no reference to the *Agnipurāṇa* 176
- Mān, lake, and the goose F.G. 151
- Māna, Pramāra k., and the Mānsarowar inscrip. 192
- Māna Madurai, Marava fort, and Chokkanatha. 43
- Mānavarma, k. of Ceylon, and Narasimhavarman I 51, f.
- Mānavi Arthavidyā*, the, and *Manusmṛiti* VII. 9
- Mandaasor, Columns of Victory, erected by Kalki, date, 153; inscrips. of Yaśodharman, 150—153, 182, 294; of Kumaragupta I, etc., 290 and n., 291, 293; tn., Dasapura .. 275
- Mangal, Mars F.G. 145
- Maṅgammāl, q., mother of Ranga Kṛishṇa Muttu Virappa, 104 n., 124; her regency, 156—163, 183; mysterious death, 184, 213 n., 214, 216
- Mangho or Magar, Pir, cult in Karachi .. 206
- Maṅgra Devi, (see *s.v.* in Index to 1916) and Viṣṇu Sup. 117
- Maniḥhar*, "holder of jewel," applied to snakes F.G. 143
- Mānikpāla, (see *s.v.* in Index to 1916) and Viśvakarma Sup. 118
- Manikyal, walled town in Darel 114, f.
- Maṇimēkhalai*, the, quoted, and the Mahābalis, 50
- Mannāru Naidu, son of Vijaya Rāghava of Tanjore 58 n., 60
- Mānsarowar, (near Chitor) inscrip. of Māna .. 192
- Mantapa, Dalavai 219
- Manu, and caste, etc. 89, 95
- Manucci, N. and Nāik history, 58 n., 161 and n.; and Christianity under Chokkanātha, 99 n.; and Maṅgammāl, 160 and n.; and the English in Madura, etc., 161
- MSS., palm-leaf, discovered in Spingeri, 136; on birch bark, etc., in Charkhlik, 163; Buddhist, in the temple of the Thousand Buddhas, 194; in Khara khot, 198; Turfan, etc., 201, 202; in Astana tombs 203
- Manusmṛiti*, the, in the light of some recently published texts, some remarks supplementing it 95
- Mao-mei, oasis in C. Asia 196, 198, f.
- Maral-bashi, oasis in E. Turkestan 139, f.
- Mārāṅgana, (see *s.v.* in Index to 1916) and Mānikpāla, (see *s.v.* in Index to 1916) and Viṣṇu Sup. 117

- Maratha**, invasion of Tanjore, 57, 74 and n.—77 and n., 78; incursions into Madura, 97, f.; power, in S. India, 158, 160, 214; the, and Maṅgammāl, 163; and Bhavāni Śaṅkara .. 212
- Marathas**, (Maratos) and the French, 12; their advent into Madura, 37; and Chokkanātha Nāik, 40, 158; and Tanjore, 57, 162; Hindus, and Aurangzeb, 121, f.; raided Sringeri, 136; and the Mughal Empire, etc., 161, 214; and Vijayanagar, 239 n.; occupied Trichinopoly, 242 and n.; and Vijaya Kumāra, etc., 243—245; and Muhammad Ali 247
- Marava**, crown won by Bhavāni Śaṅkara .. 212
- Maravas**, and Chokkanātha, 97 and n., 158; and Maṅgammāl, 158, 183; and de Britto, 101, f.; attacked Ekoji, 120; and Rāmnāḍ, 209, 211
- Marco Polo** and lake Victoria 228
- Māriamman's** shrine, Madura, and Maṅgammāl's palace 185
- Maria Theresa**, of Austria, and Austria's Commercial Venture in the Eighteenth Century, 281, 283, 285, f.
- Marinus** of Tyre, on the ancient silk trade route in C. Asia 225
- Mariyun**, *Adagho Badagho* ceremony .. F.G. 154
- Mārkas**, a Sindhi class, and Brāhmaṇa customs, 136
- Marriage**, intermarriage and caste, 82—85; of girls, 86—88, 92; customs, Rājput, and trees, F.G. 138; of *nāga* and human beings, and Kāhetrapāl, F.G. 143; and the *sambelu*, F.G. 147, f.; and the broom F.G. 149
- Mars**, Mangal F.G. 145, f.
- Martin**, R. C. Missionary in S. India .. 25, 100
- Martinz**, Jesuit Missionary in S. India, 23 n.; succeeded de Nobilis 26
- martyrdom, of de Britto 103
- Maruti**, monkey g. F.G. 145
- Masūla**, mussoola, surf boats 6, 11
- Masulipatam** and lease proceedings (in 1682), 192; records 220
- Mātalan**, (see *s.v.* in Index to 1916) and Visva-karma Sup. 119
- Matas**, natural powers and the *Karan* tree. F.G. 137
- Mathas**, established by Śaṅkarāchārya, 136; at Jambukēśvaram, etc. .. 187 n., 190 n.
- Mathura** Lion pillar inscrip. .. 264 n., 270, f.
- Ma-ti-sau**, has Buddhist cave temples .. 199
- Maṭṭapaṭṭi**, temple, and the Kadamba grant. 155 n.
- Maukhari** dyn., inscrip. of, 125; coins .. 126
- Mauryas**, Mūruṇḍas, dato 152 & n.
- Mavilangai**, and Mahabalipuram 72
- Mazar-tagh' hills**, in Taklamakan 139
- Mazdai**, Misdaiois, k., and St. Thomas .. 269
- McCrindle's Translation of Ptolemy's Geography of India and Southern Asia, and the late Dr. J. Burgess 2
- McMahon, Sir H., of the Seistan Mission .. 249 f.
- Mechanism of Castes, *see* Castes 81, ff.
- Medway**, the ship and the cyclone at Pondicherry (1761) 6, 9, 11—15, 20, f.
- Meghaduta** or the *Cloud Messenger*, of Kalidasa, book-notice 79, f.
- Mello, Jesuit missionary, and Maṅgammāl .. 159
- menses, the, among Hindus F.G. 148 n.
- Mercury, Budha F.G. 146
- Merki Pass, in Kashgar 137
- Mestchersky, Prince, and General, Russian representative at Kashgar 224
- Mian Jasvant Singh, with Sir A. Stein .. 110
- Mihirakula**, and the Gupta Era, New Light on 287—296
- Mihirakula, defeated, etc. .. 151—153 & n.
- milk and snakes F.G. 139
- Milton, Mr., E. I. Co's. servant 9
- Minākshi, goddess, temple, scene of murder of Tirumal Naik 27, 273, f.
- Minākshi, Nāik q. .. 213 & n.—219; 237, f., 240
- Ming, emperor, date 262
- Ming-shui, cross roads, in C. Asia, 199; well .. 200
- Mintaka Pass, in C. Turkestan 137
- Miran, site of earliest cap. of Shun-shan .. 144
- Mirpur Khas, in Sind, pottery fragment from and the River cult 206, 208
- Mirtanjiya Mss. and the date of Mattu Virappa 37 n.
- Mir Wali, chief, murdered Mr. Hayward .. 115
- Misdaiois, Mazda 269
- misers, become snakes F.G. 140
- misra* 173
- Mission, Jesuit, in Madura, founded by de Nobilis 23
- Missionaries, Christian, in S. India .. 99, f., 158, 210, 218
- Mlechchhas, and Kalki 145, 149, 153
- Moghul, conquest of the Dakhan, 121; or Mughul, 122; or Mogul, emperor 286
- Moghuls, Mughals 217
- moharo*, *mohors*, stones from snake's head, F.G. 141, 143
- Mongol, conquest of Khara-Khoto, 197; camp. 199
- Mongolians 81
- Mongols and the Kazaks 200
- monolithic rock-cut shrines of Mahābalipūr .. 49
- moon, new, festival of, 208; an omen, F.G. 127; and deer F.G. 145
- Morse, E. I. Co's. servant 11
- mosquitoes, in Darel and Tangir valleys. 114, 116
- Mt. Eiros, position of, sketch 133

- Mudala Rudra Nayak, Alakadri Naik, and Sengamala Dās 98
- Muda Miyan and Vijaya Kumara 272, f.
- Mughal, Mughals, and Marathas in the Carnatic, 77 and n. 78.; emperor, and Sambaji, 120.; or Moghul, conquest of the Dakkan, 121, f.; Mughal's slipper, incident of, 122, f.; supremacy in Madura, 156, 159, f.; and S. India, 217, 219; and Samarkand, 231; or Mogul, emperor, and the E. I. Co. 286
- Muhammad of Ghazni, in India 34
- Muhammad Ali, and magic, 59 n.; and Chanda Sahib, 247 and n.; and Vijaya Kumara, etc. 272—274
- Muhammad Kāsim, and India 34
- Muhammad Yakub Khan, with Sir A. Stein, 110, 166, 193, 201, 223
- Muhammadan, Architecture in Gujarat, etc., and the late Dr. J. Burgess, 3, f.; rule, in S. India, 34; over Hindus, 64, 136; attacks on Tanjore, 38, f.; claims, and Raṅga Krishna, 122; saints, their tombs, near ancient Buddhist shrines in Gorachōl, 141; mosque, endowed by Mangammāl, 159; chiefs, and Vellore, 160 n.; raid, into Travancore, 162 n.; advent, into Madura, 213 n.; interference in, 216, 217 and n.; remains, in C. Asia, 222; art, in Samarkand, or Musalman, in Trichinopoly 241, 246
- Muhammadanism, and Hinduism in Sind. . 206, 209
- Muhammadans, tolerated, by Tirumal Naik, 28; and Chokkanātha, 41—43, 96, f.; and Marathas 243
- Muharram, the, and the Bebi Syed cult . . 207
- Muk-su, gorge, in C. Asia 226 & n.
- Mūlaka, tribe or co., identified with Mūlikā . . 127
- Mūlikas, see Sōlikas 127
- Mul Kaḍavara, (see s.v. in Index to 1916) and Viṣṇu Sup. 117
- Multani Revival in Sind. 205, 207
- Muni. 179, f.
- Munja, Paramāra k. 179, f.
- Murāri Rao, Maratha governor of Trichinopoly, 242—244 and n.; and Muhammad Ali. 247
- Murghab, or Bartang, riv., 226; and Oxus source, blocked 227, 254
- Murtuk, Buddhist ruins near 202
- Muruḍas, Puruḍas, corruption of Mauryas. 152 & n.
- Musalman, domination, and Muttu Virappa, etc., 38, f.; invasion, of Madura, 42, f.; interference in, 216, 238—242; *dargah*, grant made to, 159; version, of Hindu cult, 205; and Trichinopoly, 244; as omen . . . F.G. 128
- Muslimans, and the *Maravo* tree, F.G. 137; and the pig, etc. F.G. 145
- Museum, C. Indian, and Delhi 253
- Muttammāl, q. to Raṅga Krishna, and *Sati* 124, 156
- Muttu Ala-kādri, Muttu Virappa. 37, f., 40 & n., 215
- Muttu Kucchu, the horse of the Polygar of Ariyalūr 105 n.
- Muttu Liṅgappa, name in copper-plate grant. 40 n.
- Muttu Tirumalai Naik and the Marathas . . 244
- Muttu Vijaya Raghunātha, 209 n.; or Vijaya Raghunātha, q.v. 209
- Muttu Virappa, or Muttu Alakādri, q.v. . . 37
- Muzaffar Jang, and Nazir Jang 247
- Muztagh-ata, mt., range, 224; or Sel-tagh . . 226
- Mylapore, and de Nobilis, 22; and the Portuguese 226
- Mysore, a Roman Catholic vicariate, 23; and Chokkanātha, 44 and n., 97 and n., 98, 158; under Chikā Dēva-Rājā, 57, 76; and Madura, 76, 189; attacked by Sambaji, 120; and Aurangzeb, etc., 122; and Maṅgammāl, 158; and the Koṅgu Province, 161; and Trichinopoly, 183; and Vijāya Kumāra, 273; and the Polygars 274
- Mysore, Archaeological Department, Annual Report for 1916, book-notice 135
- Mysoreans, and Chokkanātha, etc., 40, 97 & n., 76; and Muhammad Ali 247
- Nadivarman (for Nandivarman ?), last Pallava k., and Atiranaśaṇḍa 68
- Nāg temples F.G. 139
- Nāgarāja, in the Arjuna bas-relief 54
- Nājarjunt Hill Caves, inscrips. 125, 127
- Nāg-magas, beggar sect F.G. 140
- Nāg-Nāth, a snake F.G. 139
- Nāg-panchami, snake day F.G. 138 f.
- Nāgs, in Pātāl F.G. 143
- Nahavāpa (=Nahapāpa), date 152
- Nahavend, battle 34
- Naik Kingdom of Madura, History of (contd. from Vol. XLV, p. 204), 22—28, 36—47, 57—63, 74—78, 96—105, 119—124, 156—163, 183—190, 209—219, 237—247, 272—275
- Nallūra, a Vṛttikāra 191
- Nā-mal Kumāra, (see s.v. in Index to 1916) and Viṣṇu Sup. 1
- names, derived from animals and plants. F.G. 144
- Namuchi, a *rūkhass* 66, 67
- Nānā Farnawis, or Furnuwees, and Wm. Bolts 279

- Nanda, dynasty, date 152
- Nandavanam, a Roman Catholic residence in S. India 23
- Nandivarman, last Pallava k., 50; N. Pallava-malla, possibly surnamed Atiranchanda, and the Arjuna *Rithas*, etc., 53; (*see* Nandivarman, 68) and Pudukkudaiyan *Ēkadhram*, 69 and n., 70; victor at Tellāru, 71; I. .. 71
- Nanga-Parbat, mt. in C. Asia 112
- Nan-kou-chen, in C. Asia, has Buddhist remains 199
- Nan-shan 198, f.
- Nārada, and Manu 95
- Narasappaiya, Dalavai under Maṅgammāl, and the Christians, 159 n.; and Mysore, etc., 162, f.; death of 183
- Narasimhavarman I, Mahāmalla, Pallava k., (in the Mahābalipūr Antiquities) and Ceylon, etc. 51—53, 55, f., 70, f.
- Narasimhavarman II, Rājasiṃha (in the Mahābalipūr Antiquities), 55, f.; perhaps surnamed Aṭiranchanda 68
- Naravāhas (Naravahanam), date 152
- Narvappaiya, Dalavai to V. R. Chokkanātha. 188
- Narendrachandra, date 276
- Nāsik cave inscrip. 127
- Nasratabad, Seistan cap. 232
- nāṭakas* 173
- Nature, or vegetation, female element in Sindhi cults 205
- Nāṭyachārya*, applied to Bharata 182
- Nāṭyaśāstra*, a work by Bharata, and the *Agnipurāṇa*, 174, f.; and the ancient rhetoricians, 176; note on, 177; date, 178, f.; and Bhaṭṭa Lōllāṭa, etc., 181, f.; the oldest work on *Alaṅkāras* 183
- Nava-guṇa-śāntiya, (*see s.v.* in Index to 1916) and Viṣṇu Sup. 117
- Nawab, of the Carnatic, and Madura, 217, 218 & n.
- Nayaka, Brahman at the Court of Śaṅkara-varman, date 180
- Nazir Jang, and Mazaffar Jang 247
- Nearchus 133
- Negapatam, and the cyclone in Pondicherry, (1761), 7, 15, 18; first Portuguese settlement on Coromandel Coast, 74 and n.; and Muttu Ajakātri 96, f.
- Nemichandra, Jaina author, date 188, f.
- Nēnmēni, near Sāttār, has inscrip. of Chokkanātha 40 n.
- Neolithic finds, in C. Asia (by Sir A. Stein), 140, 167, 169, 249
- Newcastle, ship, and the cyclone in Pondicherry, (1761) 6, 8, 9, 11—18, 20, f.
- New Light on the Gupta Era and Mihirakulā 287—296
- New moon, festival, in Sind 208
- Ngan-si, Parthia 261
- Nicks, John, E. I. Co.'s servant, letter to .. 304
- Nicobar Islands, and Austria's Commercial Venture in the Eighteenth Century .. 277, f.
- Nim*, leaves, and snake bites, F.G. 142; tree, F.G. 144
- Nirgranthas, Jaina sect, and Kalkirāja .. 287
- Nirvana, of Mahavira, and the birth of Kalkirāja 287, 289
- nishṭha*, of Kalki 150
- Niya, oasis, 141; riv. 142
- Nizam, the, and Madura, etc. .. 243 & n.; 244
- Nobilis, Robt. de, founder of Jesuit Mission in Madura, retirement and last days .. 22, 61 n.
- Norfolk, the ship, and the cyclone at Pondicherry (1761) 6, 9—12, 14 & n., 15, 18 n., 19, 21
- Northington, E. I. Co.'s ship, and Austria's Commercial Venture in the 18th Century .. 284
- Notes from Old Factory Records, 48, 64, 79, 106, 192, 220, 248; 275, 304
- Notes on Sind, I. The position of Mt. Eiros .. 133
- Notion of Kingship, the, in the *Sukhaniti*, book-notice 48
- nouns, in the Prakrits 34, f.
- Novara*, frigate, in Austria's commercial venture in the Eighteenth Century 278
- numbers, lucky, etc. F.G. 128
- Numismatics, and the date of Kanishka .. 271
- Nut, Russian post in the Pamirs 230
- Nyachut, pass 114
- nyāṣas*, used by Bana 191
- O & E, the Wide Sound of, with Special Reference to Gujarātī 297—304
- Odḍisa, (*see s.v.* in Index to 1916), and Viṣṇu, Sup. 117
- Oemo-Kadphises, Yen-Kao-Tohen, son of Kadphises 261
- official, an, present to, in Old Factory Records. 220
- offspring, for the childless F.G. 139
- Old Factory Records, *see* Notes from 48
- Omatur, R. C. Missionary settlement in S. India 24
- omens F.G. 126—128
- O-po, pass 199
- oppression, official, under V. Chokkanātha .. 187
- Original Papers Relating to the Cyclone at Pondicherry on New Year's day in 1761 .. 5 ff.
- Orissa, and Kalki 148
- Orme, R., and the cyclone at Pondicherry in 1761 5, 6 n., 12 & n., 13 & n., 16

- Orūr, battlefield 213
 Oulgaret, one of the four communes of Pondi-
 cherry 7 & n.
 Outlines of the History of Alankāra litera-
 ture, Part II (contd. from Vol. XL, p. 288), 173, ff.
 Oxus, valley, early Tibetan invasion of, etc.,
 117; river, 224—226, 228—231; problem
 of its source, by Lord Curzon and Sir H.
 Trotter 253—255
- padya*, sub-divisions of 173
 Pahlavas, settle in W. India 34
 Pakhtun Wali, Rāja, and the Dard Republics,
 111—116
 Palaeography, and the date of Kanishka .. 271
 Palaeolithic settlement in Chok-tagh, traces
 of 140
 Pālaka, date of 152
 Pālānga, (see *s.v.* in Index to 1916) and Ya-Raju,
 Sup. 120
 Pālayams, of Rāmnād, and V. Raghunātha .. 209
 Palghat, R. C. Missionary district in S. India. 24
 Pallava, Rāyas, Tōṇḍamans, their rise, 46;
 rule, in Conjeevaram 67
 Pallavamalla, Narasimhavarman I 53
 Pallava, of Tōṇḍamaṇḍalam, and the Pallava
 Rāyas, etc., 46; their origin, 72; or Kurum-
 bas 73
 Pallicate, Pulicat 14
 Paḷḷikondān, shrine, Mahābalipūr 68, f.
 Palm (see *s.v.* in Index to 1916) and Visva-
 karma Sup. 119
 palm-leaf MSS., finds in C. Asia 136, 143
 Pālpi, and Maṅgammāi 185
 paintings, in Temple of the Thousand Buddhas 194
 Pamir, Little, lake, and the source of the Oxus. 254
 Pamirs, and Sir A. Stein, 224—226, 228, f.;
 and the source of the Oxus 253, f.
 Panan Devi (see *s.v.* in Index to 1916) and
 Viṣṇu Sup. 117
 Pancha Pāṇḍava Ratha, of Mahābalipūr .. 52
pandāl, thatched shed 6
 Paṇḍārams, R. C. Missionaries to the low
 castes in S. India, 24—26 99
 Pandavas, the, and the Khijado tree .. F.G. 136
 Pāpini, 106; and Kātyāyanā, 107; first referred
 to dramatic art, 177; and Bharata .. 178, f.
 Panjab, and the Oxus riv., 255; and the
 Kushans 266
 Pan-Young, or Yong and the *Hou Han Chou*,
 262, 263 & n., 264
 Parallels, Some Interesting 233—236
- Paramēśvaravarman, or Mallaiyarkōn, Pallava
 k. and the antiquities of Mahābalipūr, 51;
 k. of Mallar, 52; (I) 53; called Atyantekama. 56
 Parangis, applied to Missionaries 24, 103
 Parāntaka, first Chōla k. 50
 Parāśara, family name of Kalki 145, 149
 Paravans, and Christianity 24, 26
 Pariabs, and Christianity, etc. 27, 99, f.
 Paris, has archæological remains from C. Asia,
 253; and Wm. Bolts 278
 Parker, Capt., of the *Grafton* 6, 15
Paro, curative stone, F.G. 146; or *Ratvano Paro*,
Suleimani Paro F.G. 147
 parrot, the, and intellect F.G. 151
 Parsis, and the cow, F.G. 145; and fire .. F.G. 149
 Parthia, Ngan-si, and Kadphises 261, f.
 Parthians, rule Lower Indus Valley, etc. .. 34; 269
 Pārvaṭi, g. and the lion F. G. 145
 Pārvaṭi, sister of Ranganātha, and wife of
 Tirumal Nāik 36
Pāsupata, Śiva's weapon 54—56
 Pasur, R. C. residence in S. India 23, f.
Pātāl, Nether World, and the *Nāga* .. F.G. 143
 Patala, and Hyderabad 133
 Pāṭaliputra, a science centre 135
 Patañjali, and Pāpini, 107; and the drama .. 178 n.
 Pate, Ch., and Job Charnock 260
pathmār, *pattamars*, runner 9; 282
 Patika, date 266, 267 & n.
Paṭṭavali Chronology, Jaina 152
 Pattini, (see *s.v.* in Index to 1916) and Viśva-
 karma, Sup. 118; and Yā-Raju .. Sup. 120
 Paṭṭukkottai, fort, inscrip. at 163 n.
 P'au Ta-jên, Mandarin, in Urumchi 202
 pearl fisheries, of Rāmnād 210
 Pedro, c., in Ceylon 9
 Pein (of Marco Polo) or Pi-mo 141
 Pei-shan Gobi, region, and Sir A. Stein, 194—
 197, 199, f.
 Pei-ting, or Chin-man, ancient cap. in Mongo-
 lia region 200
 Pelliot, Prof., and Temple of the Thousand
 Buddhas 194
 Pennerton, and Penwortham 256 & n., 257
 Penwortham Pennerton, parish in Leyland,
 Lancaster, mentioned in J. Charnock's will,
 256 & n., 257 & n., 258
 Perahāra (see *s.v.* in Index to 1916) and Yama-
 Simha-Bandāra Sup. 120
 persecution, of Christians, in S. India, 99; of
 Proenza, 100; by V. Raghunātha 210
 Persia, 34; 232; and Austria in the Eighteenth
 Century 278
 Persian, dynasty, overthrown, language, in
 India, 34; designs in Astans tombs .. 203

- philanthropy, of Maṅgamā 157, f.
 phirmainds, *farman* 286
 Phoguel, site of ancient Buddhist sanctuary .. 115
Physioramany, ship, and the cyclone at Pondicherry (1761) 22
 Pigot, Geo., and the cyclone at Pondicherry, (1761) 8, 10, 11, 22
 Pigot, Lord, killed by magic 59 n.
 Pilgrims, Chinese Buddhist, and Darel .. 111
 Pillar edicts, of Aśoka, and the late Dr. J. J. Fleet 131
 Pi-mo, (of Hsüan-tsang) or Pein 141
 Pipal, holy tree F.G. 136—138
 piracy, punishments for 275
 Pir Jhareon, cult in Sind, 206; or Sultan Hussain, Mai Pir 207
piśāchas, female evil spirits F.G. 132
 plants, names derived from, F.G. 144; and animals, F.G. 145; and stones, F.G. 146; and marriage F.G. 148
 plough, *hala*, 65; sacred F.G. 148
 Po-ch'eng-tzu, and Sir A. Stein 221
 Pocock, Admiral, and the cyclone at Pondicherry (1761) 14, 19
 poetics, origin, etc., 135; theory of, etc. .. 173
 Poetry, 135; in *Alanika* literature, 173, f.; 178, 180
 poets, classification of 173
 Pogaūr, former cap. of Rāmnāḍ 45
 Polygars, and Chokkanātha, 96, f., 190; under Rāṅga Kṛishṇa, 121; and Vijaya Kumāra, 172—174; and Bhavāni Śaṅkara, 212, 239—241; of Trichinopoly, and the Muham-madans 245
 Pondicherry, Original papers relating to the Cyclone at (in 1761), 5—22; R. C. Vicariate, 23; French settlement 24, 217
 Poona, and Wm. Bolts 279
 Por-döbe, rest-house in Russian Pamirs .. 225
 Porto Novo, in S. Arcot 6 & n.
 Portuguese, and French, in Pondicherry, 22; and the Paṇḍārams, 24; and slaves, in Madura, 42 and n.; and Sambaji, 120; Missions in Sind 205
 pottery, painted, fragment, at Mīrpur Khas, 206, 208; finds in C. Asia 249, f.
 Pouta, co., and Kadphises 261
 Prahlād, and the Holi festival F.G. 155, f.
Prākṛita-śvadhyaṃya-charṇā-pāra, a biruda of the Kadamba kings 155
 Prākṛit, the Dravidian element in it .. 33—36
 Prākṛit, Kadamba, inscription of Malavalli. 154, f.
 Prākṛit, or Apabhramṣa, and Gujarati, 297—299, 302 n.
prāṇa-paka, death wail F.G. 133
 Pratiḥarendurāja, writer, quotes Bharāta, 176; and Rudraśa 180
 prayers, for children, etc. 207
Prayoga, ceremony, and change of sex .. F.G. 125
 pregnancy, F.G. 131; and fire-worship .. F.G. 145
 prehistoric finds in C. Asia 249
 present, to an official, from Old Factory Records 220
 Predeaux, Maj. 232
 priests, Hindu, and de Nobilis 24
 Prjevalsky, Russian General 253
 Proenza, R. C. Missionary in S. India .. 25, 99, f.
Protector, ship, and the cyclone at Pondicherry, (1761) 6, 8, 9, 11, 15—18, 20, 21
 Ptolemy's Geography, translated by the late Dr. Burgess, 2; and Malange (Mallai?) .. 71
 puberty, and the *pipal* tree, F.G. 138, 159; and boys F.G. 160
 Pudukkōṭṭa, Marāva fort, and Chokkanātha, 43; State, origin of, 46, f.; and Raghunātha, 57, 210; and Rāmnāḍ 212, f.
 Pulakesin, Pulikesin II, Vallabha, at war with Narasimha 51
 Pulicat, Palliacate, Dutch settlement .. 12, 14
pulla, fish, vehicle of Uderolāl, in Sind. 205, f. 208
 punishments, for piracy 275
Purāṇas, the, and Kalki, 145—150, 152, 153 and n.; take their present form 176
 Pushpadanta, Gandharva k., reputed author of the *Mahimnastava* 164
 Pushyamitra, date 152
Queensborough, ship, and the Cyclone at Pondicherry (1761) 6, 8, 9, 11—13, 15 and n.—18, 20, 21
 Quilon, Korkulam 162
 Rāchamalla IV, Gaiga k. 288
rafaks, galleries on precipices 227
 rag, offerings, to trees 208
 Rāghavabhaṭṭa, author of the commentary on the *Arthadyōtanika* 179 & n.
 Raghoji Bhonsale, and Baji Rao I, etc. .. 242 & n.
 Raghunatha, Keḷavin of Rāmnāḍ, 45; rise of, 57; and Madura 183, 209 n.
 raids, by Huns, in C. Asia 222
 rain F.G. 147
 rainbow, and the *mohor* F.G. 148
 rainfall, ceremony F.G. 154
 Rājasekhara (Rājasekhara?) 136

- Raja Gopichand, cult in Sind 206
 Raja, Pakhtun Wali, *q. v.* 111
 Raja Ram, and Aurangzeb, 122; and Zulfikar Khan 160 & n.
 Rājasekhara, poet, date of, by the late Dr. Fleet, 131; dramatist 135
 Rajasimha Naresimhavarman II, k. in the Mahābalipūr antiquities, possibly Atirana-chanda 53, 56, 68
 Rajasimha Pallavésvaran, k., shrine at Mahābalipūr 68—71
 Rājasthāni, Old Western, or Gujarāti, *q. v.* .. 297
 Rājputānā, home of Kalki 149, f.
 Rajputs, and Arabs in Sind, 34; of Mewār, and Akbar, 148; a marriage ceremony of .. F.G. 138
 Rāji, site of capital, ancient Darel 115
 Rakusu, (*s. v.* in Index to 1916) and Viṣṇu. Sup. 117
 Ram, g., and death F.G. 130 & n.
 Rāma, g., and the Maravas 101
 Rāma, (*s. v.* in Index to 1916) and Viṣṇu. Sup. 117
 Rāma, and V. Raghunātha 210
 Rāma, and Prahlād F.G. 155, f.
 Rāmachandra Pant, Maratha statesman .. 161
 Rāma-Lakshmana, a camel belonging to the Polygar of Ariyalur 105 n.
 Rāmalinga Vilāsa, hall built by V. Raghunātha 211
 Rāmanātha, g., and V. Raghunātha .. 209, 211
 Rāmappaiya, minister under Tirumal Naik .. 37
 Rāmēsvaram temple, in Rāmnād, and Surya Rāja, 45; and V. Raghunātha 209
 Rāmnād, and Chokkanātha, 43, f., 190; under Kilavan Sētipati, 45, f., 190, 209; and Pudukkōṭṭa, 46; and the Toṇḍamāns, 57; cyclone (of 1709), 190; death of V. Raghunātha, in 210, f.; war of succession in, etc., 211—213; Polygars of, and Chānda Sahib, 241; and Vijaya Kumāra, 246, f., 272, f.; and Muhammad Ali 274
 Ram Rāja, brother of Sāmbāji 160
 Ram Singh, Naik, surveyor, with Sir A. Stein .. 144
 Raṇa Virabhadra, elephant of the Polygar of Ariyalūr 105 n.
 Ranga Kṛishṇa [Muttu Virappa (1682—1689) son of Chokkanātha, 104 and n.; character, etc., 119—121; and the Mughal's slipper, 122, f.; death of, 124 and n., 158; and Travancore 162
 Rangappa Nāik and Kumāra Muttu .. 38 & n.
 Rāṅga Rāya, Śrī, in inscrip. .. 40 n.; 96 n.; 239 n.
 Rāra, Kannaḍa poet, pupil of Ajitasena .. 289
 Rāsabha, king, Gardabhila, date 152
 rāsa, 173; treated by Bharata, 177, f.; and Rudrabhatta 180
 riāwa, disease F.G. 147
 Ravivarma, of Travancore, and Maṅgammāl, 162 n., 163
 Raymond, M., of Pondicherry 6, 12
 rebellion, of Bhavāni Śaṅkara and Toṇḍamān .. 210
 rebirth F.G. 131
 records, from C. Asia, found by Sir A. Stein, Chinese, 144, 168, f., 193, 195, 198, 203, 222; Kharoshthi 166, f., 222
 Records, Old Factory, Notes from, 48, 64, 79, 106, 192, 220, 248, 276, 304
 Regency of Maṅgammāl 156—163
 relationship. Prakrit nouns of 34
 Religion, in Sind 205, ff.
 remains, in C. Asia, finds by Sir A. Stein, of burial grounds, etc., 168, f.; of settlement, 222; Buddhist, etc. 144, 232, 249, 253
 remedies, for snake bites F.G. 141
 Republics, the Dard, and Raja Pakhtun Wali, 111—113
 Rerhi, and Eiros, suggested identification of .. 133
 Residences, R. C., five, in S. India .. 23 & n., 24
 Revenge, the ship, and the cyclone at Pondicherry (1761) 8, 11, 18
 revenue, Nāik 37
 Revival, Multani, in Sind 206
 rhetoricians, ancient, and the *Agnipurāṇa* .. 176
 rheumatic, and the *Paro* stone F.G. 146
 Rich, or Kermin, Pass 137
 rishis, and crows F.G. 151
 Ritia, four 173
 Riṭṭa, (see *s. v.* in Index to 1916) and Yamadūti Sup. 120
 River, or male element, in Sindhi cults, 205—208
 Rochford, ship, and Austria's Commercial Venture in the Eighteenth Century 284
 rock-cut shrines, Mahābalipūr 49
 Rock-cut Temples of Elephanta, by the late Dr. J. Burgess 1
 Roman Limes 250
 Rose-water, (see *s. v.* in Index to 1916) and Viṣṇu Sup. 117
 Roshan, Pamir Valley 226, f., 230, 255
 routes, ancient, in C. Asia, 168—171, 193, 200, 223, 225, 226 and n., 228, 231, 250, 255, 265 & n.
 Royal George, the 17 n.
 Rudrabhatta and Rudrata 180
 Rudran Kappan, poet 70
 Rudrata and Rudrabhatta, possible identity of, 180; and the *Natyasastra* 183
 ruins, in C. Asia, Buddhist shrines, etc., 137, 139, 201, f., 223, f., 232, 250; of forts, etc., 114, 196, 222, 224, 229
 Rukattana (see *s. v.* in Index to 1916) and Viāvakarma Sup. 116

- Rāpaka*, in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, etc. . . . 178, 181
Russel, Mr. O., and the cyclone at Pondicherry
 (in 1761) 22
Russia, (Govt. of) and Sir A. Stein, 224, f; and
England 252
Rustam Khan, favourite of Alakādri, usurpa-
tion of 98, 98, f.
Ryan, Francis, partner of Wm. Bolts, 281 & n.,
282, 285

Sa'adat Ali Khan, death of 217 n.
śabda 173
Sacastana, land of Sacas, or Scythians . . 232
sacrifices, human, etc. F.G. 146, f.
Sadrass, *Sadras*, (Seven Pagodas) Dutch set-
tlement, Chingleput Dist. 10 & n.
Safdar Ali, and Trichinopoly, etc., 217—219 and
n.; and the Marathas, 242 n., 243 and n.,
244 and n., 246
Sagosi, Muhammadan gen. of Jingi 41, f.
Sahalā, Sahalatavī, vil. in Kadamba, has an
ins. of Mahavalli 155
Sāhityadarpaṇa, a work by Viśvanātha, men-
tions early dramas 178
St. George, Fort, and the cyclone at Pondi-
cherry (1761), 7—12, 22, 259 n., 260; and
Austria's Commercial Venture in the
Eighteenth Century 282
St. Lubin, French Ambassador at Poona . . 279
St. Mary Woolchurch, London parish, birth-
place of Richard Charnock 256, 258 & n.
Saiva, faith, and Tirumal Nāik, 28; altar, at
Schwan 206
Śaivism and Sind 206, 208
Śaka, Era, 267; reference by Jināsena, 287;
dates, 292—295
Śākambhari, Śambhala 149
Śaharāja, date 289
Śakatāyana 107, f., 290
Salem, R. C. missionary settlement, 24; and
Chokkanatha, 44; and Chikka Dēva . . 162
Salisbury, ship, and the cyclone at Pondi-
cherry (1761) 9, 15, 17
salt-petre, an import to Pondicherry . . . 10
Samagial, vil. in Darel 115
Sāmanattam, village 187
Samarkand 231
Sambaji, and the Mughal empire 120, f., 160
Sambandar, Tēvāram hymner, contemporary
of Narasimhavarman I. 55
Śambhu, sacred article F.G. 147, f.

Śambhala, Śāhambhari in Rājputānā, birth-
place of Kalki 149
Sandhis, and Daṇḍin 180, 182
Sandhyāṅga 182
Saṅgraha, lost grammatical work by Vyāḍi. 178 n.
Samudragupta, the Indian Napoleon . . . 71,
saṃvat, a year 131
sanads, at Sringeri 136
Sanatkumāra, g. 66
Sanctuary, ancient Buddhist, in Darel . . 115
Sandwich, ship, and the cyclone at Pondicherry
(1761) 8—10
Sankarāchārya, date, and the late Dr. Fleet,
131; and Sringeri, 136; maṭha. at Jambukēś-
varam and V. R. Chokkanātha 187 & n.
Śankaravarman, patron of Nāyaka 180
Sankuka and Bharata 180
sannyasa, renunciation 87
Sanskrit, Grammar, 106, ff.; and *Alaṅkāra*
literature, 173—175; drama, etc., 177—179;
and O. W. Rājasthāni or Guparāti, 279, f.,
301, f., 304
Sanyasa 66
Sanyasins, ascetics, R. C. missionaries to the
high Castes in S. India 24, ff.; 99
Sanyāsis, ascetics F.G. 132
Sapta-rishis 69
Śārādā, goddess, and Sringeri 136
Sarasvati, and the peacock, F.G. 145; and the
goose F.G. 151
Sarasvatikanṭhābharaṇa, a work by Bhōja . . 176
Sarez Pamir 227 & n., 228
Śārnath inscrip. 270, f., 292, f.
śārṅga, bow 187
saro yagam, magic mantra 187
survaṁnya = free of taxes 187
Sarvānanda, author of the *Tikasara* . . . 164
Sarvatōbhadrā, type of image 169
Sarvarvarinan, Mankhari k., inscrip. on coin
of 125, f.
Sasivarma Periya Uḍaya Tevan, *nyaga* of
Volikkottai, revolt of 212, f.
Sassanian, (early,) or Indo-Scythian, *mathita*
ture, 229, 232; coins 203, 266 n., 297
Sātakarai Gotamiputra, Śrī, Andhra k. . . 197
Sātāno, festival in Sind 207, f.
Satara, imprisonment of Chanda Sahib in,
242 n. 246
Satarsingo, spirit F.G. 135
Sathia, figure F.G. 153
Sati, uxorial custom, 87, f., 92; of Muttammāl,
124, 156; of V. R. Chokkanātha's wives . . 213
Satrapa, Northern, etc., 226—268; coins of. 270, f.
Satruñjaya, Temples, and the late Dr. Burgess. 1, 2

- Saturn, Shani F.G. 146
 Satyamangalam, R. C. residence in S. India,
 23 and n.—26; taken by Mysore 76
 Saunab, Kirghiz hamlet 227
 Savai, Shahji, or Siddoji, Tanjore imposter .. 241
 Sāvitrī, and the Banyan tree F.G. 137
 Sayaji, k. of Tanjore, and the French.. 241, f.
 Scripts, various, finds in C. Asia, by Sir
 A. Stein 198, 201
 sculptures, stucco, from C. Asia .. 144, 199
 Scythians, and India, 81; or Sacas, 232;
 coins, Sassanian, *q.v.* .. 203, 266 & n.; 267
 secrecy, and mystic lore F.G. 155
 Sehwan, in Sind, Saiva altar in .. 206, 208
 Seistan, and Sir A. Stein, 231, f.; and Sir
 H. McMahon 249, f., 260
 Sel-tagh, Maztagh, mts. in Pamirs 226
 Śeṅgamala Dās, son of V. Raghava, 74; and
 Chokkanātha 98, f.
 Seṅgulam, tax-free village 187
 sense, figures of 174, 179
 Sera, Mughal prov. in the Carnatic 162
 Serava, ancient cap. of Bijapur 161
 Seres, China, and silk trade 225
 Seringapatam, and magic in war 59 n.
 serpent, and tree worship F.G. 136, ff.
 settlements, ancient, remains of, in C. Asia
 140, 166, f., 198, 222.
 Sétupati, the, 58, 120; Raghunātha, revolt of,
 183, and n.; affairs under V. R. Chokkanātha,
 "Kilavan" 188, 190, 209; still Chief of
 Rāmnād 213
 Seven Pagodas, tn., Sadras 10 n.
 Seven Seas (see *s.v.* in Index to 1916) and
 Viṣṇu Sup. 118
 Seven Years' War and Pondicherry 5
 sexes, numerical equality, and Caste, 85, f.;
 change of F.G. 125
 Shahakhel Baba, Mohammadan Saint, and Darel 115
 Shah Alim Mehtarjao, of Dard, with Sir A.
 Stein 112, f.
 Shah Jhando, the Saviour Ferryman, in Sindhi
 Cult 205, 208
 Shahji, and Tanjore .. 57, 99, 160, 162, f.
 Shahrīstan, ruins in Persian Seistan 250
 Shahzada Mian, with Sir A. Stein 116
 Shakespeare, and the number 'forty' .. 233, 236
 Shakh-darra, Pamir Valley 230
 shalandī, (Arab.) chelingues, row-boats .. 12
 Shākigrām, stone, and Vishnu F.G. 146
 Shāmaq Padakamanu, form of devotion.. F.G. 155
 Shami, Khijado tree F.G. 136
 Shams Din, Naik, with Sir A. Stein. 137, 144,
 170, 202
 Shani, Saturn F.G. 14
 Shan-shan or Loulan, the present Lop region.. 144
 Shardai Pass, near Darel 115
 Shāstras, the, and Caste system 90
 Shatṇandī, or prayoga of Rudra, sex-changing
 ceremony F.G. 125
 shaving F.G. 131, f.
 Shekh Tabir, Uderolāl, Hindu cult in Sind .. 205
 Sheldon, Dan., friend of Job Charnock, 259
 and n., 260
 Sheobat Pass 116
 Shili Sātem, row F.G. 154
 Shindī, gorge 221, f.
 Shitala, goddess, and the ass F.G. 145
 Shiva, and trees, F.G. 136, f.; and snakes, F.G.
 139, f.; and Ganpati, etc., F.G. 145; and
 Dhunda F.G. 155
 Shore temple, Mahābalipūr 68, f.
 Shrāddha, ceremony F.G. 130—133
 shrines, in Mahābalipūr, 49; ruins in C. Asia,
 144; or sanctuary, 232; in Madura .. 186
 Shukra, Venus, and the Sun F.G. 145
 Shulga, M., Russian representative in Samar-
 kand 231
 Salpoosh Kafirs, and the Oxus Valley 229
 Siddhrāj Jaysing, k. of Gujarat F.G. 134
 Siddoji, Savai Shahji, *q.v.* 241
 siege, of Pondicherry, 9, 10; of Trichinopoly,
 39; of Madras 161
 sieves, sacred F.G. 147
 Sikandar Shah, Sultan of Bijapur 74
 Sikkalai, tax-free village 187
 Śikṣā, the, and the *Agnipurāṇa* 175
 Śilālin, dramatic author 172
 silence, in mystic lore F.G. 155
 silk, Mas. finds, by Sir A. Stein, in C. Asia,
 143; traders, in Pamirs .. 225, 226 n., 231
 Simhanandin, sage 288
 Simhavishṇu, founded the Pallava dyn. 71 & n.
 Sind, and the Arabs, 34; Notes on, 133; Reli-
 gion in 205, ff.
 sins, and cow's urine F.G. 145
 Sītā, (see *s.v.* in Index to 1916) and Wooden
 Peacock Sup. 119
 Sita, and the plough F.G. 148
 Sitargh Pass 231
 Siva, and the Mahābalipūr antiquities, 54—56
 and n., 66, 70; as Śōmaskanda. 68 & n., 69, f.
 Śivaganga, a division of Rāmnād, 213; refuge of
 Baṅgāru, 239—241; and of Vijaya Kumāra 245, f.
 Sivaji and the Carnatic, 76; and Elkoji .. 99
 Śivakāśi, and Kumāra Mutho 37, f., 215
 Sivakhadavarman, k., in the Kadamba Prak-
 rit inscrip. of Malavalli 154, f.

- Skanda, Subrahmanya** 68 n.
Skandagupta, 149; date 291
skin diseases, cures F.G. 146
slaves, in Madura 42 n.
Slipper, the Mughal's 122
Small-pox, goddess of . . . F.G. 145, 150, 154
Smith, R., Brigadier-General, on the cyclone at Pondicherry (1761) 212 n.
Snake, (serpent) and tree worship, F.G. 136; by Hindus, F.G. 137, f.; temples, list of, F.G. 139, ff.; bites, F.G. 141—143; guardians F.G. 143
Soḍasa, Satrap, date 266, 267 & n., 270
Sogdian script, finds of 167, f.
Sogdiana 231
Śōjavandān, has choultries, etc., built by Maṅgammal 185
Somanathapur, Kesava temple 248
Sōmaskanda, Siva 68
Somerset, Capt. of the Weymouth 15
Songades and Songal, suggested identification 133
Sorale, matha, 187 n.; and V. R. Chokkanātha, and Kilavan Sētipati 190 n.
soul, the F.G. 131, 133
Sourd, the wide, of E and O, with special reference to Gujarātī 297, ff.
South Indian Architecture and Iconography, by Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil 50
South Sea Castle, ship, and the cyclone at Pondicherry (1761) 9
speech, figures of, and Alaiṅkara literature, 173, f., 177—179, 181, f.
spirits, evil, protection from, etc., F.G. 125, f.; ceremonies for, F.G. 130—132; bhūts, F.G. 133; list of, as guardians, etc., F.G., 134; and the childless, F.G. 135; and trees, F.G., 136, f.; and snake-bites, F.G. 142; and silence F.G. 155
Śrīmāla, birthplace of Magha 192
Śringaratilaka, a work by Kudrabhaṭṭa 180
Srinagar, and Sir A. Stein 151
Śringeri, matha and Sankarāchārya, discoveries at, and Tipu Sultan 136
Śrīrangam, and Christianity, 27; and Ekoji, 98; 156 and n.; and V. R. Chokkanātha. 186 & n.
Śrīrangapatnam and Kongu 162
Śrī Raiga Rāya, in inscrip. 40 n., 96 n., 239 n.
Śrivilliputtūr, and the Tondaman lands 46
Stables, J., E. I. Co.'s servant 248
State and Church, Hindu 28
Stevens, C., Admiral, and the cyclone at Pondicherry (1761) 5—7 & n., 9—12, 14—16, 21
Stephen, R. C. missionary in Madura 100
Sthalāśayanam, Talāśayanam, and Jalāśayanam 69
Stone Age, remains, in C. Asia, 140, 167, 249; Man, and the crocodile, 208; Tower, site of. 225
Stone Inscription, a Hārāhā 125, ff.
stones, the moharo, F.G. 141, 143; worshipped, etc. F.G. 146, ff.
storms, cyclones, in India 5, ff. 190 & n.
stucco, sculptures, from temple ruins in C. Asia 144, 201
Stupa, ruins, in C. Asia, 117, 107, 107, f., 265; containing pottery fragment, in Sind 206
Stūpas, Buddhist, of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta in Kriehna District, by the late Dr. Burgess 3
Subrahmanya, Skandha 68
Su-chou, oasis, and river 196, 198, f.
Sudarśana, (see s.v. in Index to 1916) and Viru Sup. 117
Sudra class 91
Submas, defeat of 220
suicide, of q. Mīnākṣī, 240; and dākṣas. F.G. 152
Sujana Bai, q. of Tanjore 241
Sukhanitī, the, the notion of kingship in 48
Sukkur, in Sind, and the cult of Khwaja Khizr 205, f.
Śukra, guru, of the rākṣhasas 66
Sūlikas, defeated by Jisnavarman, and the Mūlikas 127
Su-lo Ho, riv. 193, 195, 198
Sultan Hussain, or Pir Jhareen 207
Sultans of the Decan, and S. India 160
Sumitra, Nāg, wife of Daslarath F.G. 143
Sun, cult, in Sind, 205; and the horse F.G. 145
Sundaramūrti 70
Sung, (dynasty) and Taifan 201
sunrise, parallels about 234 & n.
Supremacy, Mughal, in Madura 156, ff.
Surakano, an amulet F.G. 125
Surat, and Austria's Commercial Venture in the Eighteenth Century 282—286
Surgeon, Gabriel Boughton 47, f.
Suropuro, guardian spirit of harvest F.G. 134
surveys, of the Oxus 255
Sūrya, Rāja of Rāmnād 45 & n.
Sūrya, sun 66, 234 & n.
Sūryavarman, Mauklari prince, in inscrip. 125—127
Sūtanatī, Chuttanutee, Calcutta 259
Sutherland, the ship, at Pondicherry (1761) 6, 8, 9, 11—18, 20, f.
Swat, and Darel 114
Sykes, Sir P., and Sir A. Stein 224, f.
Syria, and Rome, 250; Ta-tsin 262
Syrian Christianity of Travancore 10 3

- Tabir, Shekh, *q.v.* 205
taboo, in Sind, tree 208
*Tables for the Computation of Hindu Dates in
Inscriptions*, by the late Dr. Burgess .. 3
Tachibana, Mr., Japanese explorer 166
Tadia Tevan, high caste convert and de
Britto 102, f.
Taghdumbash valley 137
Tahānūi, (see *s.v.* in Index to 1916), and Wed-
dings Sup. 119
Tahia, Bactria, and the Yue-chi .. 255, 261
Tailapa II, Chlukya k., patron of Ranna .. 289
Tajila, Ghalchas 127, f., 231
Takht-i-Bahai inscription 268
Taklamakan, desert 139, f.
Talaivanam, Kāṣṭhāmlai, 52; (Sthalasaya-
nam) Jataṣayanam 69, f.
Talib-ilmī, religious students 116
Ta-li-lo, Darel valley 111
Talla Tevan, and Bāṣṭri Saikara .. 211, f.
T'ang, dyn., and the Darkot pass, 117; and
S. Turkestan, etc., 200, f., 203, 223; annals. 228
Tangir valley and Sir A. Stein, 112, f.: mos-
quitoes in 114, 116
Tangut, rule, etc., in Khara-Khoto .. 197, f.
Tanjore, R. C. residences, 23, 25, 27; and Madu-
ra, 37—39, 98, 99, 183, 246; and Chokka-
nātha, 42—44; and Rāmnāḍ, 45 and n., 190,
f., 212, f.; and Pudukkōṭṭa, 46; history,
58—62, 98, and the Tondamān, etc., 57; first
Maratha invasion of, 75, 77; and Christianity,
99; and R. K. M. Virappa, 105; and the
Mughals, 121, f., 124 n., 160, f., 217, f.,
246; and Maṅgammāl, 157—160, 163, 183;
and Kijavan Sēṭupati, etc., 209, f.; and
Bāṅgaru 241, f., 246
Taotai, of the Temple of the Thousand Bud-
dhas (Wang Tao-shi ? 194) and Sir A. Stein. 253
Tara Bai, q. of Maharashtra 161
Tarim, basin 169, 201, f., 222, 232
Tartar, sloop, and the cyclone at Pondicherry
(1761) 9, 11
Tash-Kurghan, in Sarikol 137
tasamas, Prakṛit words, in O. W. Rājas-
thāni 297 & n., 303 n.
Ta-tsin, Syria 262
Tatta, cult in Sind 205, 208
Tattuvanoheri, in S. India, and de Britto .. 23 n.
Taxila inscrip. 266 n., 267 n.
Ta-Yue-che, or Yue-chi 261
Tegara, tn., Tiyaḡa Drug 17
Tellicherry, and Austria's Commercial Venture
in the Eighteenth Century 284
Tembi, Timbi, African riv., and Wm. Bolts .. 286
Temples of Satraṅjaya, by the late
Dr. J. Burgess 1
Temples, grants to, by Chokkānatha, 44 n.,
87 n.; see Mahābalipūr, 49—57, 65—73; in
Śringeri, 136; of snake gods, F. G. 139; cave
temples, in Ma-ti-asu, 199; of the Thousand
Buddhas 168, 194, 202, 253
Thaṅgachohi, maḍan, in Rāmnāḍ 211
The *Manusmṛiti*, some remarks supplementing
it, in the light of some recently discovered
texts 95
Theodosius, coin of 71
Third Journey of Exploration in Central Asia,
1913—1916, by Sir A. Stein, 109—118,
137—144, 165—172, 193—204, 221—232,
249—258
Thousand Buddhas, Temple of, 168, 194, 202, 253
Thomas, St., and Gondophares 268, f.
Thread, the sacred F.G. 131
Thunia, a *bhut* F.G. 134
Tibet 109
Tibetan, and Chinese, rivalry, in E. Turkestan,
117; times, in Gorachūl, records of, 141; influ-
ence, in Kansu 197, f.
Tideman, Capt., and the cyclone in Pondi-
cherry (1761) 6
T'ien-tchou, India 265 & n.
Tien-shan, mts. 200, 204, 233, n.
Tiger, the ship, and the Cyclone at Pondi-
cherry, 9, 11, 15; or *Tyger* 17
timber trade on the Indus 116
Tinker, J. B., Capt., of the *Medway*, and the
cyclone at Pondicherry (1761) .. 13—15, 20
Tinnevely and Ranga Krishṇa, 119 and n.,
121; and Maṅgammāl, 185; and Chanda
Sahib, 240, 246, f.; and Muhammad Ali . 274, f.
Tippoo, and the use of magic in war, 59 n.;
Tipu Sultan, and the Śringeri *Math* .. 136
Tiruchchengōḍe, Salem Dist., has a Chokkānā-
tha inscrip. 40 n.
Tirukaṭukkunṛam, place referred to by Tēva-
ram hymners 56, 70
Tirumaiyam, fort 212
Tirumalai, Sēṭupati, Marava Chief, inscrip. of,
etc., 43 and n.; death of .. 45 & n., 47
Tirumala Nayāka, descendant of the Madura
Rajas 275 n.
Tirumal Naik, death, etc., 25 f.; theories
regarding cause, etc., 27, f., 36, f., 40, 42 n.;
and Mysore, 44, 185; story of, 58 n.; and
architecture, etc. 156—159, 274
Tirumangai Ālvār, and Talaṣayanam Mūlai,
52, 67, 69, f.

- Tirumāṅgālam, and the Tondamān lands .. 46
 Tirumōkūr, N. of Madura, Śiva temple at. 183 n.
 Tirupattūr, fort, and Chokkanātha .. 43
 Tiruppaṭaimaruddr, grant, other inscrips. by
 Maṅgammāl .. 156 n.
 Tiruvallam, N. Arcot dist., Bana cap. .. 50
 Tiruvēṅgaḍa Nīthaiya, viceroy of Tinnevely,
 119 & n.
 Tiyaḡa Drug, Tegara, fort in S. Arcot .. 17 n.
 Tokhta Akhun, with Sir A. Stein .. 166
 toleration, of Christianity, by Tirumāl Nāik,
 28; by Hindu kings, 99; religious, of Tipu
 Sultan, 136; of Maṅgammāl .. 169 *see* 103
 tombs, tomb chambers, of C. Asia, 203, 222;
 holy, in Sind .. 207, f.
 Tondamān, the, and V. Raṅghunātha .. 210—212
 Tondamān Iṇdirayan, subject of a poem 71, 73
 Tondamāns, or Pallava Rāyas, 46, f., 57;
 Tamalian rulers of Kanchi .. 73
 Tong-li, Kiu li, oo., and the Kushans .. 265
 Tōṇitturai, in Rāmāṇḍ .. 209
 Toramāpa, date .. 151, 153
 Torch, (see *s.v.* in Index to 1916) and Viṣṇu. Sup. 117
 Totemism, and Fetishism .. F.G. 144—148
 Tourfan, Kashgar .. 262
 Tovil, (see *s.v.* in Index to 1916) and Viṣṇu. Sup. 117
 Toyuk, ruins .. 202
 trade, *see* Austria's Commercial Venture in the
 Eighteenth Century .. 277
 trade, routes, old, 235; *see* also routes .. 168
 traditions, of Kṛishṇa, F.G. 137; of Viṣṇu. F.G. 140
 Traikūtaka, Kalachuri or Chedi era .. 269
 Travancore, and Christianity, 103; and Rāṅga
 Kṛishṇa, 121; and Maṅgammāl, 158; and
 Achyuta Rāya, 162; and the Mughals, etc.,
 218, 246
 treasure, and snake guards .. F.G. 140, f.
 treaty, between Bayaji and the French .. 241, f.
 tree, trees, holy, 208; haunted, F.G. 134; and
 serpent worship, F.G. 136, ff.; names derived
 from .. F.G. 144
 Trichinopoly, R. C. Mission at, 25, f.; and
 Vallam, exchanged, 36 and n.; fortified, 39;
 and cannon, 163 n.; temple, inscription, 40
 n.; and Chokkanātha, 41, f., 53; cap. of
 Madura, 44; and Tanjore, 59, 60, 163; and
 Ekoji, 76—78; and Rustam Khan, 96, 99;
 and Nengamala Dīs, 98; and the Mughal's
 Slipper, 121—124 and n.; and the Mughals,
 39, 213 n., 217 and n.—219; and Aurangzeb,
 161; and Mysore, 182, 183; and Maṅgammāl,
 185; and Kāṇḍi, 139; and Chavla Śaib,
 237—241, 247, 272 and n.; and the Mura-
 44; and Aḡwaru'ddin .. 246
 Trieste, and Austria's Commercial Venture in
 the Eighteenth Century .. 279—281
 Triestine Society, and Austria's Commercial
 Venture in the Eighteenth Century .. 277, f.
 Trilokaśāra, a work by Nemchandra .. 288
 Trincomalee, Trincomalay, and the cyclone (of
 1761), 5, 9, 15, 17; Trinomol .. 18
 Trivandrum, raided .. 162 n.
 Trivikrama, g. in Mahābalipūr .. 50, 65—67
 Trotter, Sir Henry, and the source of the Oxus,
 253, 255
 Troy, "the Eastern" .. 160
 Tsai, Chinese Gen., and Sir A. Stein .. 198
 Tukoji, son of Venkoji .. 218 n.
 Tulkuch-köl, small colony near Niya Oasis .. 142
 Tulsi, plant, and Lakshmi .. F.G. 136
 Tulsidās, and Hanumān .. F.G. 134
 Tumanovich, Capt., (Russian), and Sir A. Stein. 236
 Tun-huang, and Sir A. Stein, 166, 168—171,
 222; *Limes*, 193, f., 196
 Turfan, and Sir A. Stein, 200—204; or Kao-
 chang, Chinese garrison, 203, 201, f. or
 Tourfan .. 262
 Turkestan, finds, etc., by Sir A. Stein, 109,
 111, 115, 137, 200, 203, 249, 251
 Turki influence, in Vanaj valley .. 231
 Uḍayar-pālayam, Aura-paliām, and Maṅgam-
 māl .. 161
 Uḍaya Tēvar, 239; and Baṅgaru Tirumāl .. 243
 Udbhaṭa, date, etc. .. 482
 Uderolāl, Sheikh Tahir, Lal Wadero, the River
 God, and the *pulla* .. 205, 208
 Ujjayini, and assemblies of poets, 135; and
 Hiuen Tsiang .. 192
 Ujjvaladatta, quoted the *Mahimnastava* .. 164
 Uigur, script, 198; rule, in Turfan, 201; in
 Toyuk .. 202
 Ulugh-art pass .. 225
 Uma, goddess .. 68 n.
 Umayama Rāni, of Travancore .. 162 n.
 Umdatul Umra, used magic in war .. 59 n.
 Unity, of culture, and castes .. 82, 94
 Upama, figure of speech, 178, 179 and n., 181, 183
 urine, of cows, sacred .. F.G. 145
 Uriyas, and Śri Rāṅga Rāya .. 239 n.
 Urumchi and Sir A. Stein .. 165, 202
 usurpation, of Rustum Khan .. 96
 Uttamapālayam, Christian settlement, in
 Madura, and Jesuit intolerance, 103; inscrip.
 of Baṅgaru Tirumāl .. 239 n.
 Uṭṭarapurāṇa, a work by Guṇabhadra .. 288 & n.

- Uṭṭattūr, Madura frontier, and the Mughal's
 slipper 122
- uxorial customs, and caste 87
- Uyyakkopḍān, inscrip. at 184 n.
- Vāḥhaddo, g., and hydrophobia .. F.G. 150
- Vad, Banyan tree, and Shiva F.G. 136
- Vaḍuga, caste, and Christianity, 27; and Tra-
 vancore. 122; and Tanjore 163
- Vuḍuḥa Nātha, brother of V. Raghunātha, a
 convert to Christianity 210
- Vāgbhaṭa, and Amara 175
- Vāgheshvari Māta, and the tiger .. F.G. 150
- niśya class 91
- Vaitāl, evil spirit, and k. Vikram .. F.G. 136
- Valabhi, or Gupta, era 291 n., 295
- Valahu, (see *s. v.* in Index to 1916), and Viśva-
 karma, Sup. 119; and Yogi Gurus .. Sup. 120
- Vālama Vālamī, expression, in *Holi* proces-
 sion F.G. 158
- Vallabha, dyn. 51
- Vallam, and Trichinopoly, exchanged, 36 and
 n., 38; and Chokkanātha 43
- Valli Amma (see *s. v.* in Index to 1916) and
 Viṣṇu Sup. 117
- Vālmīki, and Bharata 181
- Vāmana, and Māgha, 181 and n.; date, etc. .. 182
- Vāmana, Brahmanical boy 66, 67
- Vanaji Panditar, Śrī, Vanoji Pandit, minister
 to Shahjī 163 & n
- Van Eecke, Belgian missionary in Kanchou .. 199
- Vanamān, Bijāpur gen. 42, 43
- Vardhana, title 150
- Varāhavatāra, cave, in Mahābalipūr .. 53, 69
- Varāha-Viṣṇu 65
- Varmalāta, variant of a king's name 191
- Varmans, and the Guptas 275
- Varuṇa, g., 66; and the *Makara* symbol .. 208
- Vas, (see *s. v.* in Index to 1916) and Viśva-
 karma Sup. 119
- Vasantagaḥ, inscrip. from 191
- Vasishtha, *Holi*, and the demoness Dhundha,
 F.G. 155, f.
- Vāsudeva, k., coins of, 265, 271; date. 266, 270
- Vasuki Nāg, and Shiva, etc. F.G. 139, f.
- Vasumitra, date 152 & n.
- Vātāpi, Vallabha cap. 51
- Vat Savitri Vrat, vow F.G. 138
- Vaya, g. 66
- Veda, the fifth, name applied to the *Nāṭyaśā-
 tra* of Bharata 179
- Vedic and non-Vedic literature, and the
 number forty 233
- Vegetation, or Nature, female element in
 Sindhi Cults 105, f., 208
- Vehka, Yaddōktakāri 70
- Vellala, and Pallava, identity of, 46 n.; eccent-
 ant caste 20
- Vellore, fort, and Zulfiḥar Khan 160 n.
- Veṇṇanāṭra*, a work following Kharata's rules. 160
- Venkaji, and Sivaji 77, 78
- Venkaṭṭa, Rāyasam of Tanjore, and Aleḡiri
 Nāḍu, 63, 74; and Śeḡganala Dās .. 75 & n.
- Vēṅkata Kṛishṇa, gen., under Chokkanātha. 58—60
- Vēṅkata Kṛishṇaia, Delavai, and Śōṛja Rāja
 of Rāmnād 45
- Vēṅkatarāḡtavāchārya, possibly Delavai
 under V. R. Chokkanātha, 188; and Paḡgaru,
 217; and Rāmnād 218
- Venture, see Austria's 277
- Verugōpāla, young Kṛishṇa playing the flute .. 67
- Venus, Shukra F.G. 145
- Verāwal inscrip., Col. Tod's 295, f.
- Vernaculars, Indian, corruptions of English in. 28
- Victoria or Zor-kōl, Great Dragon, l. in the
 Pamirs 228
- Vidi (see *s. v.* in Index to 1916) and Viśva-
 karma Sup. 119
- Vidiapṛa, minister to Tirumal Nāik 37
- Vienna, and Austria's Commercial Venture in
 the Eighteenth Century 278
- Vijaya, date 152
- Vijaya (see *s. v.* in Index to 1916) and Viṣṇu
 Sup. 117
- Vijayaditya, Śilāhāra chief. date 136
- Vijaya Kumāra and Chanda Sahib, 240, f.,
 272—274; and Anwaru'd-din 246
- Vijaya Kumāra Muttu Tirumal and the Mara-
 thas 243—245
- Vijaya Kumāra, Nāḍu, and q. Mināksī. 214—216
- Vijayanagar 229 n., 239 n., 241
- Vijaya Rāghava, Achyuta, and Chokkanātha,
 58—60; or Vijā Rāgunanda, 61; and Chris-
 tianity, 61 n.; fall of 74 f., 99
- Vijaya Raghunātha, (Muttu V. R., Śēlupati,
 Kāṭṭa Tēvar) of Rāmnād, accession, etc.,
 209 & n.—211
- Vijaya Raṅga Chokkanātha (1689—1731) his-
 tory of, 156 and n., 184; personal rule, etc.,
 186, f.; death of, 189, f., 213—215, 217 n.,
 219; and Taṇḍa Tēvan 211
- Vijīapti-Tricent*, a Jaina Epistle, book-notice 276
- Vikram, k., and evil spirits F.G. 134
- Vikrama, era, 148 n., 151, 294 and n.—296,
 301 n.—304; or Samvat, and Kanishka,
 etc., 268, 271; or Mālava era, 290—292, 295
- Vikramāditya 192, 293

- Vikramōrvaśīya*, a work by Kālidāsa 182
- villages, in Kadamba grants 155 & n.
- Vine (see *s.v.* in Index to 1916), and Viśvakarma Sup. 119
- Viṣhukadḍa-chuṭukulānanda Sātakarni, perhaps prince Sivakhada-Nāga-siri 155
- Virappa, Muttu Virappa 37 & n.
- Virapratāpa, Śrī, or Śrī Ranga Rāya Mahādeva, name in a grant 40n.
- Viravenkaṭadēva 213 n.
- Virgin Mary, and Sindhi cults 205
- Viṣṇu, g., and Mahābalipūr, 50, 65, 68, 69; and Kalki, 150; and the Vad tree, F.G. 136; and the eagle, etc. F.G. 145, f.
- Viṣṇu Vardhana, Yaśodharman, names identified with Kalki 150, 153
- Viṣṇu-Yaśas, name identified with Kalki, 145 and n., 149, f.
- Viśvakasēna 69
- Viṣṇu (see *s.v.* in Index to 1916), and Kanda, Mahābali, Maha-sammata, Mangra Devi, Manikpala, Mul Kaḍavara, Mal Kumāra, Oḍḍissa, Panan Devi, Rose-water, Sudarśana, Torch, Valli Amma, Vijaya Abhuta Devi, Bangle, Cobra, Coconut, Curtain, Hat Aḍiya, Navaguna-śāntiya, Rakusu, Rāma, Tovil, Vijaya, Seven Seas (see *s.v.* in Index to 1916).
- Viśvakarma (Viśkam), architect of the gods, Sup. 118; and Areca-sickle, Arrow, Aṭa Magula, Buddha, Drums, Limes, Maha-sammata, Mal-sara Raja, Mānikpāla, Mātalan, Palm, Pattini, Rukottana, Valula, Vas, Vine, Vidi, Hat Aḍiya (see *s.v.* in Index to 1916).
- Viśkam, and Viśvakarma Sup. 118
- Viśvanatha, first author of note, to refer to the *Agnipurāṇa*, etc. 176, 178
- Viśvanatha I, 104, 156; Nāik 120, 241, 246
- Viyanboyi, spirit Sup. 119
- Vopadeva, his commentary on the *Mahimnas-tava* 164
- vow, vows, and bronchitis, children, etc., F.G. 137; the *Nāgpanchami*, etc., F.G. 139, f.; women's, F.G. 150, 154; *Holi* day, etc. F.G. 156, 158
- Vrinda, wife of Jalandhar, F.G. 136; and the Tulsi F.G. 138
- vr̥ttis* 182, 191
- Vṛttirāga*, and Daṇḍin 182
- Vyaṣi, author of the lost grammatical work *Samgraha* 178 n.
- Vyāghramukha, Śrīchapa k., presumably of Bhinmal 191
- Vyāsa 176
- Vāsurāya maṭha of Sosale, and V. R. Chokkanātha, 187 n.; and Kilavan Setupati .. 199 n.
- Wāgho*, crocodile 206
- Wāghodar, "crocodile's place" and Krokala .. 133
- Wakhan, important in ancient times, and Sir A. Stein, 229; and Sir H. Trotter 255
- Wall, the Great, of China, 193—196, 222; and the Roman *Limes* 250
- Wāman Jianti Har Vasso, the river god, in Sindhi cult 205
- Wandiwash, battle 5
- Wang Tao-shi, priest of Temple of the Thousand Buddhas 194
- war, and magic, 59 n.; wars, waged by Maingammāl. 158, 161, f.; of succession, in Rāmānāḍ 211
- Ware, Col. F. Webb, and the Seistan-Nushki route 250
- Watch-stations, remains of, in C. Asia, 193—195, 222, f., 249
- Water-pot Dance, Sup. 119; and Kala-geḍinātum, (see *s.v.* in Index to 1916).
- Weddings, Sup. 119; and Tahānet (see *s.v.* in Index to 1916).
- Wei-tio*, the, and Kanishka, etc., 261, 264, 265 & n., 266 & n.
- Wema Kadphises, and India. 262; coins, etc., 266, 267
- Weymouth*, the ship, and the cyclone at Pondicherry (1761) 7, 9, 10, 15, 17
- Wheeler, historian, and Nāik history, 36, 37, 39 n., 40 n.
- whipping, punishment for piracy 275
- white, mourning F.G. 133
- White, J., in Job Charnock's will 260
- White Dragon Mounds, desert in C. Asia .. 171, f.
- widowhood, compulsory, and caste. 85, 87, 88, 92
- widows, customs of, 185 F.G. 131, f.
- William, Fort, and Austria's Commercial Venture in the Eighteenth Century .. 277 n., 281
- Wilson, historian, and Madura 98
- witchcraft F.G. 152
- wives, death of F.G. 138
- women, and war, 58; as warriors, 61; and caste, 85—87; festival, in Sind, 207; vows of, F.G. 138, f.; and *dākan* possession F.G. 152
- Women, Sup. 119; purification of, and Kota-halu (see *s.v.* in Index to 1916).
- Wood, Capt., and Pamir region 228
- wood carving, from C. Asia 115, 117, 166
- Wooden Peacock, (Dandu-monara), Sup. 119; and Sita (see *s.v.* in Index to 1916).
- word, and sense, figures of 174
- worship, of serpents and trees, F.G. 135, 137, ff.; and totems, F.G. 144; of animals, F.G. 150, f.
- Wu-ti, Han emp., and C. Asia 196, 222

Xavier, St. Francis, and India

- Yadōktakari or Vēḥkā, shrine in Kanchi .. 70
 Yāga-sāman, a Brahman, Sup. 119; and Divi-Kaduru (see *s.v.* in Index to 1916).
 Yagello, Col., Russian, in the Pamirs .. 225, f., 230
 Yaggal Vādi, a spirit Sup. 119
 Yakas Sup. 120
 Yak-pidavila ritual Sup. 120
 Yakṣa-giri, (Yak Giri), exorcist ritual, Sup. 120; and Giri (see *s.v.* in Index to 1916).
 Yakṣa Rakusa, d., Sup. 120; Rakusa (see *s.v.* in Index to 1916).
 Yale, Elihu, E. I. Co.'s servant .. 248, 275, 304
 Yama, Hindu regent of Hell, Sup. 120; and Hin. Curtain (see *s.v.* in Index to 1916).
 Yama-dūti (1) female d., Sup. 120; and Cobra, (see *s.v.* in Index to 1916); (2) female d., Sup. 120; and Rittā, (see *s.v.* in Index to 1916).
yamaka, figure of speech .. 173, 178, 179, 181, 183
 Yama Riri, g. Sup. 120
 Yama-simha Baṇḍāra, d., Sup. 120; and Pora-hāra (see *s.v.* in Index to 1916).
 Yā Raju (1) k. of Kannuran-pura, Sup. 120; and Pattini (see *s.v.* in Index to 1916); (2) and Pālāṅga, see *s.v.* in Index to 1916).
 Yardang-bulak, salt spring near Kuruk-tagh .. 221
yardangs 171
 Yar-khoto, site of early cap. of Turfan .. 204
 Yasin valley, and the Chinese, etc. .. 116, f.
 Yaśodarā, goddess, Sup. 120; and Cobra (see *s.v.* in Index to 1916).
 101 | Yasodharman, and Kalki, *g.v.*, 145—153; and Mihirakula 152, 153 & n
 Yasovarman, patron of Bhavabhūti 181
 Yen-kao-tchen, Oemo-Kadphises 261
 Yeshil-köl, l. in the Pamirs 227, f.
 Ying-p'an, garrison oasis, near Lop-nor. 195, 222
 Yōgaśayanamūrti, group of figures 69
 Yogi Gurus, Sup. 120; and Ginikanda Kaḍavaras, and Valalu (see *s.v.* in Index to 1916).
 Yogins, and Martinz, R. C. Missionary .. 26
Yogis, and change of sex F.G. 125
 York, the ship and the cyclone at Pondicherry, (1761) 7, 9, 10, 12, 15
 Yotkan, site of ancient cap. of Khotan .. 141
 Yuan Chwang, Hīnan Tsang, and Mihirakula.. 152
 Yudapoti, a mother of Devī Deviyo .. Sup. 120
 Yüeh-chih, (the Great), early inhabitants of Kanan, 196; or Indo-Scythians, migration routes, 200; Ta Yue-chi or Kushans, 161, f., 264, 265 and n.; empire 206
 Yu-Houan, composer of the *Wei-liao* .. 261, 264, f.
 Yunāni physicians 48
 Zamr-i-Alish-parast, ruined fort in Great Pamir. 229
 Zinda Pir, Khwaja Khizr. in Sindhi cult .. 205
 Zodiac, (Dolos Rās), Sup. 120; and Indragurulu, Planets, Set-sāntiya (see *s.v.* in Index to 1916).
 Zor-köl, or Victoria l. 228
 Zulfikar Khan, Mughal general, in S. India, 124 & n., 160 & n

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CONTENTS

R. D. BANERJI, M.A. :—	
THE PRATHĀRA OCCUPATION OF MAGADHA ..	109
PROF. D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A. :—	
DECCAN OF THE ŚĀTAVĀHANA PERIOD ..	69; 149
PROF. H. B. BHIDE, M.A., LL.B. :—	
NOTES ON KĀLIDĀSA ..	246
G. E. L. CARTER, I.C.S. :—	
RELIGION IN SIND ..	197
H. C. CHAKLADAR :—	
Davva-Saṅgaha (Dravya-Saṅgraha) by Nemi- chandra Siddhānta-Chakravarti ..	139
The Practical Path, by Champat Rai Jain, Bar-at-Law ..	139
An Epitome of Jainism, by Purachand Nagar, M.A., B.L.; K. Ghosh and V. Chinta- mani ..	140
CAPTAIN K. A. C. CRESWELL, R.A.F. :—	
THE VAULTING SYSTEM OF THE HINDOLA MAHAL AT MANDU ..	169
H. C. DAS-GUPTA, M.A., F.G.S. :—	
ON A PECULIAR POLISHED HAMMERSTONE FROM SINGHDHUM, CHOTA NAGPUR ..	135
N. B. DIVATIA, B.A. :—	
THE WIDE SOUND OF <i>E</i> AND <i>O</i> WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO GUJARATI ..	24; 37
A. G. ELLIS :—	
Spread of Hobson-Jobson in Mesopotamia ..	244
M. B. GARDE, B.A. :—	
A NOTE ON THE YAJVAPALAS OR JAJA- PELLAS OF NARWAR ..	241
T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A. :—	
VIVĒKAPATRAMĀLĀ ..	79; 94; 125
LT.-COL. T. W. HAIG, C.M.G. :—	
THE FĀRŪQĪ DYNASTY OF KHĀNDESH ..	113; 141; 178
RAI BAHADUR HIRALAL, B.A., M.R.A.S. :—	
TRIMŪRTIN IN BUNDELKHAND ..	136
K. P. JAYASWAL, M.A. (OXON.), BAR-AT-LAW —	
THE ARTHAŚĀSTRA EXPLAINS ..	50
NOTES ON AŚOKA INSCRIPTIONS : THE TERM ASHAṢṢU ..	207
Vaiṣṇava Worship and Buddhism ..	84
The Week-Days and Vikrama ..	112
Dates of Pāṇini and Kātyāyana ..	138
Identification of some of the Post-Andhra- bhṛitya Rulers of the Puranic List ..	208
NARENDRA NATH LAW, M.A., B.L. :—	
VĀRTTĀ—THE ANCIENT HINDU ECONOMICS, 256; 276	
N. G. MAJUMDAR, B.A. :—	
DATE OF THE ĀBHĪRA MIGRATION INTO INDIA ..	35
Vātsyāyana and Kālidāsa ..	195
SAMĀJA ..	221
Home of Kālidāsa ..	264
R. C. MAJUMDAR, M.A. :—	
THE REVISED CHRONOLOGY OF THE LAST GUPTA EMPERORS ..	161
Hāthigumphā Inscription ..	223
K. B. PATHAK :—	
NEW LIGHT ON THE GUPTA ERA AND MIHI- RAKULA ..	16
S. N. SASTRI :—	
The Sanskrit Poems of Mayūra and Bāṇa's Caṇḍīśataka, by G. P. Quackenbos, A. M., Ph.D. ..	167
Pārtha-Parākrama Vyāyoga of Paramāra Prahlaḍanadeva, by C. A. Dalal, M.A. ..	168
GURU DAS SARKAR, M.A. :—	
ALLEGED BUDDHIST INFLUENCE IN THE SUN TEMPLE AT KONARAK ..	209
ARUN SEN, B.A. (CANTAB.) :—	
MAURYANA ..	291
S. N. SEN :—	
A History of the Maratha People, by C. A. Kincaid, I.C.S., and Rao Bahadur D. Parasnis ..	299
V. A. SMITH :	
AŚOKA NOTES, NO. XII ..	43
THE STRATAGEM USED BY ALEXANDER AGAINST PORUS, ALLUDED TO IN THE ĀIN-I-AKBARĪ ..	245
DR. V. A. SUKTHANKAR, B.A., PH.D. :—	
A CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS THE EARLY HIS- TORY OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY, by Hermann Jacobi. (Translated) ..	101
ON THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE KAUTILIYA, by H. Jacobi. (Translated) ..	157; 187
SIR R. C. TEMPLE, Bt. :—	
AUSTRIA'S COMMERCIAL VENTURE IN INDIA IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY ..	1; 29; 57; 85
Malay Currency in Trengganu ..	28
Notes from Old Factory Records ..	56; 84
Spread of Hobson-Jobson in Mesopotamia ..	190
SIDE-LIGHTS ON OMICHUND ..	26
"A Faqīr's Cure for the Cholera" ..	284
The Beginnings of South Indian History, by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar ..	263
DR. L. P. TESSITORI :—	
THE WIDE SOUND OF <i>E</i> AND <i>O</i> IN MARWARI AND GUJARATI ..	225
N. G. UTGIKAR, M.A. :—	
I—THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ IN ITS ORIGINAL FORM ..	Sup. 1
II—IV—GARBE'S INTRODUCTION TO THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ ..	Sup. 9, 17; 25
A. VENKATASUBBIAH, M.A., PH.D. :—	
INDRASENĀ ..	280
THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE WESTERN CHĀLUKYAS OF KALYĀṆĪ ..	285
ROBERT ZIMMERMANN, S.J. :—	
AN ADDITIONAL PROOF FOR THE GENUINENESS OF THE VĀRTTIN IN MAMMAṬA'S KĀVYAPRA- KĀŚA ..	23

MISCELLANEA.

	PAGE
Vaishṇava Worship and Buddhism, by K. P. Jayaswal	84
The Week Days and Vikrama, by K. P. Jayaswal	112
Dates of Pāṇini and Kātyāyana, by K. P. Jayaswal	138
Vātsyāyana and Kālidāsa, by N. G. Majumdar	195
Hāthigumphā Inscription, by R. C. Majumdar	223
Home of Kālidāsa, by N. G. Majumdar	264
Identification of some of the Post-Andhrabhṛitya Rulers of the Puranic List, by K. P. Jayaswal, M.A. (Oxon.).. .. .	298

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Malay Currency in Trengganu, by R. C. Temple	28
Notes from Old Factory Records, by R. C. Temple	56 ; 84
Spread of Hobson-Jobson in Mesopotamia, by R. C. Temple	196
Spread of Hobson-Jobson in Mesopotamia, by A. G. Ellis	244
"A Faqir's Cure for the Cholera," by R. C. Temple	289

BOOK-NOTICES.

Davva-Saṅgaha (Dravya-Saṅgraha) by H. C. Chakladar	139
The Practical Path, by H. C. Chakladar	139
An Epitome of Jainism, by H. C. Chakladar	140
The Sanskrit Poems of Mayūra and Bāṇa's Candīśataka, by S. N. Sastri	167
Pārthā-parākrama Vyāyoga of Paramāra-Prahlādanadeva, by S. N. Sastri	168
The Beginnings of South Indian History, by R. C. Temple	263
A History of the Maratha People, by S. N. Sen	294

SUPPLEMENTS.

I—The <i>Bhagavadgītā</i> in its Original Form, by N. G. Utgikar, M.A.	1
II—IV—Garbe's Introduction to the <i>Bhagavadgītā</i> , by N. G. Utgikar, M.A.	9 ; 17 ; 25

PLATES.

Polished Hammerstone from Singhbhum	facing p. 134
Photograph of Trimūrti found in Bargaon, 13 miles from Damoh	136
John Faithfull Fleet, C.I.E.	141
The Vaulting System of the Hindola Mahal at Mandu (I—III)	facing pp. 170 ; 174 ; 176
Side-lights on Omichund (I—II)	facing p. 272

THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY

A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

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AUSTRIA'S COMMERCIAL VENTURE IN INDIA IN THE
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

BY SIR R. C. TEMPLE, BART

(Continued from Vol. XLVI, p. 286.)

*Letter from Lieutenant Colonel William Bolts to the President
and Council of Bombay, dated Gogo, 31 October 1777.²⁶*

Honble. Sir and Sirs

You have some time ago been informed of the accident which happened to the Imperial Austrian ship *Giuseppi and Teresa*, under my command, in the bay of Delagoa. A subsequent transaction there obliges me now to lay my complaints, on behalf of their Imperial Majesties, before you, against John Cahill, Captain of a ketch from your Presidency; the whole relation of which is briefly as follows.

On the 3d day of May 1777 I took formal possession of a certain district of land in the country called Timbe on the western side of the river Mafoome in the beforementioned bay from the Rajah Mohaar Capell, who by a deed of sale and a treaty, solemnly executed the same day, gave up the property and sovereignty thereof, together with the sovereignty of the said river, to their Imperial Majesties for ever. There are at this time in the river Mafoome two ketches from Bombay under English Colours, one commanded by Captain John McKennie and the other by Captain John Cahill, the latter of whom having partly erected an Indian hut of cajan²⁷ sticks, did on the 4th May wantonly erect a flagstaff and hoist thereon an English ensign within ten yards of the imperial flagstaff and even within the line of the guns we had planted upon taking possession. Wishing to avoid every act that would bear the smallest appearance of incivility, I therefore wrote the following letter to Captain Cahill.²⁸

To this letter Captain Cahill did not think proper to give any answer. Nevertheless, I sent several other polite messages to him by my officer, requesting he would take down his ensign, but the Captain still refused to comply, at one time pretending he was going to give a dinner on shore, and at last alledging he had bought the ground, or some part of it, himself. Upon this I assured Captain Cahill that if he really had purchased any

²⁶ *Letters Received at Bombay* (1777), XLIII, 372—376.

²⁷ The shrubby plant, *Cajanus Indicus* (Malay *kacang*), producing the food stuffs known as *dal*, a substitute for pulse.

²⁸ See *ante.*, Vol. XLVI, p. 286.

ground that was comprehended within her Imperial Majesty's territory, and could prove his title to it, he should be perfectly secure of his property, subject to the sovereignty of the power to whom the district was given up, agreeable to the usages and laws of nations in similar cases. The Rajah Capell in the mean time having informed me there was no truth in Captain Cahill's assertion of any purchase, I prevailed on Captain McKenny to accompany my officer, whom I again sent to expostulate with Captain Cahill on the impropriety of his conduct in endeavouring to obstruct the affairs of the Imperial Court, which I informed the Captain was highly aggravated in his person, as not only acting without authority from either the British Government or the East India Company, but as being a person, as I was informed, not authorized (according to the laws of his own country) to be even found on this side the Cape of Good Hope. But altho' Captain Cahill now thought proper to desist from his pretence of having purchased any ground, still he kept his ensign flying close to the Imperial flag, till I was at last obliged to let him know that if he did not lower it, I should send my own people to do it, and in that case I would even pull down the few sticks he had set up towards building a hut, as I was resolved not even a hut should be erected on her Majesty's territory by any man, in obstinate defiance of her Majesty's sovereignty while I had power to prevent it.

Captain Cahill still paying no attention to the expostulation of my officer, or even of his countryman Captain McKenny, I was reduced to the disagreeable necessity of executing what I had threatened, and I accordingly ordered Captain Cahill's ensign to be taken down and carried on board his vessel.

I have been thus particular in my relation of this affair to convince you, Sirs, how scrupulous I shall be on every publick transaction of acting in an offensive manner to the unauthorized subjects of your Government. At the same time, I flatter myself you will be equally ready to do my Sovereigns the justice of reprimanding Captain Cahill for his obstreperous conduct.

Being safely arrived in the road of Surat, though much in want of assistance and refreshment, particularly on account of several of my officers and crew, who were dangerously ill, I applied on that occasion by a letter of the 6th September, to Governor Boddam, who referred me to the Nabob as the Moguls officer, informing me that the city of Surat was the Moguls city under his government.

Accordingly, by means of Monsieur Anquetil de Briencourt his most Christian Majesty's [French] Consul at Surat, I made several applications to the Nabob for such assistance only, as according to the constitution of the Moguls City, I knew he could not refuse. The delicacy, however, of the Nabob upon those occasions was so great and productive of delays so little reconcileable to the situations of men at the point of death, as obliged me to repair to this port, where I and my people have been happier to find speedier relief from the humanity of the sectaries of Brimha [Brahmâ, i. e., the Hindus, apparently in this case, the Marâthâs].

These transactions and the nature of certain orders, which publick fame informs me have been given to your Honble. Presidency for the obstruction of the business of her Imperial Majesty's subjects and ships, have induced me to dispatch the present sloop, solely for the purpose of authentick information from your Honors upon subjects so materially interesting to the honor of the Imperial flag and the interests of their Imperial Majesties. Your answers to the following questions I shall therefore esteem as a particular favour.

1. Whether the Imperial Austrian ships of Europe and the Imperial country ships of Asia will or not be admitted to the rights of hospitality and of trade in the British settlements of Asia on the same footing as are admitted ships of the same denomination of the French, Portuguese and other European Nations.

2d. Should the Nabob or Governor of the Moguls City of Surat, on any future occasion, act repugnantly to the laws of nations with respect to any vessel under my direction, whether am I to consider him as an independent prince, acting solely from his own authority or under that of the Mogul; so that any consequent act of resentment on behalf of their Imperial Majesties would not in any wise affect the British Government of Bombay, or any other part of Asia, or in your opinions, Gentlemen, tend to interrupt the harmony subsisting between the Courts of Vienna and London.

I have the honor to assure you that in the execution of the commissions with which I am entrusted, I shall most studiously avoid giving the slightest foundation for offence to any branch of the English Company's government, and I flatter myself I shall meet with the same exemption from those prejudices arising from a jealousy of commerce, which in less enlightened times have been the bane so frequently of human society.

I am with the most profound respect

Gogo, 31st October, 1777.

Honble, Sir and Sirs.

Received 16th November 1777 per *Leopold*.

Your most obedient humble Servant

WILLIAM BOLTS,

Lieut. Colonel in the service of their Imperial Majesties.

*Letter from the Council at Bombay to the Court of Directors,
dated 30 November 1777.²⁹*

Mr Bolts in the Austrian Ship *Joseph and Theresa* to our great surprize arrived at Surat Bar the 5th September. An Extract of your Commands dated the 21st of February had been previously sent thither, and the Chief and Council in consequence thereof, and of the further Orders We sent upon receiving Advice of the Ships Arrival, exerted themselves so much and with the Assistance of the Nabobs Influence threw so many obstacles in his way that Mr Bolts found himself unable to transact any Business there and sailed away for Gogo. The Chiefs at Surat and Broach will use every justifiable Method to prevent his meeting with Success, and We learn He has not Yet been able to sell any part of his Cargo, but that He had sent to the Pundit of Ahmedavad to whom Gogo is subordinate offering him a Present of Rs. 25,000 annually in lieu of Customs, provided he will permit Him to establish a Factory and carry on a Trade there. He has since proceeded to Poonah [head-quarters of the Marâthâ Government] to negotiate this Business himself, but We shall exert our little Influence with the Durbar to defeat this Scheme, and You may be assured that no justifiable or legal Efforts shall be left untried to frustrate the Projects of these Adventurers.

We have sent the most strict Injunctions to all your Subordinate Settlements to have no Commercial or other Intercourse with the Persons concerned in this Ship, and to prevent any Investments whatever being made for them.

²⁹ *Bombay Letters Received*, V, 250-251.

*Consultation at Bombay Castle. 3 December 1777.*³⁰

A Packet addressed to Mr Bolts on their Imperial Majesty's Service having been intercepted by Mr Lewis [British East India Company's agent] at Poonah and sent by him to the President, it is debated whether the same shall be opened and inspected, when a Letter is read from the Commander of the Sloop *Leopold*, purchas'd from the Portugueze by Mr Bolts and now in the Road, wherein he terms himself an Agent for their Imperial Majesties, and demands that the said Packet should be restored. On Consideration of which It is agreed to give it up. But Mr Carnac³¹ desires it may be minuted that as Mr Bolts is engaged in a Scheme so destructive to the Interests of the Company, he thinks every means should be made use of to defeat it, and it is therefore his Opinion that the Packet should be opened and the Contents inspected, as it may probably, from the anxiety of Mr Bolts' Agent to recover it, contain intelligence of Importance.

*Consultation at Bombay Castle. 24 December 1777.*³²

As Mr Bolts has already been here a sufficient time to answer every purpose of getting Refreshment for the Imperial Sloop now here, the Secretary must signify the same to him, and require him to depart from this place without any further delay.

As We have reason to believe that there are a number of British subjects on board the Imperial Ship *Joseph and Theresa* and as we believe the Squadron is in want of Men, the same must be noticed to the Commodore and the Propriety of his taking them out of the Ship suggested to him.

*Letter and Protest from Mr Bolts to the President and Council at
Bombay, dated 24 December 1777.*³⁵

Honble. Sir and Gentlemen

I did not receive Mr Secretary Ravenscroft's answer, dated the 19th of November, to the Letter which I did myself the Honor of writing to you under Date of the 31st October, untill the 13th Inst., owing to the very extraordinary interceptions of my Letters, which Your Honor &ca. Gentlemen are well acquainted with, and which make the subject of the latter part of this address. I do not imitate your mode (unusual as I conceive it in the case before us) of answering by my Secretary, as I would not wish by any example of punctilio, much less of personal disrespect, to give cause of prejudice to the affair of my Sovereigns, who, I am sorry to say, Honble. Sir and Gentlemen, from Your answers, will not be able to collect much information of a satisfactory nature on the subjects of my last letter.

You are pleased to inform me in one Paragraph that "You cannot consider mere strangers in India as entitled to the same Privileges and attention in Your Ports as the Nations who have had Establishments and traded in the Country for upwards of a Century and a half by Virtue of Royal Grants and Phirmaunds."

To this I must remark that all European Nations are strangers in India, and in their own respective Ports, while Peace subsists between them, are mutually entitled to that attention and freedom of intercourse which are founded on the general Laws of Society,

³⁰ *Bombay Public Consultations* (1777), XLIV, 526.

³¹ The celebrated General John Carnac (1760-1800), then Second of Council at Bombay.

³² *Bombay Public Consultations* (1777), XLIV, 551-552.

³³ *Bombay Public Consultations* (1777), XLIV, 568-573.

where not interrupted by particular Treaties. The Principles on which Your Honor &ca. Gentlemen herein appear to consider the Mogul's Phirmaunds as essential to that Peace and Freedom of intercourse are to me perfectly unknown.

You are also pleased to inform me that "The English East India Company, by Phirmaunds from the Mogul, are Governors of his Castle and Fleet at Surat, and as his allies must certainly be affected by any Acts offensive to his Government." I have very attentively considered the Petition said to have been presented to the Mogul Emperor in 1759 on behalf of the Honble. English East India Company, together with the Perwannahs Hushulhookums and Firmanns [*parwana, hasb'u'l-hukm, farmân*] said to have been obtained in Consequence thereof from the Mogul's Court, respecting their Government of the Castle and Fleet of Surat, as those authorities have been publicly acknowledged before the most respectable Tribunals of Great Britain. The Petition to the Mogul expressly prays that the Company might be invested with those offices for the purposes of protecting the Inhabitants and traders of all Denomination from injustice and oppression; and the Orders issued in Consequence recite the Petition to have been granted for the express purposes of preserving the Bar and Sea open to all ships and Vessells, that the trade of all Merchants and pilgrims might meet with no trouble or impediment and they impose on the Company the strongest injunctions of "*Care, Circumspection, justice and moderation*" in the execution of those offices.

Regarding to those acknowledged documents and the immemorial established usages of the Mogul's City of Surat, The English East India Company, in the Character of the Mogul's Castle and Fleet, cannot permit, much less themselves occasion, in the name of the Nabob, any impediments of trade by the exaction of exorbitant and unusual duties, or even by any other breaches of humanity or acts of oppression, which were the very grounds on which they themselves dispos[sess]ed the former Nabob of his Government. And altho it were admitted that the English East India Company as Governor of the said Castle and Fleet might be at liberty to *defend them* when attacked, it would morely [be] as servants of the Mogul: but how "*they must certainly be affected*" as his allies against an European Nation in amity with Great Britain for any other act of reprisal, in retaliation of a breach of the Law of nations on the part of Nabob, is a point above my powers of discussion, and must be left to the decision of the Courts of Vienna and St. James, if ever occasion should be given for it. How far their Imperial Majesties have reason to be dissatisfied with the treatment their subjects have already received on the score of Trade and Hospitality at Surat, I leave Your Honor &ca. Gentlemen, to judge!

In another Paragraph I am farther acquainted "that circumstanced as I have been with Your Honble. Employers, I must be sensible I can expect no farther countenance or attention than what the Laws of Hospitality indispensibly require."

Permit me to assure Your Honor &ca. Gentlemen, in answer to this Paragraph, that I have perfectly obliterated from my Memory all the injuries I have formerly received from the Honble. English East India Company. They are dead with their Author, and I wish never to revive their remembrance. But my present claim, having no relation to any former circumstances, but to that situation alone in which I have now the Honor to present myself, it is solely on behalf of their Imperial Majesties that all my applications will be made, when necessary, to the Representatives of the British Nation in every part of Asia. In this point of view, I "*expect no countenance*" for the very idea would be an

indignity to my Sovereigns ; but as I shall endeavour on every occasion to pay the strictest attention to all national Rights of others, I shall also expect from you, Honble. Sir and Gentlemen, the same " attention " to those Rights, from which the smallest relaxation on my part or deviation on Yours might possibly be highly resented by our respective Sovereigns.

I come now, Honble. Sir and Gentlemen, to that subject which gives me the most lively concern, I mean the interception of my Letters by William Lewis Esqr., the British Minister at the Mahrattah Court at Poonah during my late Residence there, by Order of Your Honble. Board. The accompanying Affidavit sufficiently ascertains the fact, although abundance of other proof can be legally adduced if necessary. I assure you, Honble. Sir and Gentlemen, that the object of my Visit at Poonah was purely of a Commercial Nature, in execution of a trust reposed in me by her Imperial Majesty The Empress Queen of Hungary, &ca., &ca., which in no respect could tend to interrupt the peace or harmony subsisting between the British Government and the Mahrattahs, or any other of the Indian Powers. This open infraction, therefore, of the most sacred publick rights, in time of profound peace, added to the many obstructions I have already experienced by your Orders from the Indian Governments, make me conclude that a determinate resolution has been taken *per fac. ac et nefas [sic]* to impede all intercourse between the Court of Vienna and the Princes of India, and wholly to destroy the peaceful and lawful trade of their Imperial Majesties' subjects in Asia. In this state of insecurity for transacting any business of their Majesties or their subjects, I have no other remedy left me than that of protesting, as I now most solemnly do, on behalf of my Sovereigns, Their Imperial, Royal, and Apostolick Majesties, against Your Honor &ca. Gentlemen as representatives of the British Government for the infraction of Right, which I now complain of, and for all the detriment and loss that may accrue to the property and persons of their Majesties' subjects on this side the Cape of Good Hope, in consequence of any order issued, or which may be issued directly or indirectly by Your Honble. Board, or by any other Agents or Representatives of the British Nation in Asia.

At the same time that my duty forces me to lay this Publick Protest before Your Honble. Board, permit me to assure You that I have the Honor to subscribe myself with the most profound Respect

Honble. Sir and Gentlemen

Your most obedient humble Servant

WILLIAM BOLTS, Lt. Col. in the

Bombay 24th December 1777.

service of their Imperial Majesties.

Attestation of John Joseph Bauer.

John Joseph Bauer a native and heretofore inhabitant of Oldenburgh in the kingdom of Hungary³⁴ but now actually resident at the British Settlement of Bombay maketh oath and saith that he the deponent was employed by William Bolts, Lieutenant Colonel in the service of their Imperial Royal and Apostolick Majesties the Empress Queen of Hungary, &ca., &ca., and the Emperor Joseph the second, to transmit from this Port of Bombay to him William Bolts then at the Mahrattah Court at Poonah, a letter on the business of their said Majesties ; that accordingly on or about the twenty third day of November last past

³⁴ The Duchy of Oldenburgh in N. Germany, then under Austrian domination, but it seems to be a stretch of historical fact to call it in the Kingdom of Hungary.

he made or caused to be made application to the Honble. Wm. Hornby Esqr. President and Governor for all affairs of the British Nation at Bombay, to obtain a Permission or Pass for a Pattamar or Express to convey the said letter, which was accordingly granted by the said Honble. President; That on or about the said 23rd day of November 1777 last the Deponent hired, paid and dispatched an Express with the said Pass or permit and Letter directed to the said Lieutenant Colonel William Bolts at Poonah, that the said Express or Pattamar with the said Letter was seized at Poonah by or by the Orders of the British Agent there; and sent down to Bombay under a strong Guard of the British Indian Troops belonging, as this Deponent believes, to the Battalion called the Pily Phultum³⁵; that he the Deponent repaired to Poonah to inform the said Lieutenant Colonel Wm. Bolts of the interception of his Letters; that being arrived at Poonah on or about the 3rd day of this present month of December he the deponent was sent by the said Lieutenant Colonel Wm. Bolts with one or more Letters to William Lewis Esqr., the English Agent then Resident at Poonah, to demand his reasons and authority for the said interceptions, and that the said Wm. Lewis Esqr. did then and there personally acquaint this Deponent in answer to the said Letters that he had sent all Mr. Bolts' Letters down to the Honble. the President and Council of Bombay, agreeably to the Order of his Constituents, the Honble. English East India Company, or of the said Honble. President and Council, which Orders he was obliged to comply with in Conformity to the duty of his station; or word[s] to that or the like effect: and further this Deponent saith not.

JOHN JOSEPH BAUER.

Bombay Town Hall, 22 Decr. 1777.

Sworn before this Court sitting in Judgement.

BECK, Register.

N.B -This Paper was attested in the usual Form by the Mayor and Notary Publick.

Letter from the President and Council at Fort St. George to the President and Council of Bombay, dated 3 January 1778.³⁶

We have paid attention to that part of your letter of the 3rd Ultimo which relates to the Austrian Enterprise under the direction of Mr Bolts, and have only to acquaint your Honor &ca. that as the orders of the Company to this Presidency Correspond literally with the extract of their Commands which you have transmitted to us upon this subject, We shall readily cooperate with you to the utmost of our power in frustrating the success of a scheme which appears to be so prejudicial to their interests.

Letter from the Council at Bombay to the Court of Directors, dated 25 January 1778.³⁷

In our Address of the 30 November We mentioned the Arrival of the Austrian Ship *Joseph and Theresa* at Surat and of Mr Bolts having left that Place and proceeded to Gogo on account of the Obstruction thrown in his way by our Directions. We conclude that the Object of his Journey to Poonah was to obtain a Settlement at Gogo, and We shall be able to judge what Success He met with by his future Proceedings, but no Endeavours were wanting on our part to oppose his Design. It is surmised that Mr Bolts by making a Settlement at Delagoa means to make that Place his Magazine for European Commodities and from thence to pour them into India.

³⁵ *Pahilâ Paltan*, i.e., The First Regiment, Bombay Native Infantry, formed in 1767.

³⁶ *Letters Received at Bombay* (1778), XLIV. 41.

³⁷ *Bombay Letters Received*, V, 285-289.

A Sloop named the *Leopold* purchased by Him from the Dutch at Surat arrived here the 16th November with a Letter from Him dated at Gogo the 31st October, wherein He complained much of the Treatment He received at Surat, and put two Queries to Us which He requested We would answer. We accordingly sent Him a Reply by our Secretary.

Whilst Mr Bolts was at Poonah a Packet addressed to him superscribed "on their Imperial Majesty's Service" fell into the hands of Mr Lewis thro' the Mistake of the Pattamars, who thought it his duty to transmit it to Us. The Captain of the Sloop *Leopold* who had by some means gained Information of the Packet being intercepted, demanded it from us in the Name of their Imperial Majesties, and on Consideration of the matter it was thought best to give it up, but Mr Carnac desired it might be minuted that as Mr Bolts was engaged in a Scheme so destructive to the Interests of the Company, he thought every means should be made Use of to defeat it, and He was therefore of Opinion that the Contents of the Packet should have been inspected, as there was reason to conclude from the Anxiety of Mr Bolt's Agent to recover it that it contained Intelligence of Importance.

Mr Bolts himself arrived here from Poonah the 13th December, when We immediately resolved not to permit of his stay here beyond a reasonable time for procuring the necessary Supplies for the Sloop during her Voyage. He left this Place on the 24th when We had determined to require Him to depart, and on that Day He sent in a Letter and Protest commenting on our reply to his former Letter and protesting against us for the Interception of his Packet. We have to remark in Reply to his Complaint of the Disrespect shewn him by our Answer being sent thro' the Secretary that however much We might be disposed to pay all possible Respect to a Commission from so illustrious a Personage as the Empress Queen, We could not consistently shew any Distinction to Mr Bolts who may justly be termed an Apostate from the Company's Service. With regard to our Replies to his Queries, We think they were as explicit as the Nature of his Queries required, and in our Interference with the Nabob of Surat to obstruct his commercial Views, We acted in exact Conformity to your Commands of the 21st of February which direct Us to make Use of our Influence with the Country Powers to counteract his Designs.

Four British Subjects deserted from Mr Bolts's Ship and have entered into your Service. Having received Information from them of their [sic] being several others on Board, We gave Notice thereof to Sir Edward Vernon³⁸ who has sent the *Cormorant* Sloop of War to make Enquiry into the Affair.

*Letter from the Council at Tellicherry to the President and Council
at Bombay, dated 8 February 1778.³⁹*

The Resident [Richard Church] having wrote to the Prince of Cherrika [Chirakkal] to send Nanah Putterah⁴⁰ hither, as he wanted to communicate to him the Orders received from your Honor &c. . . . the latter arrived the 2d Instant . . . The Resident

³⁸ Admiral Sir Edward Vernon (1723—1794), Commander-in-Chief in the East Indies, 1776—1781.

³⁹ *Letters Received at Bombay* (1778), XLIV, 48—50.

⁴⁰ *Paṭṭar, paṭṭara*, a Malayālam name given in Malabar to foreign Brāhmins, who there are usually traders and money-lenders;

mentioned the report that prevailed of Mr Bolts being promised a Factory in the Princes dominions and that as it would be contrary to the Treaties subsisting between the Company and the Palace of Colastria,⁴¹ We expected the Prince would not grant any establishment to any European power in his Country besides the Company, which Nanah Putterah has reported to the Prince. The former said the Prince desired him to assure us he would strictly abide by that clause in the Treaty with the Honble. Company. But in this assurance we cannot place a firm reliance.

Bombay Diary. 13 March 1778.⁴²

Received the following Letter from Mr Bolts, which the President directed the Secretary to send round for the opinions of the Council, in consequence of which Mr Bolts's request was refused.

Honble. Sir and Sirs

Being much in want of a little Salt for Ballast of the Vessel under my Command, now in this Harbour, I request your permission for taking in the same, which I shall esteem a particular favor, who am with the greatest Respect Honble. Sir and Sirs,

Your most obedient and humble Servant

WILLIAM BOLTS, Lieut. Colonel in the
Service of their Imperial Majesties.

Consultation at Bombay Castle, 1 April 1778.⁴³

Mr Carnac now acquaints us that as Mr Bolts's ship has been in this Port full three weeks, a time in his opinion more than sufficient for procuring Refreshments and Ballast, the avowed motive for his coming here, He shall, to exculpate himself, deliver in a Minute expressing his disapprobation of Mr Bolts being permitted to make so long a stay.

Consultation at Bombay Castle, 8 April 1778.⁴⁴

Mr Carnac lays before us the Minute he acquainted us last Council day he proposed delivering, respecting Mr Bolts, which is ordered to be entered after this Consultation.

Mr Ramsay⁴⁵ thinking it necessary, in consequence of a Passage in Mr Carnac's Minute, that his Conduct with respect to Mr Bolts should stand recorded, now delivers in a Minute which is subjoined to Mr Carnac's.

Enclosures.

1. Mr John Carnac's Minute respecting Mr Bolts.

It has been positively enjoined from home to all the Settlements that the most strenuous Efforts should be exerted to defeat the Austrian attempt to carry on an interloping trade in these Seas, and to frustrate the Voyage set on foot at Trieste for that purpose. This was the more necessary, as the expedition was projected and is conducted by a man who, from the time he lost our Service, has made it his principal study both at home and abroad how he could most effectually injure the English Company and their Servants.

⁴¹ Colastria, Portuguese corruption of Kōlattiri or Kōlatnād (Kōlam). North Malabar. Its rulers were formerly known as the Kōlattiri Rajās and now as the Chirakkal Rajās.

⁴² *Bombay Public Consultations* (1778), XLV, 119.

⁴³ *Bombay Public Consultations* (1778), XLV, 158.

⁴⁵ Andrew Ramsay, Sixth, and last, of Council.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 171, 178-179.

Mr Carnac is therefore amazed at, and cannot help thus publicly expressing his disapprobation of, Mr Bolts being permitted to remain so long with his Ship in our Harbour, particularly as his conduct since his arrival in India has not been such as to merit any indulgence from us. Having assumed a right of Dominion in the River of Delagoa, he ordered forcibly to be taken down the English Flag hoisted by the master of a vessel trading thither under our protection; he has been at Poonah intriguing with the Minister most adverse to us, in the hope of being able to purchase some Establishment in the Gulph of Cambay and privilege of trading, which must have been hurtful to our Interests; and we learn from the subordinacy of Tellicherry that the disturbances excited in that district by Domingo Rodriguez are supposed to arise from a design of granting to Mr Bolts a License, which he is solicitous of obtaining, to form a Settlement at Bimlipatam.⁴⁶ In strict compliance to the Orders of his Employers, Mr Carnac has scrupulously avoided all intercourse whatever with Mr Bolts, but from his being still here after the expiration of more than three weeks, without any ostensible reason for it, it may be presumed every body has not been equally scrupulous, as there can be no other motive for so long a stay, but that he has a fair prospect of engaging some of our merchants in a contraband trade between this Port and the Factory he has set up in Delagoa River, whereby the Europe Staples may be introduced to this side of India by a new Channel, greatly to the detriment of the Company. Mr Carnac has strong reason for entertaining such a suspicion, as he has been assured by a free merchant of considerable credit that proposals had been made to him by Mr Bolts for engaging in this Traffick, so very advantageous as to prove a temptation too powerful to be generally resisted.

1st April 1778.

JOHN CARNAC.

2. Mr Andrew Ramsay's Minute respecting Mr Bolts.

As it may be inferred from Mr Carnac's minute that persons in Authority have been interested in the long detention of the Austrian ship at this Port. Mr Ramsay, as a member of the Board, who has been largely concerned in trade, thinks it necessary thus publicly to declare that he has had no interest therein directly or indirectly, nor has he had the least intercourse with Mr Bolts, not even in the common civilities due to a Stranger, which, but for his particular Predicament in respect to the Company and their Servants, Mr Ramsay would otherwise most certainly have shewn him.

ANDREW RAMSAY.

*Letter from the Council at Tellicherry to the President and
Council at Bombay, dated 24 April 1778.*⁴⁷

We received information that Mr William Bolts in the Austrian Ship the *Joseph and Theresa*, arrived the 21st Instant at Billiapatam, with an intention of taking in Pepper there.

As this proceeding of Mr Bolts is an infringement of the Honble. Company's privileges of Trade, granted them by the Kings of Colastria, and that he might not plead ignorance thereof, we immediately wrote him a letter, acquainting him therewith, and which was sent to Billiapatam by our Linguist [interpreter], who was directed to gain all the information he could of Mr Bolts proceedings in general, and that in case he should discover Mr Bolts soliciting an establishment in any part of the Prince's Dominions he was

⁴⁶ Baliapatam (Beliapatam) or Valarpattanam, near Cananore, in the Chirakkal taluk.

⁴⁷ Letters Received at Bombay (1778), XI.IV, 162-3.

to advise us thereof immediately, and to represent to the Prince the injury [*sic*] the Company will receive from such a breach of the privileges granted by his Ancestors to them.

Letter from the Court of Directors to the Council at Bombay.

dated 7 May 1778.⁴⁸

We approve your conduct relative to Mr Bolts and also the behaviour of our servants at Surat, as stated in your general letter of the 30th of November.

As we have not received the copy of Mr Bolts's letter, asserting a right to Delagon in consequence of a grant said to have been made to Her Imperial Majesty, we cannot at present reply thereto. If that letter is not accompanied by any remarks of yours, you will not fail to state to us by the first opportunity, every circumstance attending the affair in question, with such information as may be procurable respecting the supposed grant of the country, the name and rank of the grantor, the time when granted, and likewise the particular authority by which Mr Bolts has ventured to remove the English Colours and to destroy the house mentioned in your letter.

Letter from the Council at Tellicherry to the Court of Directors

dated 9 May 1778.⁴⁹

Mr William Bolts in the Austrian ship the *Joseph and Theresa* arrived at Billiapatam the 21st ultimo, with an intention of taking in pepper there. As this proceeding of Mr Bolts is an infringement of the Honble. Company's privileges of trade granted them by the Kings of Colastria, and that he might not plead ignorance thereof, we immediately wrote him a letter, acquainting him therewith, and which was sent by our linguist to Billiapatam, who was directed to gain all the information he could of Mr Bolts's proceedings in general, and that in case he should discover Mr Bolts soliciting an establishment in any part of the Prince's Dominions he was to advise us thereof immediately, and to represent to the Prince the injury the Company will receive from such a breach of the privileges granted by his ancestors; and as he persisted in trading in our districts after our having informed him of the Company's privileges, we thought it unnecessary to enter into a further discussion of them, and determined to leave the whole to the judgement of our Superiours.

While the Imperial Ship remained at Billiapatam there was landed from her at that place many chests of arms: after which she proceeded to Goa, where she will winter; Mr Bolts and other gentlemen belonging to the above ship remain at Billiapatam.

As we heard the Prince of Cherrika was at Cotiote [Kottayam] the 3rd instant, Mr Samuel Stedman was ordered to wait upon him to confer with him on the subject of Mr Bolts's views and proceedings: On Mr Stedman's return, he informed us that he represented to the Prince the injury the Company would receive by Mr Bolts having in particular an establishment in his country, and that we expected from the treaties between him and the Company that he would not grant it. Upon which the Prince gave Mr Stedman the strongest assurances that he would not of his own will grant Mr Bolts an establishment, who he acknowledged was endeavouring at one, but would throw every obstacle in his way to prevent it, tho' he believed Mr Bolts was going to the Nabob

⁴⁸ *Bombay Despatches*, IV, 1450—1452.

⁴⁹ *Bombay Letters Red.* VI, 56—58.

Hyder Ally Caun [Haidar 'Ali Khān] to solicit for it, and we were sensible if he succeeded, it would be out of his power to refuse obeying it.

The Resident has addressed the Nabob and represented to him in the strongest light how detrimental it will be to the Company if he gives the Prince an order to grant Mr Bolts an establishment in his country.

Letter from the Council at Tellicherry to the President and Council at Bombay,
dated 17 June 1778.⁵⁰

We wrote you last the 12th Ultimo . . . A few days after we were informed that Mr Bolts paid a visit to Ally Rajah at Cannanore, and from thence proceeded to Calicut in one of his barges. We understand his principal errand was to find out a proper spot there or at Beypore [near Calicut] to build a Factory, but have not learnt whether he has succeeded. On the 1st instant he proceeded to Seringapatam [to Haidar 'Ali].

The Ship *Joseph and Theresa* on the 2nd of last month left Billiapatam for Goa, where she proposed staying the Monsoon, but was not able to reach that place, and returned to Billiapatam the 14th. On the 20th following, she passed this Port to the Southward, and we are since informed is gone to Pondicherry.⁵¹

On the 31st ultimo a Carrikar [carrick, cargo-boat] arrived from Cannanore, and acquainted the Resident by order of Ally Rajah, that Mr Bolts had been soliciting a place at Cannanore for a Factory, but that Ally Rajah would not give him an answer before he knew if it would be agreeable or not to the Honble. Company. The Resident dispatched the Carrikar the day after, with a letter informing Ally Rajah that the Company expected, from the amity existing between them, that he would not grant Mr Bolt's request.

Letter from the Council at Tellicherry to the President and Council at Bombay,
dated 27 November, 1778.⁵²

Mr Bolts arrived at Mangalore from Seringapatam the 21st Ultimo, and immediately hoisted the Imperial Colours on the spot of ground granted him there for a Factory. One Mr Fife, a dependant of Mr Bolts, is left in charge thereof. On the 2nd instant he arrived at Billiapatam, but has not yet hoisted the Imperial Colours there or at Mattamy.⁵³

Letter from the Council at Tellicherry to the President and Council at Bombay,
dated 3 December 1778.⁵⁴

The Imperial Ship *Joseph and Theresa* arrived at Billiapatam the 30th Ultimo from the Coast of Coromandel, and we learn that some time before she left the Coast, Mr Bolts's

⁵⁰ *Letters Received at Bombay* (1778), XLIV, 204-205.

⁵¹ "The south-west monsoon having strongly set in on the Malabar coast, it was deemed unsafe to remain there any longer; we therefore took our departure from Mangalore on the 20th of May 1778, directing our course towards the gulph of Bengal; and in less than ten days, we came in sight of the Carnicobar islands . . . In one of the bays formed within those islands, we moored in twelve fathoms, and there remained until the S. W. monsoon was quite over, which was in the beginning of September." *Extract from the Diary of Nicolaus Fontana, surgeon of the "Joseph and Theresa," printed in Asiatic Researches, Vol. III, No. VII, pp. 149-163.*

⁵² *Letters Received at Bombay* (1778), XLIV, 306.

⁵³ I have not succeeded in identifying this place. It is probably an error for Madakara. See the letter of 4th February 1779, *infra*.

⁵⁴ *Letters Received at Bombay* (1778), XLIV, 308.

Agent had made a Settlement on the Nicobar Islands, and that the Inhabitants of the four Islands of Soury [Chowra], Nicaoree [Nancowry,] Tricuttee [Trinkat] and Cachoule [Katchall] had joined in a body, and surrendered themselves to the Sovereignty of the Empress Queen, upon condition of having secured to them a due administration of justice, freedom of commerce and liberty of conscience.

*Letter from the Council at Tellicherry to the Court of Directors,
dated 4 February 1779.⁵⁵*

The Ship *Joseph and Theresa* lost her passage to Goa from Billiapattam in the beginning of May, and the 20th [following] passed this place for the Coromandel; she returned the 30th of November. We learn that Mr Bolts's agents had made a settlement on the Nicobar Islands. Mr Bolts on the 1st of June proceeded to Seringapatam, and obtained from the Nabob Hyder Ally a grant to establish factories at Mangalore, Carwar, and the Island of Maddacana,⁵⁶ on which last he has hoisted the Imperial Colours. His ship proceeded from Billiapattam to Goa the middle of December, it is said to be repaired.

*Letter from the Resident at Onore to the President and Council at Bombay,
dated 12 February 1779.⁵⁷*

There was landed from the Austrian Ship *Joseph and Theresa* which came to the Port of Mangalore the beginning of December ninety six iron guns from one to four pounds caliber, two brass pieces of six pounds, ten thousand muskets and eight thousand round shott, intended for the Nabob, out of which he has yet only taken three thousand stand of arms and the two brass guns; the remainder of the muskets and guns are still there. Several copper utensils intended for setting on foot a sugar manufacture and distilling spirituous liquors were also landed, and Mr Bolts has left there two European gentlemen, Mr Fyfe and Mr Brown with a doctor, at the Banksaul which the Government has allotted him. The same ship toucht at Carwar afterwards, and landed a small quantity of copper and iron for the use of the factory. Both at that place and Mangalore Mr Bolts had began to build the Factory Warehouses, but when the walls were raised only a few feet a general stop was putt to their proceeding further on them by the Governments people, under the pretence of wanting more distinct orders from the Nabob, and I have pleasure to acquaint your Honor &c. that Mr Bolts's Agents have not yet succeeded in securing any articles of Investment in this neighbourhood. It is true that Luximicant Sinoy [Lakshmikanth Sinai] has been making offers for pepper in the Soundah [Sondā] Province, but we may possibly be able from this Factory to counteract his designs, for which end, I beg to assure you, not activity on our part will be wanting.

Bombay Diary 18 February 1779.⁵⁸

Imported the Austrian Ship *Joseph and Teresa*, commanded by Mr William Bolts last from Goa.

Consultation at Bombay 18 March 1779.⁵⁹

Read a Letter from Mr William Bolts as entered hereafter, in reply to which he must be acquainted that the Orders We have received from the Honble. Company are not

⁵⁵ *Bombay Letters Received* (1779), VI, 113-114.

⁵⁷ *Letters Received at Bombay* (1779), XLV, 61-62.

⁵⁸ *Bombay Public Consultations* (1779), XLVI, 107

⁵⁶ The fort of Malakara, near Baliapattam

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, 188.

of the nature he mentions, but that We expect to receive particular Orders respecting the Trade of the Subjects of their Imperial Majestys by the Ships of this Season, till when We will grant him the Liberty of the Port and all requisite Assistance and Supplies for the Imperial Ship *Joseph and Theresa*.

Enclosure.

Letter from Mr Bolts.

Honble. Sir and Sirs

Since my Arrival in this Port I have had the Pleasure to be informed that the Honble. the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies have lately been pleased to issue Orders to their several Presidencies in Asia to admit in their ports of the trade of such European Nations as are in amity with his most sacred Britanic Majesty. I therefore request the favour of information from your Honble. Board whether (as I most sincerely hope) the subjects of their Imperial, Royal and Apostolic Majesties have the happiness to be included in the said general Orders, or whether there is any particular exception against the Colours of their said Majestys.

From the Obstructions which you, Honble. Sir and Gentlemen, know me to have met with in the conduct of the Expedition with which I have the honor to be entrusted, I flatter myself you will admit the Propriety of my requesting this Information, as being essentially necessary, as well for the satisfaction of their Imperial Majesties, my Sovereigns, as for the direction of my future Conduct. For such a determination of the Honble. Company may not only free their Majesties from the Expense of forming Connections with the Powers of Asia but also free me from the disagreeable necessity, to which I might be otherwise with reluctance reduced, of clashing or interfering in any respect with the Political Interests of Great Britain in India.

Permit me to assure you that this is my sincerest wish while I have the Honor of subscribing myself with the greatest respect

Honble. Sir and Sirs

Your most obedient and humble Servant

Bombay, 5th March 1779.

WILLIAM BOLTS. Lieut. Colonel in the

Service of their Imperial Majesties.

Bombay Diary, 5 May 1779.⁶⁰

Sailed the Austria Ship, *Joseph and Theresa*, commanded by Lieut. Coll. Bolts to Bengal.

Letter from the Council at Bombay to the Court of Directors.

dated 30 April 1779.⁶¹

You have been advised from Tellicherry of the proceedings of Mr Bolts on the Malabar Coast . . . On the 18th of February Mr Bolts arrived at this place in the ship *Joseph and Theresa*, which was taken into the dock to receive some necessary repairs, and Mr Bolts having we presume had intimation of the directions contained in your

⁶⁰ *Bombay Public Consultations* (1779), XLVI, 291.

⁶¹ *Bombay Letters Received* (1779), VI, 260-261.

commands of the 19th March 1778 respecting the trade of foreign ships, applied to us to be informed whether he should be allowed the benefit of those orders, or whether there was any exception against the subjects of their Imperial Majesties | In | our answer . . . which . . . is of a general nature we have declined granting him any intercourse of trade, for as the year before we had received very particular and special orders respecting the persons concerned in this enterprize, we were not altogether satisfied that those orders were superseded by your present commands, being inclined to think that if such had been your intention you would have said so expressly. We also hoped soon to be favoured with your particular instructions on this head in consequence of the representations we have before made to you.

Letter from the Resident at Onore to the President and Council at Bombay.
dated 8 September 1779.⁶²

The Austrian Vakeel at Carwar, Laximicant Sinoi, who was formerly in the Company's employ at that place and this Factory, has been very industrious for several months in sending agents to Soundah, Bilgey, Sorebaw and other adjacent parts⁶³ for making purchases of pepper, and he has even offered six and eight Rupees per Candy [Port, *candil*, *candi*, about 500 lbs.] more than the price the Company purchase this article for, and as farther encouragement he has promised to supply those parts with broad cloth, iron, lead and other Europe staples, which he gives out the Austrian ship will bring to Carwar in the month of November next, but we are happy to acquaint your Honor &c. that all Laximacant's endeavours have hitherto proved fruitless, which we chiefly attribute to the low state of Mr Bolts's finances at Mangalore and Carwar, tho' we are apprehensive this Factory will feel the ill-consequence of these measures by raising competition among the Pepper Contractors. At the same time, we beg leave to assure your Honor &c. that we constantly keep a vigilant eye on this material object of our Honble. Masters Interest.

Letter from the Council at Bombay to the Court of Directors.
dated 30 April 1780.⁶⁴

Mr Bolts in the Austrian ship *Joseph and Theresa* sailed for Bengal the 5th of May [1779]. The papers and Diary transmitted by the *Hawke* on her former dispatch contain the only information we are able to afford respecting the right asserted by Mr Bolts to Delagoa and the circumstance of his removing the English Colours. We however now send another copy of the letter from the Commander of a Country Vessel, which related the facts mentioned in our address of the 30th November 1777 and also of the letter from Mr Bolts dated the 31 October, containing his relation of the same circumstances. The factory left by Mr Bolts at Delagoa is we understand nearly if not entirely deserted.

(To be continued.)

⁶² *Letters Received at Bombay* (1779), XLV, 246-247.

⁶³ Sondâ, Bilgi and ? Siddapûr in North Kanara, famous for pepper garden. "Port," is evidently a copyist's error for "parts" as all three places are inland.

⁶⁴ *Bombay Letters Received*, Vol. VI.

NEW LIGHT ON GUPTA ERA AND MIHIRAKULA

BY K. B. PATHAK.

(Continued from Vol. XLVI, p. 296.)

DR. FLEET'S discovery of the Mandasor inscription was very interesting and important. But his attempt to prove that the Málava era was the same as the Vikrama era of 57 B.C. was a failure and looked like the attempt of a person who wishes, to use Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's words,³³ "to determine the value of one unknown quantity by means of another unknown quantity, which cannot be done." Nor was Dr. Fleet more successful in interpreting the date of the pillar inscription of Budhagupta when he said that the Gupta year 165 was a current year and that³⁴ "in following Albêrûnî's statement and adding two hundred and forty-one, what is really accomplished is the conversion of a given current Gupta-Valabhî year into an expired Śaka year, by which we obtain precisely the basis that is wanted for working out results by Hindu Tables, viz., the last Śaka year expired before the commencement of the current Śaka year corresponding to a given current Gupta-Valabhî year; and that the running difference between current Gupta-Valabhî and current Śaka years is two hundred and forty-two." That this view is erroneous will be obvious from a careful consideration of the following two equations which have been explained above—

Expired Gupta year (a) 165 = (b) 406 expired Śaka year.

Current Gupta year (c) 166 = (d) 407 current Śaka year.

Dr. Fleet has mistaken the expired Gupta year (a) 165 for a current year and made it correspond to the current Śaka year (d) 407 and drawn the wrong inference that the difference between current Gupta years and current Śaka years is 242 instead of 241. His final conclusion, which is also due to the above mistake, that³⁵ "in the absence of any distinct specification to the contrary, we must interpret the years in Gupta-Valabhî dates as current years" is equally erroneous. Dr. Fleet attacks³⁶ Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's view that "the addition of 241 would turn a past Gupta year into a past Śaka year; and the addition of 242, a past Gupta year into a current Śaka year." But this view, which is found to be in accordance with the statements of the Jaina authorities and the Sârnâth inscription of Budhagupta, must now be accepted as final and decisive on the point at issue.

Let us turn to the date of the Morvi copper plate grant,³⁷ which is thus expressed—

पञ्चाशीत्या युतंतीति समानां शतपञ्चके ।

गौते द्वावशी तृपः सोपरागोर्कमंडले ॥

This means that the king made the grant, when 585 years of the Guptas had expired, on the occurrence of a solar eclipse. The eclipse, therefore, occurred in the current Gupta year 586. Our equation is—

Expired Gupta 157 = 398 expired Śaka.

Now the expired Gupta 585 is 428 years later than the expired Gupta 157. By the addition of 428 to both sides we get the new equation—

Expired Gupta 585 = 826 expired Śaka.

The equivalent Śaka year 826 can also be obtained by adding 241 to 585. Therefore—

Current Gupta 586 = 827 current Śaka.

³³ *Jour. Bom. Br. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVII, part II, p. 92. See Bühler's opinion, *Ind. Ant.*, XV, p. 339 and Cunningham's letter, *ibid.*, p. 347.

³⁴ *Gupta Inscriptions*, Introd. p. 84.

³⁵ *Idem*, p. 84, n. 1.

³⁶ *Idem*, p. 129f.

³⁷ *Gupta Inscriptions*, Introd. p. 97.

The solar eclipse alluded to in the grant is therefore the one that occurred on the new moon of Mārgaśīrṣa, Śaka 827 current, corresponding to the 10th November A.D. 904. There was a solar eclipse also in the following Śaka year 828 current, on Jyēṣṭha Bahula Amāvāsyā, corresponding to the 7th May, A.D. 905. Dr. Fleet's view that this second eclipse is the one alluded to in the grant is untenable as the Śaka year 828 is obtainable by adding 242 to the current Gupta year 586; and this is, as we have seen, against the statements of our Jaina authorities and the two Sārnath inscriptions. Nor can we accept his reading *Gopte* and his explanation of it as the name of a village; for on the analogy of the expression गुप्तानां राजे found in the two Sārnath inscriptions of Kumāragupta II and Budhagupta we must expect the reading गौरी राजपञ्चके in the Morvi grant. If the reading be गौरी, it should be corrected into गौरी. It is thus clear that Dr. Fleet's reading and interpretation of the date in the Morvi copper plate grant are positively wrong. On the other hand the decision of Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar on this interesting point is upheld by our Jaina authorities and the Sārnāth inscriptions of Kumāragupta II and Budhagupta.

The connection of Kumāragupta II and Budhagupta with the main line of the Imperial Guptas may be exhibited in the following genealogical tree—

Kumāragupta I

Skandagupta	Puragupta
Kumāragupta II	Narasimhagupta
↓	
Budhagupta II	Kumāragupta III

The rule that Gupta years can be converted into Śaka years by adding 241, may be illustrated thus: Skandagupta ascended the throne in Gupta Samvat 136. In the very first year of his reign, the Gupta empire was invaded by the Hūṇas. Kālidāsa assures us that the Hūṇas, who enjoyed the reputation of being the most invincible warriors of their age, were still on the Vaṅṣū (Vakṣū) tīra or Oxus banks, when he wrote his well-known verses. The Hūṇa empire in the Oxus Basin was founded about A.D. 450. The date of the invasion of the Gupta empire by the Hūṇas and their defeat by Skandagupta, namely the Gupta year 136, must therefore be subsequent to about A.D. 450 by a very few years. By calculating 24 years backwards from Śaka year 394, corresponding to the Gupta year 153, we arrive at Śaka 370 (=A.D. 448) corresponding to the Gupta Samvat 129. Now the Gupta year 129 (A.D. 448) is the 36th regnal year of Kumāragupta I. In A.D. 448, in the reign of Kumāragupta I, the establishment of the Hūṇa empire in the Oxus Basin may be placed. That the year A.D. 448 is the exactly correct date of this event, while the year A.D. 450 is only approximate, will be shown hereafter. The Gupta year 136 (A.D. 455) is thus only 7 years subsequent to A.D. 448. Kālidāsa's reference to the Hūṇas being the most invincible conquerors of their age, and as being still in the Oxus Basin, must have been made between A.D. 448 and A.D. 455. Kālidāsa and Skandagupta were thus contemporaries. This argument needs no elaboration here, as it has been discussed at length in the introduction to my second edition of the *Meghadūta* (pp. 10, 11, 12) where it is shown that the fall of the Gupta Empire took place towards the close of the fifth century. Jinasena, who writes a

little less than three centuries later, has preserved to the world the oldest, and therefore the most reliable, text of the *Meghadûta* as yet discovered, while his pupil *Meghadûta* says that the *Kumdrasambhava* was widely read in his time and was the delight of every class of people, young as well as old.³⁸

From a comparison of the Eraṇ pillar inscription of Budhagupta and the Eraṇ Boar inscription of Toramāṇa it can be conclusively proved, as has been shown by Dr. Fleet, that³⁹ Toramāṇa came after Budhagupta. The latest date for Buddhagupta is Gupta Samvat 180 corresponding to Śaka 421 or A.D. 499. Toramāṇa was the father of Mihirakula. Mihirakula was defeated by Yaśodharman who was reigning⁴⁰ in Mālava or Vikrama year 589 corresponding to Śaka 454 (A.D. 532). The first regnal year of Toramāṇa is mentioned in the Eraṇ Boar inscription, while the 15th regnal year of his son Mihirakula is given in his Gwālior inscription. These two regnal years must fall between Gupta Samvat 180 and Mālava year 589, corresponding to Śaka 421 (A.D. 499) and Śaka 454 (A.D. 532) respectively, according to our Jaina authorities. It is worth noting that the inscription which records the defeat of Mihirakula by Yaśodharman is not dated. But from another inscription of Yaśodharman dated in Mālava or Vikrama year 589, the approximate date of Mihirakula is ascertained. This Mihirakula is believed by Dr. Fleet and other scholars to be identical with the famous tyrant Mihirakula, whose career has been described in such vivid colours by the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang and by Kalhana in the *Rājataranginī*. On the other hand our Jaina authorities tell us that the early Gupta kings were immediately succeeded by the great tyrant Chaturmukha-Kalkin, Kalkin or Kalkirāja. He was a paramount sovereign (महीं कृत्स्नां स भोक्ष्यति). He was foremost among wicked men (दुर्जनान्वितः), a perpetrator of sinful deeds (अक्रमकारिन्). He oppressed the world (उद्वेजितभूतलः). He asked his ministers whether there were any people on earth who did not owe allegiance to him: the reply was, none but the Nirgranthas. He thereupon issued an edict that the first lump of food offered to the Jaina community of Nirgranthas at noon every day by pious people should be levied as a tax. The Jaina Nirgranthas are allowed by the rules of their religion to take their meal at noon once a day. If any अन्तराय or difficulty occurs at that hour, they must wait for their meal till noon on the following day. The result of the tyrant Kalkirāja's edict was that the Nirgranthas were exposed to utter starvation. Unable to bear this spectacle, a demon appeared and killed the tyrant with his thunderbolt. Kalkirāja then went into the hell called Ratnaprabhā, there to live countless ages and to endure misery for a long time.⁴¹ We may compare this account with the statement⁴² of Hiuen Tsiang as regards Mihirakula—"the holy saints said, in pity, for having killed countless victims and overthrown the law of Buddha, he has now fallen into the lowest hell, where he shall pass endless ages of revolution."

We have seen that the tyrant Kalkirāja was a paramount sovereign. The Mihirakula of the inscriptions also was a paramount sovereign, because he bowed down before none

³⁸ Compare, for instance, उत्तरपुराण. Chap. 59, stanza 36—

सर्वार्थं विषवृक्षं च छेत्तुं स्वयमेवेति कः ।

इत्यावालमसिद्धं किं न वेत्ति विषभूषणे ॥ 36 ॥

with कुमारसंभव ii, 55—

विषवृक्षोपि सर्वार्थं स्वयं छेत्तुमसांयतम् ।

³⁹ *Ante*, Vol. XVIII, p. 227.

⁴¹ See the passage given at the end.

⁴² V. Smith's *Early History of India*, 3rd ed., p. 319.

⁴⁰ *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 150, 158, 162.

save the god Śiva. The real meaning of the verse, in which this fact is stated, and which was misunderstood by the translators of the Gupta inscriptions, has been pointed⁴³ out by the present writer and by Dr. Kielhorn. Like the Mihirakula of the inscriptions the tyrant Kalkirāja came immediately after the Early Guptas; that is to say, he overthrew the Early Gupta sovereignty. The Mihirakula of the inscriptions was therefore a tyrant and must be identical with the tyrant Mihirakula of Hiuen Tsiang and of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*. Then again, like the tyrant Mikirakula, the tyrant Kalkirāja (A.D. 472-542)⁴⁴ was reigning in A.D. 520 when the Chinese pilgrim Song Yun visited this country, and was still on the throne when the Greek monk Cosmas came to India about A.D. 530. There is no denying the cogency of these arguments, which lead to the inevitable conclusion that Kalkirāja was only another name of the famous tyrant Mihirakula. It is to this great Hūṇa conqueror that the Jaina author Somadeva, contemporary with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛiṣṇarāja III, alludes when he says⁴⁵—

नामुद्रहस्तोऽशोधितो वा कश्चित्स्वमण्डलविषये प्रविशति (नि)र्गच्छन्वा । भ्रूयन् हि किल ह्याधिपतिः पण्य-
पुटवाहिनि सुभटैश्चित्रकटं जमाह ।

The Jaina version of the story of Mihirakula has this advantage over the Buddhist and Brahmanical versions that, while the two latter afford no clue to the real date of the tyrant, the former gives the exact dates of his birth and death. Not only is the approximate date of the tyrant deduced from inscriptions and coins amply corroborated by the Jaina authors, but they supplement, in a material degree, the information which we owe to those two independent sources.

The famous tyrant Mihirakula, accounts of whose cruel deeds have been preserved to us in Buddhist, Jaina and Brahmanical literatures, was then born on the 1st of the bright half of the month Kārttika in Śaka 394 expired, the cyclic year being a Māgha-samvatsara, corresponding to A.D. 472. And he died at the age of 70 in Śaka 464 or A.D. 542. Jinasena assigns to him a reign of 42 years, while, according to Guṇabhadra and Nemicandra, he reigned 40 years. Deducting 42 or 40 from A.D. 542 we get A.D. 500 or A.D. 502. We shall accept A.D. 502 for the initial year of Mihirakula's reign. His fifteenth regnal year must be A.D. 517. His father Toramāṇa's first year may be safely taken to be A.D. 500, coming after Gupta Samvat 180 or A.D. 499, the latest date for Budhagupta. And the figure 52 found on Toramāṇa's silver coins corresponds to A.D. 500, the initial year of his reign. If calculated backwards, the figure 52 brings us to A.D. 448,⁴⁶ which is thus the exact date of the foundation of the Hūṇa empire in the Oxus Basin.

The tyrant Mihirakula died in A.D. 542, just a century before Hiuen Tsiang was on his travels, and exactly 241 years before Jinasena wrote his passage relating to the Guptas. Jinasena says that he owes his information to chroniclers who preceded him (कालविकिरवाहृतम्). These chroniclers must be as near in time to the period of the Hūṇa sovereignty as Hiuen Tsiang himself. In the light of these facts we feel that we are in a position to discard as baseless the opinion of the Chinese pilgrim that Mihirakula lived 'some centuries previously.'

⁴³ See my paper entitled "*Nripataṅga and the authorship of the Kavirājamārga*," Jour. Bom. Br. R. A. S., Vol. XXII, p. 82 ff: *ante*, Vol. XVIII, p. 219.

⁴⁴ See below, on this page.

⁴⁵ *नीतिवाक्यावृत* Bombay edition, p. 79.

⁴⁶ V. Smith's *Early History of India*, 3rd ed., p. 316, note 3.

as it comes into conflict with the statements of the Jaina writers, which have been shown to rest upon contemporary Gupta inscriptions. On the same ground we should reject as valueless the view of Albêrûnî, admittedly a later writer than our Jaina authorities, that the Gupta era dated from the extermination of the Guptas. This erroneous opinion of Albêrûnî, coupled with his conflicting statements as to the difference between Śaka and Gupta years being 241, 242 or 243,⁴⁷ led to a fierce controversy over the epoch of the Gupta era, which has raged now for more than 78 years since 1838, when Mr. James Prinsep discussed the date of the Kahâumî pillar inscription of Skandagupta. A great step in advance was made when Dr. Fleet discovered his Mandasor inscriptions. But his method of proving that the Mâlava era was the same as the Vikrama era of 57 B.C. left a great deal to be desired. Now that we have placed his hypothesis on a footing of certainty, unstinted praise should be given to Dr. Fleet for his interesting discovery. But that he claimed more for his discovery than was its due has been already shown. Nor should we refuse to pay a well-merited tribute to Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar for his discovery of an earlier date in the Vikrama era, namely 461, referable to the reign of Chandragupta II. Mention should be made here of the synchronism between Samudragupta and the king Meghavarma of Ceylon discovered by M. Sylvain Lévi to whom our thanks are due. But this synchronism, valuable as it is, should be utilized not in proving the epoch of the Gupta era, as was suggested by some scholars, but in rectifying Ceylonese chronology, which is full of uncertainty, as various dates are proposed for king Meghavarma. Nor should we omit to express our gratitude to Mr. Hargreaves who has lately discovered the two Gupta inscriptions, one of Kumâragupta II dated Gupta Samvat 154, and the other of Budhagupta dated Gupta Samvat 157, which have enabled us, with the help of our Jaina authorities, to prove that the Gupta years between 153 and 157 are expired and not current years.

Thus the controversy, which has raged over the epoch of the Gupta era for more than 78 years, is finally set at rest.

Extract from Guṇabhadra's Uttara-purāṇa, Chap. 76.

अथान्वया महाराजः श्रेणिकः क्षात्रिकी⁴⁸ वृक्ष ।
 वधन्त्वा गणाधीशं कुड्मलीकृतहस्तकः ॥ 387 ॥
 शेषावसर्पिणीकालस्थितिं निरवशेषतः ।
 आगाम्बुसर्पिणीकालस्थितिपञ्चमुक्तवान् ॥ 388 ॥
 गणीं निजहि जाश्रीषुप्रसरैः प्रीणयन्सभाम् ।
 गिरा गंभीरया व्यक्तमुक्तवानिति स क्रमान् ॥ 389 ॥
 चतुर्थकालपर्यन्ते स्थिते संवत्सरचये ।
 साष्टमासे सपक्षे स्वात्सिद्धः सिद्धार्यनंदनः⁴⁹ ॥ 390 ॥
 दुःखमायाः स्थितिर्वर्षसहस्राण्येकविंशतिः ।
 द्वादशवर्षाबुधस्तस्मिन्सुकृटेन मता नराः ॥ 391 ॥
 समारम्भप्रमाणानां कक्षच्छाया विक्रपाः ।
 त्रिकालाहारनिरताः सुरतासक्तमानसाः ॥ 392 ॥
 परेषु शेषाः प्रायेण तेषां स्तुः कालक्षयतः ।
 यतोऽस्मां पापकर्मणो अनिश्चये सहस्रशः ॥ 393 ॥
 यथोक्तभूजाभावाज्जाने वर्षाविसंकरे ।

⁴⁷ *Gupta Inscriptions*, Introd. p. 25; *anc.*, Vol. XV, p. 180.

⁴⁸ *सम्बन्धनि* which purifies the soul permanently by entirely destroying कर्मन् or action. (*cf.* *Tattvārtha-Rājavārtika* II, 1, 2 and 10, Benares Ed. I, p. 60.

⁴⁹ *Mahāvīra.*

दुःखमाणां सहस्रः⁵⁰ दृष्टव्यीतो धर्महातितः ॥ 394 ॥
 पुरे पादलिपुत्राद्वे शिष्टपालमहीपतेः ।
 पापी तनूजः पृथिवीसुदृष्टो दुर्जनादिनः ॥ 395 ॥
 चतुर्मुखो ह्यः कल्की राजोद्देशिनभूतलः ।
 उत्पत्त्यते⁵⁰ मघासंवत्सरयोगसमागमे ॥ 396 ॥
 समानां सप्ततिस्तस्य परमायुः प्रकीर्तितम् ।
 चत्वारिंशत्समा रात्र्यस्थितिश्चाक्रमकारिणः ॥ 397 ॥
 षण्णवस्तुक्तपाण्डित्यवर्गस्याज्ञाविधायिनः ।
 निजभृत्स्वमापाद्य महीं कुत्सां स भोक्तृवति ॥ 398 ॥
 अथान्धेषु स्वमिथ्यास्वपाकाविकृतचेतसा ।
 पाण्डित्यं किमस्माकं संत्यक्ताज्ञापराङ्मुखाः ॥ 399 ॥
 कथ्यतामिति पापेन प्रष्टव्यास्तेन मंत्रिणः ।
 निर्मथाः संति देवेति ते वदित्यति सोऽपि तान् ॥ 400 ॥
 आचारः कौटिल्यस्तथायमिति प्रकथयति भूपतिः ।
 निजपाणिपुट⁵¹मवा धनहीना गतस्पृहाः ॥ 401 ॥
 अहिंसाव्रतक्षार्थं स्वक्तचैलादिसंवराः ।
 साधनं तपसां मत्वा देहस्यैवैवमह⁵²तिम् ॥ 402 ॥
 एकाग्र्योचितमिति भिक्षाकाङ्क्षदर्शनान् ।
 निर्याचनं स्वशास्त्रोक्तं महीतुमभिलाषिणः ॥ 403 ॥
 आत्मनो घातके चार्थकं च ते समदर्शिनः ॥
 भुत्विपासादिबाधायाः सदाः सदापि कारणे ॥ 404 ॥
 परपाण्डित्यजन्यैरहस्तमभिलाषुकाः ।
 सर्पा⁵³ वा विहतावासा ज्ञानग्रानपरायणाः ॥ 405 ॥
 अनृसंचारदेशेषु संवसति सृगैः सह ।
 इति वक्ष्यति वृष्टं स्वैर्विशिष्टोस्तस्य मंत्रिणः ॥ 406 ॥
 भुत्वा तत्सहितं नाहं शक्तोऽभ्यक्रमवर्तनम् ।
 तेषां पाणिपुटे प्राच्यः पिंडः शुल्को विधीयताम् ॥ 407 ॥
 इति राजोपदेशेन याचिष्यते नियोगिनः ।
 अन्नपिंडमभुञ्जानाः स्यात्यस्यति मुनयोपि ते ॥ 408 ॥
 तदुद्गा हविषो नम्रा नाज्ञां राज्ञः प्रसीप्तवः ।
 किं ज्ञातमिति ते गत्वा ज्ञापयिष्येति तं नृपम् ॥ 409 ॥
 सोऽपि पापः स्वयं क्रोधाः⁵⁴रुगीभूतरीक्षणः ।
 उद्यमी पिंडमाहर्तुं प्रस्फुरदशनच्छदः ॥ 410 ॥
 सोऽहं तदक्षयः कीदृशसुराः शुद्धदृक् तदा ।
 हनिष्यति तमन्वाद्यं शक्तः सन्सहते न हि ॥ 411 ॥
 सोऽपि रत्नप्र⁵⁵भां गत्वा सागरोपमजीवितः⁵⁵ ।
 चिरं चतुर्मुखो दुःखं लोभादनुभविष्यति ॥ 412 ॥

⁵⁰ So three Kannada MSS. of the Jaina Matha, Kolhapur. and one Nagari MS. of the late Manikshet of Bombay. But I reject the reading महा in some Deccan College MSS., which gives no sense.

⁵¹ अमत्र a pot; cf. पाणिपार्था दिगंबरः ।

⁵² आहति=आहार, food.

⁵³ The name of the first hell.

⁵⁴ वा=हव, अकृतावासाः ।

⁵⁵ सागरोपमः=असंख्येयः Tattvārtha-śāstra: ārtika III, 38, 8 Benares Ed., II, p. 149.

तनूजः कल्किराजस्य बुद्धिमानजितंजयः ।
 पन्था चालनया⁵⁶ सार्धं यातैनं शरणं सुरम्⁵⁷ ॥ 426 ॥
 सम्यग्दर्शनरत्नं च महार्थं स्वीकारिष्यति ।
 जिनेन्द्रधर्ममाहात्म्यं कृष्ण सुरविनिर्मितम् ॥ 447 ॥

Extract from Trilokasâra, Palm-leaf MS., p. 32:—

इदानीं शककल्किनोरुत्पत्तिमाह—

पण छं सय वंसं पणमासकृद् गमिय वीरणिं नृहंसं ।
 सगराजो तौ कल्की अदुणवतिय⁵⁸ महिय सगमासं ॥ 840 ॥

श्रीवीरनाथनिवृत्तेः सकाशात् पञ्चात्तरषट्शतवर्षाणि (६०९) पञ्चमासयुतानि गत्वा पश्चात् वि⁵⁹क्रमां-
 शकराजो जायते तत उपरि चतुर्दशत्युत्तरात्रिंशत (३९४) वर्षाणि सप्त (७) मासाधिकानि गत्वा
 पश्चात् कल्की जायते ।

इदानीं कल्किनः कृत्यं गाथाषट्केनाह—

सो उमं गाहिमुहो चउं मुहो सदरिवासपरमाऊ ।
 चाळीसरजं ओं जिदभूमि पुं छइ समंतिगणं ॥ 841 ॥

स कल्कयुन्मार्गाभिमुखश्चतुर्मुखाख्यः सप्ततिवर्षपरमायुष्यश्च चत्वारिंशद्वर्ष (४०) राड्यो जितभूमिः सन्
 स्वमंत्रिगणं पृच्छति ।

अम्हाणं के अवसा णिं गंधा अ थि केरिसायारा ।
 णिं धणवंधा मिं त्याभोजी जहसंधमिदिवयणे ॥ 842 ॥

अम्माकं के अवशा इति मंत्रिणः कथयन्ति निर्मथाः सन्ति इति पुनः पृच्छन्ति ते कीदृशा इति निर्धनवस्त्रा
 यथाशास्त्रं भिक्षाभोजिन इति मंत्रिणः (णां) प्रतिवचनं श्रुत्वा —

तं पाणिउडे णि वडिक्कपडमं पिडं तु सुं क मिद्विं स ।
 इदि णियमे सच्चिवकं च ताहारा गया मुणिणां ॥ 843 ॥

तेषां निर्मथानां पाणिपुटे निपतितं प्रथमं पिडं शुक्रमिति ग्राह्यमिति राज्ञो नियमे सच्चिवेन कृते सति
 त्यन्ताहाराः संतो मुनयो गताः ।

तं सोदुमं खमां तं णिहणदि वं जाउं हण असुरवई ।
 सो भुंजवि रयणपहं दुं खं गाहे क जलरासिं ॥ 844 ॥

तमपराधं सोदुमकमां सुरपतिश्च (आ) मरेंद्रा वज्रायुधेन तं राजानं निहन्ति स मृत्वा रत्नप्राभायां दुःख-
 मार्शकजलराशिं भुंक्ते ।

तं भयसो तं स सुहो अजिहंजय सं णिहो सुरारिं तं ।
 सरणं गं छइ चेलयसं णाण सह समहिळाए ॥ 845 ॥

तस्मादसुरपतिभयान्तस्य राज्ञः सुतो जितंजयसंज्ञितश्चेलक⁶⁰ संज्ञया स्वमा हिष्या सहितं सुरारिं शरणं
 गच्छति ।

सं मे हंसणरयणं हिययाभरणं च कृणदि सो सिं पं ।
 पं च खं वं ठूणिह सुरकयजिणधं ममाहं पं ॥ 846 ॥

सुरकृतजिनधर्ममाहात्म्यं प्रत्यक्षं कृष्ण शीघ्रं सम्यग्दर्शनरत्नं हृदयाभरणं करोति ।

⁵⁶ Also called चेलना.

⁵⁷ No distinction is made between सुर and असुर in these passages.

⁵⁸ This means 394 according to the principle अंकांतां वामतो गतिः; of. खइयाट्टि (=2800)

विज्ञातवादिदुंशभिधितः ॥ Guṇabhadra, Uttarapurāṇa, Chap. 61.

⁵⁹ This is a mistake. See my paper on the date of Mahāvira, ante, Vol. XII, 22.

⁶⁰ See fn. 56, above.

AN ADDITIONAL PROOF FOR THE GENUINENESS OF THE VRITTIS IN MAMMAṬA'S KĀVYAPRAKĀṢA.

BY ROBERT ZIMMERMANN. S.J. : BOMBAY.

It has repeatedly been shown that Mammaṭa is the author both of the Kārikās and the Vṛittis of the Kāvya-prakāśa. (See *The Kāvya-prakāśa*, ed. by Bh. V. B. R. Jhaḷakikara, 2nd. ed., Bombay, 1901. Introduction, Nr. 7, pp. 14-15¹ : for the literature on the question see *Z.D.M.G.*, LXVI, "Miscellaneous Notes on Mammaṭa's Kāvya-prakāśa," by V. Sukthankar, M.A., pp. 477-78, n. 2; *Z.D.M.G.*, LXVII, "Indologische Studien," von Johannes Nobel, p. 35, n. 1. As an independent, internal, proof for the common authorship of the Kārikās and the Vṛittis has been adduced so far : माला तु पूर्ववत्, ullāsa X, śloka 8, the Kārikā on the Mālā Rūpaka. Jhaḷakikara gives the argument in the following words : —

कारिकयाऽनुक्ताया अपि वृत्त्युपदर्शितमालोपमायाः दृष्टान्ततामुद्भावयन्ती "माला तु पूर्ववत्".... कारिकैवास्य प्रवासस्य [वृत्तिकृन्मम्मद एव कारिकायामपि प्रणिनाय इति | प्रामाण्यं व्यवस्थापयति । एषा हि 'पूर्ववत्'-इत्यनेन मालोपमायाः पूर्वोक्ततां व्यनक्ति । न च मालोपमा कारिकया पूर्वमुक्ता. किंतु वृत्त्यैवेति. Introd. p. 15.

There is, if I am not mistaken, another proof, though running on the same lines as contained in the very same śloka. The beginning of śloka 8. सांगमेतन्निरंगं तु युद्धं treats of the "Entire" and the "Partless"² Rūpaka. On the सांगमेतन् the Vṛitti remarks : उक्तद्विभेदं सावयवं (=सांगम्). This express statement of the subdivision of the सांगं रूपकम् into two sorts is made only here in the Vṛitti, nowhere in the Kārikā. It is true the two kinds of सांगं रूपकम्, the समस्तवस्तुविषयं and the एकदेशविषयि, have both in the Kārikās and the Vṛittis been treated of immediately before ; but there only their respective character, which discriminates one from the other, has been pointed out ; the two figures of speech are not spoken of as the two kinds of the उक्तद्विभेदं सावयवं. Thus the Vṛitti contains a new, explicit, statement. The Kārikā continues : निरंगं तु युद्धम्. It emphatically—तु—lays stress on the difference of the निरंगं रूपकम् from the सांगं रूपकम् by saying that it is only of one kind.

From here the argument is the same as that based on माला तु पूर्ववत्. The Kārikā supposes the Vṛitti ; the Vṛitti, therefore, cannot have been written either later than the Kārikā, or—as we know on other grounds as well—by another hand. And as there is neither any internal nor external evidence for an interpolation, we have no reason to doubt the genuineness of the Kārikā or the Vṛitti on this point. The apparent deficiency of the Kārikā, on the other hand, is sufficiently explained by Mammaṭa's style, which often enough approaches the Sūtras in brevity. A doubt, moreover, about the genuineness of सांगमेतन्निरंगं तु युद्धम् could hardly be entertained without impunity for माला तु पूर्ववत्, imperilling thus the traditional proof for the common authorship of Kārikās and Vṛittis.

But neither the traditional nor our proof evince that the whole Vṛitti, as we have it now, has been written by Mammaṭa. Cf. Nobel. "Indol. Stud." *Z.D.M.G.*, LXVII, p. 35

¹ The force of language used by Jhaḷakikara against the बङ्गीयाः, who hold the opposite view, is perhaps not quite in proportion with his argument. But it is only fair to say that, in spite of occasional mistakes in particular points, there cannot be two opinions on the general merit and usefulness of this edition of the Kāvya-prakāśa.

² "Partless" for निरंगं may be kept only for want of something better. अंगं here has the meaning of attributive or secondary part, auxiliary, dependent member, serving to help the principal one, if we refer अंगं to the subordinate metaphor in the सांगं रूपकम्, or, as D. T. Chankarkar, *The Kāvya-Prakāśa of Mammaṭa*, ullāsa X, 2nd. ed., 1915, p. 45, takes it to mean, a cause. "Thus, सांगं means that [रूपकम्] where one metaphor is the cause of another metaphor," referring अंगं to the principal metaphor.

THE WIDE SOUND OF E AND O WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO GUJARATI.

BY N. B. DIVATIA B.A. ; BANDRA.

(Continued from Vol. XLVI, p. 304.)

I shall now address myself direct to the arguments contained in sub-heads (a), (b) and (c), noted above. I do not contend that, where and when ऐ-औ were actually written in the earliest Māravāḍī Manuscripts for the अइ-अउ of a previous period, अय-अव were found in writing at any intermediate stage. I regard the ऐ-औ not as symbols of diphthongal sounds in these cases, but as rough attempts to symbolize approximately the wide sound that had come into the spoken language. The spoken अइ-अउ became अय-अव and अय-अव in the mouths of the people and generated the wide sounds, è and ò. The late Śāstri Vrajalāl Kālidāsa wrote to me (in a letter dated V. S. 1942, Bhādrapada s. 15) that he had seen in the possession of a Māravāḍī Bhāṭa a manuscript copy of Māravāḍī *Prithvījā Rāsau* wherein he saw the following line :—

मकरंदरा मकबांवरि हाय नित जुद्ध हमेश :

and that, on being questioned about the inverted *mātrā* stroke in हाँ and हाँ, the Bhāṭa explained that such was the practice in his country to denote the wide sound of ए and औ. It would be interesting to know how far this account tallies with Dr. Tessitori's experience and results of his examination of Māravāḍī Manuscripts, and during what period such practice obtained, if it did. Dr. Tessitori states in his present article (p. 79, ll. 1-2) that Māravāḍī sometimes writes ऐ-औ and sometimes ऐ-औ to distinguish the wide sound. Could this alternative ऐ-औ have anything to do with the inverted *mātrā* of Śāstri Vrajalāl's Bhāṭa ?

Any way, the ऐ-औ seem to be special symbols in the Māravāḍī Manuscripts for the wide sound ; and the very fact that Dr. Tessitori was misled by them is significant ; for, in the true spirit of the honest investigator, he tells us that he was incorrect when in his " Notes " he stated that the अइ-अउ of O. W. Rājasthānī became ê—î (narrow ए-औ) in modern Gujarātī and ai—au (ऐ-औ) in modern Māravāḍī ; he admits that in both these languages the अइ-अउ become è, ò (ऐ-औ, wide). It is the reason which he gives for this mistake that is of particular significance. When he wrote the " Notes " (he informs us) he had never been in India and for information concerning pronunciation in Gujarātī and Māravāḍī he had completely to rely on the accounts given by others.¹⁷ Thus, away from the sound of spoken language, he was guided by the eye and the incorrect representations of informants. If this was so in the case of present times, when informants of some sort were available, how much more difficult is it for all of us when, even the possibility of such informants being out of the question, we have to depend solely on the written forms in manuscripts ? It is therefore that I contend that the ऐ and औ of the manuscript need not as a matter of course, be taken as a proof that they were symbols of the pure, narrow diphthongal sound. In the circumstances, I bring into aid a condition within our present-day experience : In Hindi we find ऐ and औ written to express the peculiar widish sound of these vowels ; we hear with our own ears that sound and we see with our own eyes the symbols ; we also know that the ऐ and औ symbols in these cases are not of a recent date but

¹⁷ See his present article, p. 74, para. 1.

fairly old.¹⁸ It is therefore permissible to infer that the ऐ-औ of the earliest Māravāḍī Manuscripts were symbols, not of the narrow diphthong, but of the wide sound in ई and औ. These remarks practically dispose of all the three sub-heads (a), (b) and (c) given above. I may just add a remark or two in regard to sub-head (b) : Dr. Tessitori's theory that ऐ-औ were written for अइ-अउ because the latter were pronounced as diphthongs (ऐ-औ) would create a fresh case for reversion of phonetic process, at least in cases like वर-वर-वर, ऐ-औ (Sanskrit) becoming अइ-अउ (Prākṛit and O. W. Rāj.) and again ऐ-औ in early Māravāḍī. One might express the very doubt which Dr. Tessitori puts in the other case and say—it is not admissible that a language which began its existence by reducing ऐ-औ to अइ-अउ should have brought अइ-अउ back to ऐ-औ. I am myself not against the possibility of reversion. But in the present case, I have already stated that the ऐ-औ of early Māravāḍī are not the old diphthongs but crude symbols for the wide sound. Next, if ऐ-औ were really purely diphthongal in their sound (i.e., narrow) in the early Māravāḍī stage, it is not easily conceivable what possibly could have turned them later on into the wide sound almost at a bound. The diphthongal ऐ-औ have no affinity with the wide sound. In order to reach it they must pass back into अइ अउ, for even for passing into the narrow ए-औ they first get split into अइ-अउ, as I shall show later on. This sort of double reversion has no foundation in probabilities.

This being my position, the practical suggestion made by Dr. Tessitori to reintroduce the ऐ-औ to express the wide sound does not appeal to me, for the simple reason that, being really the signs of the narrow diphthongal sound, they will not be true symbols of the wide sound, and are likely to create confusion between the two. For 'ई' will indicate narrow sound as in ईव, गौण, etc., and also the wide sound in ईर, गौळ, etc.; this will create a situation similar to the one prevailing at present when 'ई' represent both the sounds narrow and wide, the only difference between the two situations being that, while *tatsamas* with ऐ-औ are comparatively few, *tadbhavas* with ई-औ will be found in a larger number. The source of confusion will thus remain all the same. In fact, Dr. Tessitori was really misled by the ऐ-औ signs before he visited India, and thought Māravāḍī did not possess even the narrow *ê—ô* as evolutes of अइ-अउ, much less the wide *ē—ō*.

¹⁸ I pick up the following from the poet Bihārī's *Satsa* (which was completed by him in V. S. 1719, 250 years ago) :-

- (1) कीनेह क्रांरिक यतन अबगहि कादे कौन ।
भोमन मोहन रूप मिलि पानीमें को लौन ॥
- (2) आज कुछ औरै भये डये नये डीक टैन ।
चसके हितके जुगल ये निसके हाय न नैन ॥
- (3) कस लपड़े यत मो गरै सोन जुही निस सैन ।
- (4) पल सोहै पगि पीरु रंग छल सोहै सब बैन ।
- (5) कहा करौ लालच भरे चपल नैन चलि जात ।
- (6) सोहै करै मोहनी हसै रेन कहै नहि जाय ।
- (7) कनक कनकेन सौगुनी मारकता अधिकाय ।
बह लायें बीरात है यह पाये बीराय ॥
- (8) मोहिं तुम्हें बादी बहस को जीतैं यदुराज ।

I shall now refer to a theory of Dr. Tessitori's which is given separately, outside the three reasons for differing from me. In connection with his theory that original Prākṛit अय passed into the wide अ through the intermediate step अइ, he states that the fact that in manuscripts there are no instances of written अइ for अय is easily accounted for by the remark that all words with an अय are (Prākṛit) *tatsamas* and therefore they continued to be written according to the traditional spelling. All I would say to this is that it would not be enough that such words should only be written with अय; if they were really *tatsamas* they would be required to be pronounced with अय; and thus there would be no room for the intermediate अइ.

I shall now supplement my answer to Dr. Tessitori's objections by giving the analytical examination of the problem, on which I base my hypothesis :

(A) If we carefully compare the sounds of, say—

बैसवुं	(Guj.)	बैसणे	(M.)	बैठना	(H.) :
बैल	(Guj.)	बैल	(M.)	बैल	(H.) :
खैर	(Guj.)	खैर	(M.)	खैर	(H.) :
(from Sanskrit खदिर)					
or चायुं	(Guj.)	चौथें	(M.)	चौथा	(H.) :
चाक	(Guj.)	चौक	(M.)	चौक	(H.) :
कांडी	(Guj.)	कांडी	(M.)	कांडा	(H.) :
चौरस	(Guj.)	चौरस	(M.)	चौरस	(H.) :

as they are spoken by the people, we shall find marked differences in each of the three languages. While each is evolved out of the contactual vocalic groups अइ and अउ, the Gujarāṭī sound is a distinctly wide one (as in 'hat' and 'awl'), making a complete fusion of the अ and इ and अ and उ; the Marāṭhī sound leans more towards the इ and उ and makes the resulting diphthong narrow; while the Hindi sound, leaning more towards the अ of the vocalic groups (अइ—अउ), approximates the wide sound of Gujarāṭī up to a certain point but stops short there, and is not the same wide, fused, sound as the Gujarāṭī one. At the same time the last one (the Hindi sound) is not the pure diphthongal sound of Sanskrit, but resembles अय्—अव् a good deal, thus making the symbols ^ॐ and ^ॐ wrong indicators, strictly speaking.

(B) Let us now examine a few Gujarāṭī words with the wide sound, which have come from Arabic and Persian :—

Gujarāṭī.	Arabic and Persian.
काल	कबल
गैरत	गय़रत
हरान	हय़रान
अब	अय़ब

Again these :—

झैर	झहर
कैर	कहर
शहर	शहर

In this latter set the steps of phonetic mutation are—

कहर — क़हर — कय़र — कैर ;
 शहर — श़हर — शय़र — शहर (शहर) ;
 झहर — झ़हर — झय़र — झैर.

If we sound the અહ-અહ in all these words, as also in the words વચ્ચર, વચ્ચન, કહડ, ગહલ, etc., we shall perceive the peculiar વિહત (open, wide) nature of the phonal phenomenon which alone can give the Gujarâtî વિહત, ઈ and ઔ.

(C) Now, examine the sound in the following words on the basis of accentuation :—

- (a) ¹⁹ગંભીરકં ગંહીરડં ઘંદીરડં ઘંદ
(b) ચંપકનગરી ચંપાનભરી (ચંપાનચરી) ચંપાનહરી ચંપાનેર
(c) અંધકાર અંધઝાર (અંધઝાર) અંધચર²⁰ અંધર અંધેર
(d) પર્ણપત્ની પળ્લવત્તી પળ્લડત્તી પાનોલી (name of a village in Surat District).
(e) ચતુર્વર્ત્તકં ચડવ્વડડં ચડવ્વડડં ચૌટું
(f) ચતુર્દશ ચડદહ ચડદહ ચાંદ
- II (a) ચૈરં વહરુ વચર ધર
(b) કવર્ધિકા કવર્ધુઆ કવડી કાંડી
(c) પૃથુલક પહુલડં પહુલડ પહાલું
(d) ભાનુજાયા ભાડજાઆ ભાવજાઈ ²⁰નવજાઈ ભાજાઈ
(e) પાવલ પાયલ પયલ²¹ પંલ (from Hindi)
(f) ²¹અન્યપક્ષકં અન્નવક્ષયડં અનવચું²² અનાચું (Hin., નાચું separator).

¹⁹ True, the case of ગંભીર does not fall under the principle under consideration because of the long ઈ; but it is taken for that very reason, as the long ઈ furnishes a test and shows how the long ઈ, which is necessarily accented, comes in the way of *prati-samprasaṅga*.

Siddha-Hemachandra VIII. i. 101 shortens this ઈ (ગહિરં), but the glossary tells us—**બહુલાધિકારેણ કવચ્ચિન્નિત્યં કવચ્ચિક્ષ્ણપ્**; thus giving an opening for option, and we may very well regard ગહિરં and ગંહીરં as alternative forms.

²⁰ Dr. Sir R. G. Bhāndārkar regards the ણ in અંધર as a direct change from અયા, as also ઔ in ભાજાઈ direct from આડ, and the ણ in પંલ direct from આય. (See his *Wilson Philological Lectures*, pp. 166, 145). But I believe these must pass through the shortening stage shown above.

²¹ Hemachandra (VIII. iv. 422) gives નવમ્ય નવચ્ચ. This નવચ્ચ (નવચ્ચડ) may be advanced as the origin of નાચું, and with apparent reason. But there are some strong points, in favour of અન્યપક્ષક, as the origin of નાચું: they are :—

(a) One of the Manuscripts of *Sū. He.* gives the reading નવચ્ચ (as the *ādeśa* of નવ).

(b) અનાચું is used in Gujarâtî, as well as નાચું.

(c) The ચ્ચ or ક્ષય tacked on to નવ by Hemachandra appears quite inexplicable and its arbitrary nature leaves a mystery, while અન્યપક્ષક supplies a good explanation of the ક્ષય and ચ્ચ.

Thus it seems that નવચ્ચ, an evolute of અન્યપક્ષક before Hemachandra's time, was regarded by him as the *ādeśa* of નવ on the strength of the meaning and external similarity, and he was probably oblivious of the other phonetic phases, especially the loss of the unaccented initial syllable in અન્યપક્ષક.

Sir R. G. Bhāndārkar (*Philological Lectures*, p. 168) gives Hindi અનાચા in the sense of 'unexpected', and derives it from અનપેક્ષિત. The sense in which અનાચું (નાચું) is used in Gujarâtî is 'separate', and would favor the derivation from અન્યપક્ષક. It would also be enlightening to ascertain the Hindi text where અનાચું is used and what sense fits in there.

²² Here, although વચ્ચ leaves વ accented at the early stage, the accent gives way under the double influence of

- (1) the loss of the conjunct, વચ્ચ without the compensating lengthening of the preceding vowel, and
- (2) the tendency to accentuate the second syllable in a word where the first syllable is unaccented and eventually therefore gets dropped.

(The change of વ in વચ્ચ to વ indicates that the word is become a part of the whole compound, and hence the વ is eventually subordinated.)

In group I we observe that in the vocalic groups—(स्वरसूत्रं s), अह (अह) — अउ (अउ), the accent is on the second member, whereas in group II it is on the first member, i.e., on अ. Now the स्थान of अ is कण्ठ and the wide sound is produced by a peculiar²³ widening of the कण्ठ or glottis. This विवृत nature of अ is thus the source of the wide sound in अँ and अँ, and it is helped by the ह and ह as noted under the last para. (B).

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

MALAY CURRENCY IN TRENGGANU.

WITH reference to my articles on the *Obsolete Tin Currency of the Federated Malay States*, ante, Vol. XLII, the *capital Annual Report on the State of Trengganu for 1916* by Mr. J. L. Humphreys, has a most interesting note on currency, which I give below in extenso. An account of the tin currency prevalent on the East Coast of the Malay Peninsula will be found on p. 101 of the above quoted volume of this *Journal*.

The point there is that the tin *pitis* (or cash) ran by normal scale 400 to the dollar, but in reality varied from 320 in Trengganu to 480 in Kelantan and even to 640 in Jering (Patani), the differences being stated to be due to changes in the price of tin, in other words, to the value of the silver in the dollar. We are now told that recently in Trengganu *pitis* ran in relation to the "British dollar" before its recent demonetization, 200 to the dollar, or double their face value, and that the British dollar was converted to the official Straits Settlements dollar at 70 cents, the *pitis* being advanced to 266½ to the dollar, which is rightly called an "extremely inconvenient" figure. To remedy the monetary confusion thus caused, Mr. Humphreys recommends the introduction of the Straits Settlements coinage in full, i.e., of the dollar and its parts, together with the depreciation of the *pitis* to 400 to the dollar, thus bringing it back to its original normal value.

The names for the denominations of Malay currency are legion and many are quoted by me in the articles above mentioned, but the name for the double *pitis*, or half cent, given by Mr. Humphreys, "white cent," is new to me.

Extract from the Annual Report of the British Agent, Trengganu, for the Year 1916,
by J. L. Humphreys.

Currency.

The matter of the local subsidiary coinage required attention during the year owing to the increase of counterfeit. These tokens, composed of a mixture of lead and tin, are of two denominations, the white cent and the *pitis*; they were formerly minted annually for charitable

distributions after the Fast month, and before the British dollar was demonetized bore a fixed relation to it of 100 and 200; the Straits Settlements dollars and subsidiary coins were, of course, also current, but in insufficient quantities. The British dollars were redeemed in 1915 at a rate of 70 Straits cents to the dollar.

After their removal it became necessary to affiliate the local tin cents—which in the language of the Trengganu peasant had now "lost their parent"—to the Straits dollar; the proportion fixed was the extremely inconvenient one of 133½.

The loss of the parent dollar, the complications of the money table (which act always to the detriment of the peasant), and the increase of counterfeit, are destroying the former popularity of the tin coins. Their ultimate disappearance is inevitable. At present they provide two denominations of subsidiary coin lower than the copper cent and finance the petty marketings of the poorer classes; their sudden removal would cause a general rise in the price of local commodities.

At the moment of writing the question of the subsidiary coinage generally is under the consideration of Government, and it is hoped that measures will be taken to promote the establishment of a clean Straits currency. The depreciation of the white cent from 133½ to the dollar to 200 and of the *pitis* from 266½ to 400, together with a steady importation of Straits subsidiary coin, seem to be obvious measures for hastening the disappearance of the former and discouraging the production of counterfeit.

Analysis shows that the metal value, in tin and lead, is about 50 per cent. of the token value of genuine and counterfeit alike. Redemption can only be made at a cost that Government will not yet pay, and it is certain that the immediate removal of the small denominations would be felt severely by the peasants, who hold 90 per cent. of the tin coins, and would suffer most from the enhancement of prices that would follow. Measures to produce a gradual change will probably be adopted.

R. C. TEMPLE.

²³ It is for this reason that I utilize the old technical term, विवृत in an extended sense and a slightly new application, for the wide sound of अँ अँ never existed when the Sanskrit grammarians described the वायु and आभन्तर *pratyayas*, and is more or less an offspring of foreign influence, as I shall show later on.

AUSTRIA'S COMMERCIAL VENTURE IN INDIA IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

BY SIR R. C. TEMPLE, BART.

(*Continued from p. 15.*)

II

Measures taken at Fort William, Bengal.

Consultation at Fort William, 7 July 1777. ⁶⁵

GENERAL Letters received by the *Cormorant* and *Egmont*. . . Of the letter dated 24th December 1776, Paragraphs 21 to 27,⁶⁶ Agreed that the Governor General [Warren Hastings] be requested to write a letter to the Naib Suba [Nâib Sûbadâr, Deputy Governor], advising him of this intelligence, and desiring him to send General Orders to the Officers of the Nizamut⁶⁷ to oppose the Officers and crew of the expected vessel in their attempts to land in any part of the Nabob's dominions and special orders to his Vackeel⁶⁸ at the Presidency to apply for such aid from this Board as may be required for this purpose.

Agreed that an advertisement be published, forbidding the Company's Servants and all under the Company's protection to hold any commerce or other intercourse with Mr Bolts or the other Agents or Seamen of the expected Ship, or to supply them with money, goods, stores or any other assistance conducive to the execution of their plan.

The following Advertizement is accordingly published.

Fort William 7th July 1777. Advice having been received of an enterprize of trade set on foot by Mr William Bolts, late a servant of the Honble. East India Company, who is now on his way to India in a ship called the *Joseph and Theresa*, and the Honble. the Court of Directors judging it expedient to guard against any injury which their commerce may suffer by this undertaking, have thought proper to forbid their Covenanted Servants and all others under their protection to hold any commercial or other intercourse with him or any of the agents or seamen of the said ship, or to supply them directly, or indirectly, with money, goods, stores or any other assistance which may conduce to the execution of their plan. Notice is therefore given that a strict observance of this prohibition is expected and required. By order of the Honourable the Governor General and Council.

Consultation at Fort William, 26 July 1779. ⁶⁹

The Governor General [Warren Hastings] informs the Board that he has received a letter from Mr William Bolts, dated on board the *Joseph and Theresa* the 23d instant, at Kodgerce, [Khijirî, at the mouth of the Hûgli] and desires that the Orders of the Court of Directors dated the 24th December 1776, and the publication made in consequence on the 7th July 1777 may be read, to enable the Board to pass such further Resolutions and Orders as they shall think proper.

⁶⁵ *Bengal Public Consultations*, (1777), XIX, 704-707.

⁶⁶ See *ante*, XLVI., 279.

⁶⁷ Nizamat, the Government of the Nawâb Nâzim of Bengal, created by Clive in 1757 ruler of Bengal, Bihâr and Orissa in subordination to the Government of the East India Company. The Nawâb at this time was Mubâraku'ddaula, youngest of the three sons of Mir Jafar 'Alî Khân. 1770-1793.

⁶⁸ *Vakil*, legal agent or representative of the Nawâb Nâzim.

⁶⁹ *Bengal Public Consultations*, (1779), XXXI, 525-531.

Read the above-mentioned Orders and Resolution.

Resolved that the following Advertisement be now published.

Advertisement respecting Mr Bolts.

Fort William 26th July 1779. Whereas the Governor General and Council were informed by the Honble. the Court of Directors in their letter of the 24th of December 1776 that an enterprize of trade had been undertaken by Mr William Bolts, formerly in their service in Bengal, who had embarked in a large ship, late the *Earl of Lincoln*, now the *Joseph and Theresa*, from the Port of Leghorn, or some other foreign European Port, laden with a valuable cargo of merchandize and with ordnance and ammunition and all kinds of military stores to a great amount, which were reported to be destined for the East Indies. In consequence of which information they were pleased to prohibit all commercial and other intercourse of the Company's servants and all others under the protection of this Government with the persons who had the conduct of the expedition or were concerned therein, and to shew a resentment adequate to the nature of the offence, they have been further pleased to command the Governor General and Council &ca. to prevent the latter from being furnished by any persons subject to their authority with money, goods, stores, or any other assistance which may conduce to the success of the undertaking. Of which Orders public notice was given on the 7th July 1777. And whereas the Governor General and Council have received information that the said Mr William Bolts is actually arrived in this river [Hûgli] on board the said ship *Joseph and Theresa*, they have thought it proper to cause this publication to be repeated that no persons may plead ignorance of the same, and further to declare their firm resolution effectually to execute the commands of the Honble. the Court of Directors, and to enforce them with rigour against all persons who shall be found offending against them. By Order of the Honble. the Governor General and Council.

*Mr Francis.*⁷⁰ The Orders are very proper as far as they go. I myself shall adhere to them literally, but I apprehend they will answer very little purpose, if we do not take other measures. Mr Bolts' ship will proceed to Serampore [Srirâmpur] or Chinsura.⁷¹ He will there unlade his cargo, and thro' the intervention of the Dutch or Danes accomplish every commercial object which he may have in view by coming hither, and which the Company seem to have it very much at heart to defeat. We cannot correspond with their intentions in this respect by any means so effectually as by using our weight and influence with the Nabob to induce him to order Mr Bolts' ship immediately to leave the river without landing any part of his cargo. No foreign ship can have a right to come into the Bengal River and to carry on traffic here without the permission of the Prince of the Country. This step will be effectual and much less likely to embarrass the Company in its consequences than any thing done directly by ourselves.

The Secretary begs leave to read to the Board the Resolution passed in Consultation the 7th July 1777, which contains an application to the Nabob somewhat similar to that proposed by Mr Francis.

Read the Resolution of 7th July 1777.⁷²

Agreed that the Governor General be requested to write a letter to the Nabob, referring him to the former letter of the 7th July 1777, and informing him that Mr Bolts is actually arrived.

⁷⁰ Sir Philip Francis (1740-1748), member of the Supreme Council at Fort William.

⁷¹ Headquarters of the Danes and Dutch respectively, both situated near Hûgli.

⁷² See *ante*, p. 29.

*Consultation at Fort William, 12 August 1779.*⁷³

The Governor General [Warren Hastings] informs the Board that he has received a report from the Master Attendant that eight sloops are arrived at Calcutta laden with cotton and other goods, which they received on freight from on board the *Joseph and Theresa*, the ship under the orders of Mr Bolts, that two other sloops have passed on to Chinsura, and that several more are coming up.

The Governor General sent for the Sarangs [*sarhang*, skipper] of the sloops, which had stopped at town, and received the following information from them.

That they had been engaged by Captain Dundas to carry down goods to the *Royal Henry* lying at Kedgree. That on their arrival there an European came on board their sloop from Mr Bolts's ship and desired that as soon as they should have cleared their sloops of the goods brought down for the *Royal Henry*, to come along side and take in a cargo of cotton for Calcutta, for which they should be paid the customary price. That having delivered the goods for the *Royal Henry* they received a cargo of cotton from Mr Bolts's ship. That on their arrival at Calcutta, they were told to proceed on to Chinsura, for that the cotton could not be unloaded here. The Governor General adds that he has given directions to the Manjees [*mánjhi*, master of a native boat] not to proceed further without an order from him.

[Here follows a list of the sloops and their owners.]

The Governor General also lays before the Board a letter to the Phousdar [*faujdar*, chief police officer] of Houghley which, if approved, he recommends that the Commander in Chief be requested to give orders to the Officer Commanding at Chandernagore [Chandarnagar] to comply with any applications which shall be made to him by the Phousdar of Houghly conformably thereto.

To Khan Jahan Khan, Phousdar of Hooghly.

Notwithstanding the orders issued by this Government as well as by the Nabob to prohibit all trade or intercourse with Mr Bolts, eight sloops have come up the river with merchandize from his ship, three of which have passed Calcutta and will probably proceed to Chinsura: Should they have reached that place, it will not be advisable to interfere with them, but with respect to any others which may attempt to pass Chinsurah, it is necessary that you take effectual means to prevent them, and should you stand in need of any additional force, Captain Grant, who is stationed at Chandernagore, will, on your written application to him, afford it to you.

Approved the letter to the Phousdar of Houghly, and agreed that the Commander in Chief be requested to give orders to the Commanding Officer at Chandernagore to comply with any application which may be made to him by the Phousdar of Houghly for troops to prevent the sloops laden with Mr Bolts's goods from passing up the river. To obviate the consequence of any misunderstanding of the publication of the Company's Orders respecting Mr Bolts.

Resolved that the Custom Master be directed not to suffer any goods whatever imported by Mr Bolts's ship to be landed in Calcutta, and that the Collector of Government Customs be laid under the same prohibition and further enjoined to give orders to his officers to prevent any from being landed within the jurisdiction of his office.

Ordered that the Master Attendant be directed peremptorily to forbid the Sarangs of the sloops laden with Mr Bolts's goods to proceed further up the river with them.

⁷³ *Bengal Public Consultations*, (1779), XXXII, 52-57.

Consultation at Fort William, 2 September 1779. ⁷⁴

The following letter from the Deputy Collector of Government Customs having been read at the Revenue Board on Tuesday last, the Minutes which are entered after it were then taken and sent in.

Honble. Sir,

A quantity of Redwood, the property of Mr Bolts imported on the *Sanctissimo Sacramento* (a Portuguese ship) and now laden on boats to be transported on board his vessel, is stoppt by the Officers of the Customs in consequence of your late orders. As the goods have not been landed but are removing from one foreign vessel to another, I request your orders, whether the redwood is to pass for Mr Bolts's ship ? And if in future he may be at liberty to export whatever goods he may think proper.

(Government Custom House, 31st August 1779.

I have the honour to be &c.

(Signed) H^y. SCOTT, Dy. Cr. G. Customs.

Ordered that it lie for consideration, and in the mean time that the Collector be referred to the orders which he has already received respecting Mr. Bolts, and to the regulations of his office, leaving him to act conformably to those authorities.

The Secretary now informs the Board that the only special orders sent to the Collector of Government Customs respecting Mr Bolts's ship was to forbid him from suffering any goods to be landed from them, but are silent with respect to the lading of other goods, and that the Collector in consequence is at a loss how to act.

Ordered that the Collector of Government Customs be informed that the Board expressly forbid him to pass any goods whatsoever belonging to Mr Bolts, that if he has reason to suspect that the goods in question have been procured in Calcutta, the Board desire he will endeavor to trace and report the persons who furnished them to the Board, but if they have been purchased at either of the foreign settlements, it does not depend immediately upon him to collect the duties, the Fouzdar being in this case the proper officer who will take cognizance of the matter upon his representation.

Consultation at Fort William, 6 September 1779. ⁷⁵

The following letter from Mr Bolts was circulated on Saturday last, and the Minutes which are entered after it were returned.

Honble. Sir and Gentlemen,

In the month of July last I purchased and loaded on freight at Madras, upon a Portuguese vessel called the *Sanctissimo Sacramento* for Bengal, a quantity of redwood, the property of such of the subjects of Her Imperial Majesty, my sovereign, as are interested in the Asiatic Company of Trieste. Finding that at this Presidency all subjects of the British Government were publicly prohibited from having any intercourse with the subjects of Her said Majesty, on the arrival of the Portuguese vessel I did not attempt to land this redwood at Calcutta, but had it laden on four boats, in order to be conducted on board of one of the said Company's vessels now under my command in this river ; I am now informed that the officers of your Custom House have stoppt the said redwood on the river, and taken possession thereof ; and as I am ignorant of the reasons which have occasioned this seizure I take the liberty of informing you that I have paid the English Company's

⁷⁴ *Bengal Public Consultations*, (1779), XXXII. 317-319.

⁷⁵ *Bengal Public Consultations*, (1779), XXXII, 356-358.

duties on this article at Madras, and am ready to pay any other legal demand that can be made thereon by your Government. On these terms I request the favor of an order for its being released.

I have the honor to be &c.

Chinsurah 2d. September 1779.

(Signed) WILLIAM BOLTS,

Lieut : Col : in the Service of Their Imperial Majesties.

*Mr. Barwell.*⁷⁶ By the orders of the Company we can hold no intercourse with Mr Bolts : of course can give no reply to his letter.

*Consultation at Fort William, 29 September 1779.*⁷⁷

Read the following letter from Mr Bolts.

Honble. Sir and Gentlemen,

On the second instant I did myself the honor of addressing you a letter relative to four boats loaded with redwood, the property of the subjects of Her Imperial Majesty, my sovereign, which, in consequence of your orders, were on the 27th of August past, seized by your Custom House officers on the river, and conducted within the districts of your Town of Calcutta. Not having had the honour of an answer to that letter, to which I beg permission to refer, and much less obtained restitution of the redwood, I must now look upon the said property as lost to Her Majesty's subjects, and shall therefore trouble you no farther on that head.

At the same time, Honble. Sir and Gentlemen, I am sorry to be under the necessity of informing you that other officers of your Government, at Fultah, have been extremely troublesome, not only in obstructing the lawful business of Her Imperial Majesty's subjects and insulting her flag, but in having even gone so far as to prevent the officers and men of the ships under my command from obtaining provisions and the common necessities of life.

It is not necessary for me to inform you, Honble. Sir and Gentlemen, that the commerce under my directions is "under the protection of the Empress Queen, belonging to a Company erected in Germany"; or that "this commerce is not contrary to any treaty at present subsisting", since you have been formally advised thereof by the Honble. Court of Directors for Affairs of the Honble. the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies. But whatever may be the orders of that Honble. Court, perhaps too much dictated by a commercial jealousy equally as illfounded as at this period ill timed, permit me to address myself to you on this occasion, not as to the agent of a commercial society, but as to a tribunal appointed by an act of the British Legislature to the National Government of the British Dominions in Asia. In this point of view it will be needless for me to call to the recollection of gentlemen of so superior knowledge, what great events have often sprung from small causes, or how easy a spark may at first be quenched, that in its consequences must produce a conflagration.

I must confess after the amicable treatment which we have lately received at the other British Presidencies of Bombay and Madras, where we have been permitted even to trade on paying the established duties, and after seeing the friendly manner in which the ships and subjects of other European States are received at the British Ports in Asia, it is matter of the greatest astonishment to me, ignorant as I am of any differences subsisting between our respective sovereigns, to find your Government here so extremely hostile towards the

⁷⁶ Richard Barwell (1741-1804), member of the Supreme Council 1773-1781.

⁷⁷ *Bengal Public Consultations* (1779), XXXII, 549-554.

colours and subjects of the Empress Queen. For admitting you may have a right to prohibit British subjects from all intercourse with those of Her Imperial Majesty, what right can you have to obstruct or oppose Her Majesty and Her subjects in their peaceful intercourse or licit commerce with those of her allies His Most Serene Majesty of Denmark, and the high and Mighty United States of Holland? Or what right can you claim to seize the property of Her Majesty's subjects, as in the case of the redwood, where ever you find it?

Earnestly desirous on my part of promoting peace and harmony, I have hitherto most cautiously forbore every act that could possibly give the least offence to your Government, and it is a conduct I wish to pursue during the whole period of my short stay in this river. Let me then conjure you, Honble. Sir and Gentlemen, by those ties of humanity which unite Great Nations together in peace and amity, to give such orders to the respective officers of your Government as may in future remove the causes of the complaints I now make, and thereby prevent any possible interruption of the harmony which I hope will long subsist between the August Courts of Vienna and St. James.

Chinsura 18th September 1779.

I have the honor to be &c.

(Signed) WILLIAM BOLTS,

Lieut. Col. in the service of their Imperial Majesties.

*Extract of a General Letter from the Council to the Court of Directors
at Fort William, dated 14 January 1780. ⁷⁵*

We are to inform you that your orders prohibiting your servants and dependants from having any commercial intercourse or connection with Mr Bolts were published immediately on receipt of the General Letter which contained them, and again advertized on the arrival of that gentleman in July last. ⁷⁶ Your wishes with respect to this gentleman have been so strictly attended to by us and by the officers of the Nizamut, in consequence of orders from the Nabob to that effect, that he was unable to land any part of the goods imported by his ships, the *Joseph and Theresa* and *Kallowrath*, either at Calcutta or any where below it. He addressed repeated letters to us on the subject, but we did not think ourselves at liberty, consistently with your instructions, to return him an answer to either of them. We believe however that his merchandize was received at Chinsura and disposed of to the Dutch.

As the President and Council at Bombay had not been equally vigilant to prevent the intercourse of persons under their authority with Mr Bolts, we found that some consignments of goods had been made both by European and Native merchants at that place to individuals here by the ships of Mr. Bolts, which we were induced on their claim to suffer the importation of.

*Extract of a General Letter from the Council at Fort William to the
Court of Directors, dated 5 April 1783. ⁸⁰*

With respect to the conduct which we observed towards Mr William Bolts, we were cautiously governed throughout by your orders concerning him, and have regularly reported the particulars of it to you in our General letter of the 14th January 1780. After having been forbid any intercourse with Mr Bolts, and having issued the prohibition of Trade with him generally to all the dependants of this Government by Public Advertisement, it was not in our power to admit of any Goods imported in his name to be passed thro' the Custom House.

It is within the memory of some of the Members that a letter of representation was presented from Mr. Bolts on the subject of some redwood belonging to him being detained by the Custom House officers, but we did not think ourselves at liberty to receive it.

(To be continued.)

⁷⁵ *Bengal Letters Received*, XVIII, 16-17.

⁸⁰ *Bengal Letters Received*, XX (unpaged).

⁷⁶ See *ante*, p. 29.

DATE OF THE ĀBHĪRA MIGRATION INTO INDIA.

BY N. C. MAJUMDAR; CALCUTTA.

IN his monograph on *Taiçnarism, Saivism and Minor Religious Systems*,¹ Sir R. G. Bhandarkar has assigned the migration of the Ābhīras into India to the first century A.D. According to him the cult of child Kṛishṇa was a side-issue of Christianity and was imported by the Ābhīras (‘among whom the boy-god Kṛishṇa lived’) from outside India in the century following the crucifixion of Jesus Christ. Mr. Rāmāprasād Chanda in his work called the *Indo-Aryan Races*,² has attempted to prove that the Ābhīras came into India long before Christ was born, and as such they cannot be credited with an importation of Christian traditions as alleged by Sir Rāmkrishṇa. I fully agree in the contention of Mr. Chanda, though I think his arguments are too weak to prove his theory.

Mr. Chanda refers to the word *ghosha* which occurs in the *Mahābhāshya* of Patañjali (II. 4. 10)³ and interprets it in the sense of Ābhīra settlement, which is the meaning put upon that word only by such late authors as Amara and Jayāditya. It cannot be proved that the word *ghosha* was understood in the same sense in the time of Patañjali as it was in the time of Amara and Jayāditya. On the other hand, it will follow from the very passage Mr. Chanda has quoted, that *ghosha* has been used here in an altogether different sense. In the passage in question, *Āryanirāṣṭa* or Aryan settlement is stated as consisting of four units, *grāma*, *ghosha*, *nagara* and *saṃgrāha*. Here *ghosha* could have been taken to mean an *Ābhīrapallī*, i.e., a settlement of the Ābhīra race, if the Ābhīras had been Aryans. But in *Patañjali*, as I shall just show, they have been associated with the *Sādras*, and in the *Vāyupurāṇa*, too, they have been pointed out as *Mlechchhas*.⁴ So *Ābhīrapallī* could not have been the sense of the *ghosha* of the above mentioned passage where the intention is to denote the units of Aryan settlement. I do not mean to say that *ghosha* exclusively denoted a unit of Aryan settlement. What I contend here is that, because a certain author wanted to give an example of an Aryan settlement the term *ghosha*, which was used to serve that purpose, could not be referred to in the sense of *Ābhīrapallī*. *Ghosha* which is grouped with such general terms as *grāma*, *nagara* and *saṃgrāha*, could only have been taken in a general sense. It is like the rest, a unit of settlement and has nothing to do with one special class of people. The word has been used in this general sense also in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Vāyupurāṇa*.

“सकंस्तनुवायंश्च ग्रामंघोषनहन्तरः ।”

—Ayodhyā, Ch. 83, V. 15.

“आश्रमानथ ग्रामंश्च घोषंश्च नगराणि च ।”

—Vāyu, Ch. 33, V. 10.

¹ p. 27.

² pp. 84-85.

³ “कः पुनरायनिवासः ग्रामो घोषो नगरं संवाह इति”—Kielhorn's *Mahābhāshya*, I, 475. For other references to the word *ghosha* in the *Mahābhāshya* see *ibid.*, II, 117-118.

⁴ Ch. 37, V. 263.

The other argument adduced by Mr. Chanda to prove that the Ābhīras migrated to India before the birth of Christ, is that Kātyāyana, the predecessor of Patañjali, excludes the word *mahāsūdra* 'from the operation' of a certain rule of Pāṇini (IV. 1. 4). According to Amara and Kāśikā the meaning of this word would no doubt be *Ābhīra*. But it is neither a scientific nor a safe method to explain a text of the early second century B.C. in the light of an interpretation suggested by authors later by at least seven hundred years.

Whatever might be the value of the premises put forward by Mr. Chanda it is fair to acknowledge that his theory might have been substantiated from the *Mahābhāṣya* itself. I draw here the attention of scholars to one important passage of Patañjali, which, so far as my knowledge goes, has not yet been pointed out. The Ābhīras are actually mentioned by Patañjali in his gloss on the *Vārtika-sūtra*, "सामान्यविशेषवाचिनोश्च इन्द्राभावात् सिद्धम्." The passage is quoted below :—

सामान्यविशेषवाचिनोश्च इन्द्रा न भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥ यदि सामान्यविशेषवाचिनोर्इन्द्रो न भवतीत्युच्यते शूद्राभीरम् गोबलीवर्षम् तृणोलपमिति न सिध्यति । नैष शेषः । इह तावत् शूद्राभीरमिति आभीरा ज्ञान्यन्तराणि । etc.

The import of the above passage is that *dvandva*-compound should not be formed between a general term (*sāmānya*) and a particular term (*viśeṣa*). If this be so, there cannot be any *dvandva* compound like *sūdrābhīram*, *gobalivardam*, etc., for in these examples the words of each pair stand in relation of *sāmānya* and *viśeṣa*. Therefore if we want to have a *dvandva* compound in *sūdrābhīram* *sūdra* must not be taken as a general term and *ābhīra* as a particular term included within that term, though they are actually so, for, in that case, the meaning would be, an Ābhīra who is a Śūdra, which would satisfy only the requirements of a *karmadhāraya* compound and not a *dvandva*-compound. Here, the two terms are thus required to be understood as if they represent two different classes (*jāti*).

The legitimate inference which we can draw from the above, is, that the Ābhīras had settled in India and come to be associated with the Śūdras even in the time of Patañjali, who lived at any rate in the second century B.C. Therefore, their migration is to be placed at least three hundred years before the Christian era. The *Vāyupurāṇa* tells us that, at the time when the portion referring to the Ābhīras was composed, they were not even counted as Śūdras, but were looked down upon as *Mlechchhas*. The period of its composition must therefore be placed prior to Patañjali. From the *Vāyupurāṇa* we learn also that the Ābhīras had already settled in northern India and penetrated even to the far south.⁵ This is again indicative of the further antiquity of the Ābhīra migration into India.

⁵ Kielhorn's *Mahābhāṣya*, I, 252.

⁶ *Vāyupurāṇa*, Ch. 45, vs. 115, 126.

All these facts, noted above, will go to show —

- (a) that when, in the vocalic group अइ or अउ, अ is accented, the इ-उ, getting subordinate, the ultimate result is the wide sound, ई-औ;
- (b) that, when in these groups the इ-उ are accented, their prominence leads to the uniting of अ and इ and अ and उ into the narrow ए and ओ;
- (c) that the wide sound is akin to अय् अव् rather than to अइ-अउ;
- (d) that the इ-उ, when subordinate, turn into य-व (and then य्-व्);
- and (e) that thus the wide sound is the result of अय्-अव् and the narrow one is the result of अइ-अउ.

I shall give two or three comparative instances from identical words to further illustrate pointedly the operation of these principles; I give them in the form of a genealogical tree for the sake of giving a clear impression :

I—गौरी (Sanskrit.)

गउरी (= स्त्रीविशेषः)²⁷
(Prākṛit)
|
(O.W.R.) गवरी (= पार्वती)²⁷

²⁷ गौरी (= 1. पार्वती)
(Prākṛit) 2. A fair woman.
|
गौरी (O.W.R.)

1. गौरय — (Guj. —
(= a goddess
worshipped by
maidens in the
mouth of āshūḍha)

गवरी 2.
(= the latter half
of proper names
like चंद्रागवरी, etc.
Also ग्यवरी from
गिवरी in old Gujarāṭi works).

3. गौरी (Guj.)
(= a fair woman).

Here, Gujarāṭi has (1) गौरय, (2) गवरी, and (3) गौरी, each in a different sense; and the phonetic processes are different, as under : —

(1) अउ-अव अय्-औ; (it is to be noted in this case that the final इ becomes subordinate and turns into य; whereas in (2) it remains prominent and preserves the अ of व from becoming हुत्तर, and hence the अव stays on, and we have गवरी).

(2) अउ-अव. (See note, just above, under (1).)

(3) The औ has come direct from Prākṛit under the operation of the general rule in *Si. Hema.* VIII-i-159. (I shall soon consider below the nature and genesis of this operation; I may only state here that in the contraction of औ to औ, the औ passes through अउ, wherein उ is prominent and hence the narrow औ.)

II—गवाभ (Sanskrit)

|
गवअय (Prākṛit)

O.W.R. गवाय
(1)

गवय

गऊय

गाय (Guj.)
(2)

गूय (O.W.R.)
(3)

²⁷ Vide *Kumārāpāṭharita* (Ed. by S. P. Pandit), V, 80; IV, 56; and I, 75, &c. Also Index to it.

We notice here अव changed to औ in (2) गाँख, and अऊ changed to ऊ in (3) गूख; in the latter case the अ of अऊ is so subordinate and ऊ so very predominant that, instead of the two uniting into a narrow ओ, the अ is lost and ग्+ऊ remain as गू in गूख.²⁸ The following lines in *Kāṇhaṭṭhā Prabandha* (V. S. 1512) will show the place of both गूख and गवाख in old Western Rājasthāni :—

कोटे छइ कोसीसां घणां ²⁹ गूखगवाख मद मतवारणां

(*Khaṇḍa* III, st. 245.)

III—कवण (Apabhraṃśa)

कउण (O. W. R.)

(O. W. R.) कुण

कवण (O. W. R.)

काण (Guj.)

Here also the results, कुण and काण, are as in गूख (गूख) and गाँख, the only difference being that, while the ऊ in गऊख is long, that in कउण is short, and yet somehow occupies a prominence which ousts the अ off.

We may also contrast—चोलावत, चंदावत, etc., which contain वत as the final evolute of पुत्र through पुत्त, उत्त,³⁰ with गुहिलोत्त from गुहिलपुत्र, गुहिलउत्त; the point of contrast being that, in the latter case the अउ unites into a narrow ओ because of the strong उ, while in the former the strength is more than counteracted by the long आ preceding it, and hence the change into व.

It may be objected : Is not this fixing of the accent an arbitrary procedure ? What is the guide for fixing it ? Does it not amount to begging the question when you fix the accent on the अ or on the इ-उ (or य-व) according as the resulting sound is wide or narrow ? My answer to the first and last question is—No ; and to the second question the answer is furnished in the reason I shall just give for this answer in the negative. We have the guide and the test in certain instances where the accent is obvious and undisputable, *e. g.*, घईर, चित्तऊड, अवयव, अंधार, चउवेई, कसबहिआ, पणवल्ली, रडऊड, गुहिलउत्त, भाउजाई, पायदल, and the like ; and in the light of these we detect the location of the accent in the other cases, *always with good reason for the same*. In this subsequent process if the method appears to be *a priori*, it has a justification and is not the same as begging the question ; for the test indications have already disclosed to us the governing principle, and we trace it backwards

²⁸ The अ is extraordinarily subordinate in this case because it is in the initial syllable, and hence unsupported by a preceding syllable, and so it becomes पुत्तर. In the case of गवाख the accent on व gets lost when it becomes shortened, and hence the अ of अव gets accented.

Of course, the fact is that when people are inclined towards subordinating अ overmuch it becomes lost, and in the opposite case it acquires emphasis.

²⁹ Karṇaṇa Mantri's *Śūḍharaṇa* (V. S. 1526) also has गूख and गवाख in juxtaposition :

गूख, गवाख, नइ मालिआं कअडां उत्तम ठान;

(Description of Ayodhyā).

(This double-barrelled word must have been a conventional expression, it seems.)

Vimāla-prabandha (V. S. 1568) has गूख with a short उ. (See *Khaṇḍa* I, st. 55.)

³⁰ The उत्त becomes वत by *prati-samprasaṅga* in these cases. I do not believe that पुत्र-पुत्त becomes वुत्त and thus वत्त; for in the case of गुहिलोत्त the steps are पुत्त-उत्त, (not पुत्त, वुत्त, उत्त).

from the visible results in cases of possible dispute, and see how it fits in. This method is, I believe, fairly permissible and frequently resorted to in all inquiries of this nature.

Dr. Tessitori ("Notes," § 10, (4)) refers to the change of अइ into ए (narrow) as visible in Prākṛit and Apabhraṃśa, and cites Pischel, § 166. The instances given by Pischel are केल from कइल,³¹ येर from स्थविर, etc. Similarly the change of अउ to औ is visible if we look behind and under the *adeias* given by Hemachandra; as in लोण, etc., from लवण, etc. (*Si. Hema.* VIII-i-171) and औ for अव and अउ (*Si. Hema.* VIII-i-172). Similar is the principle underlying the *sūtra*, VIII-i-170, wherein the word presumably passes through an intermediate step, षउर, (alternatively with वअर which gives वैर in Hindi), and the ऊअ in the mediate evolutes of पुतर and पुगफल first goes through a metathesis and the अउ thus derived becomes औ.

To this I would further add that the changes of ऐ to ए and औ to औ, noted by Hemachandra in VIII-i-148 and 159 respectively, are not direct, single-stepped changes, but really through the intermediate steps अइ and अउ respectively: consequently all these changes to ए-औ may be regarded as but changes from inherent अइ-अउ. The exceptional position of वैद्यादिगण and वैरादिगण (VIII-i-151, 152), as also that of पौरादिगण (VIII-i-162) and गौरव (VIII-i-163), which note the change of ऐ-औ in those cases to अइ-अउ, is really this: All Sanskrit ऐ-औ are in Prākṛit changed to अइ-अउ in the first instance, and, while in the exceptions just mentioned (वैद्यादि, etc., and पौरादि, etc.) they stop short at the hiatus form अइ-अउ, in all the remaining cases the contactual vowels thus arrived at move a step further and unite into ए and औ respectively.³²

It will thus be seen that even in the Prākṛit stage the tendency was for the union of अ and इ and अ and उ to result into the narrow ए and औ. Of course, the wide sound was

³¹ Pischel's steps are कइल-कडिल-कइल-केल. I would prefer कइल-कअल (कयल)-कइल-केल, for *samprasāraṇa* is latent in *Sūtras* like *Si. Hema.* VIII-i-171, 172, and VIII-i-149, under which लवण becomes लोण and अव and अउ become औ, and the अय of the causal becomes ए (मारयति मारंइ); obviously, through the change of व to उ and य to इ (*Samprasāraṇa*); whereas कडिल for कइल is not quite a known change: the principle underlying स्वराणां स्वराः प्रायः उपश्रंशौ or, better still, that underlying *Si. Hema.* VIII-i-46, may cover the case by stretching a point. But we need not go so far when the obvious and natural steps are available.

³² I base this theory on the difference in the essential formation of ऐ औ and ए-औ. It is thus, Sanskrit and Prākṛit grammarians divide the vowels into समान (simple), which are अ to लृ and सन्धि (compound), which are ए, ऐ, औ, because these latter four are formed by a condition of अ and इ and अ and उ respectively. They (the grammarians) do not make any further distinction in the latter division. I am inclined to differentiate these by further dividing them into संकीर्ण, which are ए and औ, and संसृष्ट, which are ऐ and औ. The meaning is obvious: संकर is fusion, and संसृष्टि is mere admixture; we find in ए and औ the component simple vowels thoroughly fused together as in a chemical combination, while in ऐ and औ the component simple vowels stand joined together, as in a mechanical mixture. They are to the simple components what conjunct consonants are to the simple consonants composing them. Thus, while it would be easy for ऐ and औ to get split up into अइ and अउ as contactual vowels, it would be practically impossible for ए and औ to be so split up. Consequently ऐ-औ would seem to have no direct connection with ए-औ, and, in passing into the latter form, must necessarily first get split up into अइ-अउ.

I am half inclined to call ऐ-औ by the name संमिश्र instead of संसृष्ट; but on second thoughts I adhere to the latter name, because (1) संसृष्टि is conventionally used as the reciprocal of संकर (as in the case of *ataśkṛtas*); and (2) संमेष would indicate a closer union (an embrace) than संसर्ग which is a mere union, only a little more than mere contact.

Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar's distinction between ऐ-औ and अइ-अउ will prove interesting incidentally in this connection. (Vide his *Wilson Philological Lectures*, 81, 142 and 146.)

not known then; and no wonder, because the conditions for that sound were 'not present; viz., अद्य-अद् as results of accent on अ. (Consequently Dr. Tessitori's theory that अद्य-अद् must pass through अद्-अउ before forming the wide अँ-औ, will not fit in with all these principles noted above. A small indication will bear this out: Sanskrit अद्य becomes ए in Prākṛit in cases like the causal forms of verbs: पारयति-पारेह, कारयति-कारेह, भावयति-भावेह and the like. (Vide *Si. Hema.* VIII-iii-149.) This ए must obviously be the result of अद्य passing into अद्. Similarly the change of लवण, etc., to लोण, etc., and of अप and अव to औ indicate the change of अव to अउ first. This will show the nature of the union between अ and इ, and अ and उ, even when derived from अद्य-अव. It will be seen, thus, that अ and इ and अ and उ are the generators of the narrow ए and औ, while अद्य and अव those of the wide अँ and औ. For it cannot be seriously contemplated that the narrow ए-औ thus formed turned all at once into the wide ones, or that अ+इ and अ+उ could generate both the sounds, narrow as well as wide.

I have already referred to Dr. Tessitori's gracefully frank admission that, when he wrote his "Notes", the wide sound of *e* and *o* (as अँ औ) was never present before his mind, and he states there that अद् and अउ became *ê* (ए) and *ô* (औ) narrow. May it be that, now when he has discovered that both Gujarāṭī and Māravāḍī have the wide *ê—ô* (अँ-औ), the first impression still clings, of course partially, in so far as he regards the wide sound as resulting direct from अद्-अउ without an intermediate step?³³

One word more. It will be remembered that the wide sound of अँ-औ was quite unknown to Prākṛit or O. W. Rājasthānī; and that it came into Gujarāṭī and Māravāḍī alone during the early history of their growth, probably about the early part of the seventeenth century of the Christian era. This period coincides with the time when the Moghul Empire had just been consolidated by Akbar, and Akbar's great efforts had brought Arabic and Persian literature into close contact with Indian literature. May I therefore venture a suggestion that this wide sound, which is peculiarly similar to, or at least extremely near, the wide sound of Arabic and Persian words of the types of हय्रान and कवल, was matured under the indirect influence of these foreign languages? It is certainly not unlikely that the sound in वयण-वयण should have recognized a close likeness in the foreign word हय्रान or that in कवडी-कवडी should have found a similar correspondence in that of कवल, and that thus a silent current of phonal influence generated and established itself. I am aware that Hindi—the language of a province where the Moghul influence was wider and more powerful—has the sound not identically wide with Gujarāṭī and Māravāḍī. This can be very well accounted for by the comparatively sturdy character of the people speaking Hindi who tried to steer clear of this foreign influence, and only partially succeeded, for, after all, the similarity between the new indigenous sound and the foreign sound was really very close.

Finally, it is possible that the question may be asked—"If the wide अँ-औ are the results of अद्य-अव how could the formation contain ए and औ which comprise अ+इ and अ+उ, without the presence of इ and उ in the precedent stage?" The answer is this: As just observed, the wide अँ-औ are really new and, in a way, foreign sounds; they comprise

(a) the foreign element,

and (b) the nature of ए and औ;

of these (a) is predominant and (b) subordinate, and this latter is contributed by the इ and उ remaining, as it were, in the form of a latent influence in the ए and औ. This need

³³ I must here admit that, when I wrote my Note in the *Indian Antiquary* to which Dr. Tessitori has alluded, I had mistaken the circumflex over *e* and *o* (*ê—ô*) for the grave (*è—ò*) when reading Dr. Tessitori's "Notes." The former marks the narrow sound and the latter the wide one.

not be regarded as if I gave up my whole case. The latent influence can exist for its limited operation and yet the final formation (**य-व**) remain as the dominant factor. ³⁴

To summarize,—my position amounts to this :

I. The wide sound in **अ-आ** in Gujarâti (which is also a peculiarity of Mārāvâḍī) comes from

- (a) **अय-अव** in Prâkrit, Apabhraṃśa, and O. W. Rājasthānī ;
and (b) **अइ-अउ** in the same languages, through a subsequent step **अय-अव** by *pratisamprasāraṇa* (a principle at work in an extensive field).

NOTE :—

(1) In both these cases the **अय-अव** assume the form **अय-अव** (by the loss of the **दुततर अ**) before taking the form of the wide sound

(2) **अहि-अहु** which also become wide **अ-आ** really pass through the **अइ-अउ** step by the movement of the **हे** to the initial syllable of words :

बहिलउं	बहिलउं	बहिलुं
	बहिलउं	
(पृथुलकं) पृथुलउं	पृथुलउं	पृथुलुं

II. The reasons for the above analysis are :

- (a) **अइ-अउ**, if they combine, form **ए-औ** (narrow), as shown by the tendency ever since Prâkrit and Apabhraṃśa]
by mere combination as they are .
(b) **अय-अव** (through **अय-अव**) generate the wide sound, as is manifest to the ear by actual perception :
(c) This wide sound, which did not start much earlier than the seventeenth century of the Christian era, and is confined to Gujarâti (and Mārāvâḍī), is really foreign in its nature, and its advent was helped by the O. W. Rājasthānī **अय-अव** (in the **अय-अव** stage) finding a phonal affinity with the Arabic-Persian sound in **अय-अव** :

बयण (बयण), (खदिर) खदिर, खयग (खयग).

कवडी (कवडी), अउत्थउं (अउत्थउं, अवथउं, अवथउं).

these find, as it were, a phonal kinship with the types represented by **हयगान-इवलत** :

- (d) This phonal phenomenon is determined by the position and movement of accent ; if the accent is on the **अ** of the **अइ-अव**, **अउ-अव**, the resulting sound is wide, **अ** being कटय and capable of विवृण pronunciation ; if the accent is on **इ-य**, **उ-व** the resulting sound is **ए-औ** (narrow). **य-व** passing first into **इ-उ** by *samprasāraṇa*.
(e) The diphthongs **ए-औ** in Sanskrit were narrow in sound the **ए-औ** in Mārāvâḍī *tadbhavas* (e.g., बेल, चौथा) are almost similar to the Sanskrit sounds ; the **ए-औ** in Hindi *tadbhavas* (बेल, चौथा), although swinging to the side opposite to the Mārāvâḍī sound, i.e., inclining towards the wide sound, do not quite come up to the full wide sound in Gujarâti (and Mārāvâḍī) *tadbhavas* :—consequently **ए-औ** would be misleading as symbols for this last-named wide sound, for which **अ-आ** would be perhaps the best symbols, especially as these were in vogue at one time in old manuscripts, if my information is correct.

I conclude now, but not without acknowledging my great debt to Dr. Tessitori whose learned labours have helped me in examining this question in all its bearings and enabled me to place my view before him and other scholars interested in this subject, in a spirit of friendly co-operation in the search for knowledge and truth.

³⁴ This may be likened, in a way, to the principle underlying Pāṇini's *sūtra* स्थानिवशादेवः (1-1-56), though it adds अनल्विधी and thereby excludes अल्विधि from its operation. I am aware, the purpose of the *sūtra* is different. I simply apply the principle in a different way for my purpose. In fact exclude the exception, अनल्विधी, i.e., a process similar to it, in this case.

Appendix A.

(See page 297, December, 1917, n. 3.)

The scope of अह-अउ is further restricted by the fact that, as a general rule, Sanskrit ए and औ are changed in Prākṛit to ए and ओ respectively, and the changes to अह and अउ are confined, as exceptions, to—

- (a) Words in the वैत्यादि group (*Si. Hemachandra*, VIII-i-151), or, optionally, to those in the वैरादि group (*Si. Hema*. VIII-i-152);
 (b) Words in the पौरादि group (*Si. Hema*. VIII-i-162), and, optionally, the word गौरव (*Si. Hema*. VIII-i-163);

And अह-अउ formations are otherwise evolved in—

- (c) Words where the अह or अउ is derived by the elision of certain consonants united with the ह or उ, *e.g.* :

प्रतिष्ठान (पइष्ठाण), उपविशति (उवइसई वइसइ), प्राविशति (पइसइ), मुकुल (मउल—मीर Guj.);

- (d) Words which, in Prākṛit, contain अहि-अहु undergo a further transitional change by way of the shunting of the *h* to the beginning of a word and precipitate अह-अउ, *e.g.* :

		Guj.
भगिनी	बहिणी (बहइणी)	बहन
	पहिलउं (पइलउं)	पहलुं
शिथिलकं	सहिलउं (सइलउं)	सहेलुं
पृथुलकं	पइलउं (पइलउं)	पइलुं
	and the like.	

In this last case, (d), however, the अह-अउ stage is merely a transitional one, a mere possibility, and therefore not likely to be found in actual writing. This may, therefore, be properly excluded from calculation for the purpose of finding out use in actual writing. Add to this the fact that all the words covered by the above groups do not necessarily yield corresponding words in Gujarātī (or Mārāvāḍī).

This is in regard to medial अह-अउ. For the rest there is an extensive field of final अह and अउ in verbal forms and nominative singular of nouns and adjectives; *e.g.* :

करह,	आवह,	छह, etc.
	करिसह, etc.	
करउ,	आवउ,	छउ, etc.
पीडउ,	हथउ;	बंकउ, रत्नउ, etc.

But the extensiveness of this field is compensated for by what I call the अर्धविभक्त³⁵ nature of the sound in the resulting *e* and *o*, a fact recognized by Dr. Tessitori also.

Thus, as a result of all this, the cases of अय and अव in actual writing will obviously be comparatively very few. In contrast to this अय-अव, as derived from Sanskrit words by elision of certain consonants or change of य to व (where व does not exist originally) will always be medial—rarely final (as in सय-स and the like), and instances thereof will be larger in number. It is interesting to note that Hindi, which pronounces the final and medial wide ए and औ in a peculiar way, sometimes writes हय for है (=is).

³⁵ A few exceptions may be noted: भौ (fear) from भय: - भउ; छौ (=let be), from छउ (=अस्तु); हौ (an interjection, meaning—"Do you see?", "Will you?", as in कागळ लखौ हौ! "You will write to me, will you?") from भवतु हवउ, हवउ, हउ; जी (=victory), from जीह-जव.

These, especially as they are monosyllabic, emphasize the wide sound of the final औ and ए; as will be perceived by contrasting the words with भौ (address of vocative), छौ (=chunam plastering), and जी (=which), which all, of course, end in a narrow sound.

Appendix B.

(See page 25, January, n. 18.)

Tulsidāsa (died V. S. 1680) shows the following :—

- (1) मोसन भिरहि कौन बाधा बह (Lankā-Kāṇḍa).
- (2) जाम्बवन्त औरी नलनीला (Kishkindhā-Kāṇḍa).
- (3) तुम देखी सीता मृग नैनी (Aranya-Kāṇḍa).
- (4) सुनइ सकल बैठे हरेना (Kishkindhā-Kāṇḍa).
- (5) बेरा रामलषण औतरहीं (Sundara-Kāṇḍa).
- (6) इहिन कवन ³⁶ विपति बड़ भाई (Aranya-Kāṇḍa)
यही न पञ्चान कछु राखीं
बृषपुगण संन मत भाषी (Uttara-Kāṇḍa)
- (7) पूछीं काहि कहौं कहिजाई (Sundara-Kāṇḍa Interpolated portion).
- (8) कवन ³⁶ उत्तर देखीं निन जाई (Ditto)
- (9) अस स्वभाव कहं सुनौं न देखीं
काहि ग्यंगरा रघुपतिम लेखीं (Uttara-Kāṇḍa).
- मोसन होइ न प्रत्युपकारा
वन्दौं नवपड बार हि बारा (
- (12) मैं कृतकृत्य भयउं नव बानी (
- (13) मोह जलधिबोहिन तुम भयउ
मोकर नाथ विविधसुख द्यउ (
- (14) निज परिताप द्रवै नवनीता
परदुख द्रवहि सुमन्न पुनीता (
- (15) धन्य सौ भूप नीति जा करइ
धन्य सौ हिज निज धर्म न टरइ (Ditto)
- (16) सांघ मरुन सब क्षमा जुझावै
पूतसम जावन देह जमावै (

A comparative study of these specimens will show that अइ, अउ in instances like No. 15 and No. 13 are necessitated by the requirements of metre: ऐ-औ in such cases would not have done. Barring this, we find ऐ-औ in general use, and ए ओ rare. It may be reasonably inferred that, while this state of mixed use of अइ-अउ and ऐ-औ indicating the rise of ऐ-औ—prevailed in Tulsidāsa's time, the ऐ-औ practice was fairly well-established about half a century after Tulsidāsa's death, when Bihārī wrote his "Satasai." Of course, a careful inspection of the original manuscripts would throw further light on this matter. I have had to depend on printed works only in this case.

The "Song of Jasavanta Sonigaro" (given by Dr. Tessitori in the article under notice, pp. 82-84) which is in old Māravāḍī and contains ऐ-औ in fair profusion, is placed by Dr. Tessitori soon after V. S. 1670. This would show its affinity with the similar practice in Hindi in Tulsidāsa's period.

³⁶ कवन is also found in other places :—

कह दशकन्ध कवन तैं बन्दर (Lankā-Kāṇḍa.)

करइ कवन कारण तपभायी (Bala-Kāṇḍa.)

This shows that, if कउण did not exist between Apabhramṣa and Hindi, कवन preserved its व form side by side with the changed form कौन ;—a phenomenon no unusual in linguistic evolution. The करइ here, for instance, retains the क and we have forms like भवइ, द्यउ also (see instance 13).

ASOKA NOTES, NO. XII.

(No. XI appeared in Vol. XXXIX ante, for 1910 p. 64.)

By VINCENT A. SMITH, M.A. (Oxon.)

Identification of Tambapaṇṇi in the Rock Edicts.

The name *Tambapaṇṇi* occurs twice in the Edicts, namely, in Rock Edict II, which asserts that 'curative arrangements' were organized 'as far as Tambapaṇṇi'; and in Rock Edict XIII, which describes the 'conquest by the Law of Piety,' or 'morality' as extending to the same limit. The name undoubtedly is that written in Sanskrit as *Tāmraparṇi* (*Tāmraparṇi* of *Imp. Gazetteer*), which is applied both to Ceylon and to a river which formerly flowed through the ancient Pāṇḍya kingdom and now traverses the Tinnevely District. In the second edition of my *Asoka* (Oxford, 1909) I translated the name in both passages by "Ceylon", but am satisfied that I was mistaken, and that **the reference in both cases is to the river, not to the island.** Asoka meant that his medical institutions and Buddhist propaganda extended into the Pāṇḍya territory. The Rock Edicts, as is now well known, were published in or about 257 B.C. At that date the relations of the Indian emperor with Ceylon had not begun. They did not come into existence until several years later, soon after the accession of Tissa as king of Ceylon, which event, according to Wickramasinghe, may be dated in 253 B.C. The reign of Tissa, who, like Asoka, bore the title *Devānampiyā*, lasted, as that of Asoka did, for about forty years. (*Ep. Zeylanica*, I, 81.) **Consequently, it is impossible that the word *Tambapaṇṇi* in the Edicts should refer to Ceylon.**

The *Arthashastra* of Kauṭilya or Chāṇakya, which was composed in the time of Asoka's grandfather, and makes only one reference to *Tāmraparṇi*, certainly treats the name as meaning the river. Chapter II of Book I, in which the various kinds of gems are described, mentions the *Tāmraparṇika* kind as being 'that which is produced in the *Tāmraparṇi*.' The commentator explains the meaning by the note, 'A river in the Pāṇḍya country.' The river was famous as the seat of fisheries for both pearls and the chank shell (*Turbinella rapa*). **The ancient port of Korkai**, then on the bank of the river and on the sea-coast, was a place of extensive commerce and a centre of the gem trade. The gems, other than pearls, must have come chiefly from Ceylon, and the close commercial relations between the Pāṇḍya kingdom and the island may explain the transfer of the name *Tāmraparṇi* from the river on the mainland to Ceylon. Prior to the accession of Tissa, in or about 253 B.C., Ceylon probably was known to India mainly as a place which supplied gems and spices to the mart on the *Tāmraparṇi*, from which it was not distinguished.

The *Tāmraparṇi* river was and is still a stream of exceptional importance on its own account, although its course, windings included, measures only about seventy miles. The catchment area receives both the S.W. and N.E. monsoons, with the result that the river is in flood twice in the year and offers unique facilities for the irrigation of rice. Its valley is the wealthiest portion of the Tinnevely District. The river rises in the Potiyam or Potigai mountain, also called Agastya's Hill, the Potalaka of Hiuen Tsang,¹ 6800 feet high, which receives an annual rainfall of 300 inches, while the Tinnevely plain receives only 25. The river is said to be mentioned in both the *Aranya-parva* of the

¹ Beal, II, 223; Watters, II, 231.

Mahābhārata and in the *Raghurāṇīa*. It is considered extremely sacred throughout its whole course, and especially at the falls in the hills. The Greeks called it Solen, which seems to be a variant form of Ceylon. It is remarkable that they, like the Indians, should apply the one name to the river and the island. The Potigai mountain appears as 'Bettigo' in Greek.

The port of Korkai, which used to be situated near the mouth of the Tāmraparṇī, but now is five miles from the sea, seems to have been the first settlement of civilized man in those parts. The ruin of Korkai and the other ancient ports in the neighbourhood undoubtedly is due to a **gradual elevation of the land**, and not to mere silting up by deposits of sand brought down by the rivers. The proof is given concisely by Caldwell in the following passage :

'I should not expect to find relics of the oldest period anywhere near the sea, as I consider it certain that the land has been slowly but steadily rising above the ancient sea level for ages, probably even before man made his appearance in the district. The rise of the land all through the historical period is, I think, capable of proof. Near Kulaśekhara paṭṭanam, a town and port of some antiquity, **pieces of broken pottery are occasionally found imbedded in the grit stone, a marine formation abounding in sea shells of existing species, found all along the coast.** I have a specimen in my possession found about a mile from the sea-shore; but I regard this as proving, not the immense antiquity of the pottery, which does not appear to differ in the least from the pottery now in use but rather the comparatively recent origin of some portions of the grit-stone.'²

The long-expected edition of the edicts of Aśoka by Professor Hultzsch was in the press when the war broke out in 1914. The work is not sufficiently advanced to be completed by anybody except the author. I have been permitted by the Clarendon Press to consult the small portion printed off which comprises the whole of the Rock Edicts in the Gīrnār recension and most of the Kālsī recension, but not the 13th edict or the close of the 12th. **Dr. Hultzsch correctly renders the words *ā Tambapaṇṇī* in Edict II, Gīrnār, by 'as far as the Tamraparṇī', and appends the note:—**

'Here and in edict XIII Tāmraparṇī is usually taken to refer to Ceylon; but it is more natural to understand by it the river of this name in the Tinnevely district, which was known to the author of the *Rāmāyana* (Bombay edition, iv, 41, 17) (Cf. Mr. V. A. Smith's note, *ZDMG.*, 63, 211.)'

Edict XIII in the Gīrnār recension is missing.

In edict II of the Kālsī recension we have the enumeration of foreign countries *Chodā Pāṇḍiyā Sāliyaputa Kelalaputa Tāmbapaṇṇī*, which Dr. Hultzsch renders:— 'the Chodās, the Pāṇḍyas, the Sāliyaputa, the Kelalaputa, the Tāmraparṇī.'

His edition of the 13th edict in that recension is not at my disposal.

It is clear that in both edicts *Tāmbapaṇṇī* means the Tinnevely river, not the island of Ceylon.

'*History of Tinnevely*, Madras, 1881, 5, 9-11, 19, 38. 'Within India proper there have been local changes in the relative level of land and sea within recent geological times. . . On the east side of Bombay Island trees have been found imbedded in mud about 12 feet below low-water mark, while a similarly submerged forest has been described on the Tinnevely coast. On the other hand, there is evidence to show that a part of the coast of Tinnevely has risen and driven back the sea in the neighbourhood of Kāyal.' (*Imp. Gaz.*, 1907, 1, 99, 'Geology' by T. H. Holland.)

THE ARTHASASTRA EXPLAINS :

BY K. P. JAYASWAL, M.A. (OXON.), BAR.-AT-LAW ; BANKIPORE.

(1)

“*Pranaya*” of Rudradāman’s Inscription.

THE meaning of the term *pranaya* occurring in Rudradāman’s inscription¹ is now settled by Kauṣilya’s *Arthasāstra*.

Hindu Law lays down a fixed system of taxation which no king acting under the Law could violate. He could neither introduce a new tax, nor could he enhance the rates fixed by the Common Law (*Dharmaśāstra*). This, of course, was very inconvenient to an imperial system like that of the Mauryas, which had to maintain a large standing army and to carry on great wars. The system, therefore, had to have recourse to devices. It introduced and levied taxes without directly calling them taxes.

The *Arthasāstra* calls them *pranayaḥ* (in the singular). This ‘gift of affection’ was to be realised during financial stringency (*‘Pratyutpannārthakṛichchham,’* p. 240).² This could be levied only once, presumably in one reign (*sakṛideva na dvīḥ prayojyaḥ,* p. 241). If there was disappointment in the realisation of the *pranaya* the Minister of Revenue had to ‘beg’ it from the capital and the country after pointing out the importance of the object for which it was wanted (*tasyākarane nā samāhartā kāryamapadiśya paura-jānapadān bhiksheta,* pp. 241-2). For better success, the king had also to beg (*rājā paura-jānapadān bhiksheta*). The agents of the Government were the first to give largely and they would put to shame those who paid little. ‘*Hiranya*’ (gold coin) was begged of the rich.

Another device was that titles or dignities, the privilege of using the umbrella of distinction, and what in Muhammadan times was called *khilāts*, were to be given for *hiranya* (स्थान-छत्र-वेष्टन-विभूषाद्येषां हिरण्येन प्रयच्छेत्, p. 242).

The *pranaya* amongst the rural population was realised at twenty-five per cent. of the agricultural produce, and at one-sixth of cotton and woollen goods, etc. Likewise the urban articles of trade and merchandise were also made to pay a high profit and capital tax ranging from 50 per cent. to 20 per cent. Theatrical people had to pay half of their salaries (p. 241).

It seems that this ‘affection’ tax was carried down to the time of Rudradāman and thus had a history of about four centuries, at least. That the ‘affection’ tax had been very much resented is proved by the fact of Rudradāman’s publicly announcing its discontinuance. True to his coronation-oath (*‘pratiñāḍ’*) he realised only the taxes sanctioned by Hindu Law.³

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, VIII. 43, 44.

² Cf. प्रतिज्ञांश्चाभिरोहस्व मनसा कर्मणा गिरा । पालयिष्याम्यहं भौमं ब्रह्म इत्येव चासकृत् ॥

M. Bh., Śānti, 59. 106.

³ The oath exacted a promise to “follow the Law. Cf. बन्धाच्च धर्मो नीलकुम्भो दण्डनीतिव्यापयः । नवाशङ्कः करिष्यामि स्ववशी न कदाचन. M. Bh., Śānti, 59. 107.

(2)

The God-idols of the Mauryas.

The old discussion on Patañjali's *Mauryatirahanyārthibhir* = *archāḥ prakalpitāḥ*⁴ ought to be considered now in the light of a datum in the *Arthasāstra*.

The 'pranaya' and sale of honours were not the only Mauryan devices to ease financial situation. Patañjali's remark 'the worships established by the Mauryas who wanted *hiranya* (money)' has reference to another of those devices.

In the same chapter (on Financial Stringency, ch. 90) one more method of raising money is given and that is by instituting new worships (p. 242). There was an imperial Department of Temples and Worships. The Minister in charge (देवनाध्यक्ष) was expected to help the Exchequer by various procedures. He had, for instance, to exploit the superstitious devotees (*Sraddadhānān*) of Nāgas by showing a real serpent in the Nāga-idol through secret human agency (p. 242). New *daivata* had to be set up at night and *yātrāsamājas* convened there to raise revenue from their offerings. According to Patañjali some of the objects of worship established by the Mauryas were still worshipped in his time (यास्व्येता संप्रतिपूजार्थास्तासु), and amongst such worships were also the wellknown "Śiva," "Śkṇḍa" and "Viśākha"⁵ (शिव स्कन्द विशाख इति), apparently, of Pātaliputra.

(3)

Niri of the Inscriptions.

The word *niri* occurring in the inscriptions has not been properly understood. The *Arthasāstra* explains it

Niri is a technical term of the Hindu secretariat. It means a 'despatch,' 'document,' 'record' or 'file.' See *Arthasāstra*, pp. 61, 62, 64. (आयन्ययनीवीनां; समुद्र-पुस्तभाण्ड-नीविकानां, etc.) The expression, like our modern 'red-tape,' is derived from the physical feature 'the string' which was tied round the despatch or returns.

The *Niri* of the inscriptions has thus to be translated as 'document' or 'despatch,' and *akshaya-niri* as 'permanent document.'

(4)

"Thus saith Priyadarsi": 'Proclamations' not 'edicts.'

"Thus saith" was a technical style used in a certain class of royal documents. The style had come down from pre-Mauryan times. For Kauṣilya in his chapter on

⁴ On Pāṇini, 5. 3. 99 : जीविकार्थे आपण्ये ।

⁵ It may be noticed that most of the gods mentioned in the *Arthasāstra* (pp. 55-6) go back to the Maurya and pre-Maurya times. Its *Śiva* and *Vaiśravaṇa* may be compared with Pāṇini's *Śiva* (4.1.112), and *Śiva-Vaiśravaṇa* of the *Mahā-Bhāṣya* (on Pāṇini, 6.3.26), and the *Nāgas* and *Śri* with the *Nāgas* and *Siri* of the Buddhist Sūtras. The *Āśvins* are vedic. The histories of *Madra*, *Jaganta*, *Vaijaganta*, *Āparājita* and *Apratibhata*, however, are still to be traced.

⁶ Patañjali means by implication that the Mauryas did make a *trade* by instituting these idols (*pratikṛtiḥ*, p. v. 3. 96), and thus the limitation of Pāṇini "अपण्ये" 'where no trade is made' (only a livelihood is made, जीविकार्थे), fails in the case of the 'Śiva', etc., of the Mauryas, which are called 'Śiva,' etc. (not *Śimka*, etc.): अपण्य इत्युच्यते तत्रेदं न सिध्यति । शिवः स्कन्दः विशाख इति । किं कारणम् । नीर्यहिरण्यायिभिः etc.

Sāsanaādihikāra or the Department of Royal Correspondence⁷ (pp. 70-75) gives ancient rules “ सर्व शास्त्राण्यनुक्तस्य प्रयोगमुपलभ्य च ” (p. 75). He quotes verses which by their very style prove themselves to be ancient.

“ प्रज्ञापनाज्ञापनिशानज्ञेयाः ” are the royal communications which stand in the first *pāda* of the first verse, others being *Parī-hāra*, *Nisrīṣhṭi*, *Prārīṣṭika*, *Patī-lekha* and *Sarvatraya*. We are not here concerned with the *sāsanas* other than the first two—*Prajñāpanā* and *Ājñā*. *Prajñāpanā* is described in these words: अनेन विज्ञापितमेवमाह तर्ह्ययनां चेद्यदि तत्त्वमस्ति । राजस्समीपे परकारमाह प्रज्ञापनेषा विविधोपादिता ॥ (p. 73). The verse is difficult and the meaning obscure, but this much is clear and certain that the *Prajāpanā* gave various advices or informations (विविधोपादिता) and that it began with “ *Anena vijñāpitam*, ” “ It is notified hereby, ” or “ *evam āha*, ” “ Thus saith. ”⁸

Thus the inscriptions of Aśoka beginning with *evam āha* are all *Prajñāpanās*: Proclamations, advising or informing the people. It is wrong to call them ‘ edicts. ’

These Public Proclamations sometimes quote an *ājñā-lekha*. Let us first discuss the characteristics of an *ājñā-lekha*.

भर्तुराज्ञा भवेद्यत्र निमहानुमहो प्रति ।

विशेषेण तु भृत्येषु तदज्ञालेख-लक्षणम् ॥ (p. 73).

“ An order of the Master (Sovereign)—an order restraining or approving, issued especially to Government servants—bears the characteristics of an *ājñā-lekha*. ”

An *ājñā-lekha* is quoted in the Rock series, section III. It is addressed to the *bhṛtyas* ‘ *rājukas* ’, ‘ *Prādesīkas* ’ and ‘ the council ’⁹ (*Parisā*, = the Council of Ministers). Another *ājñā-lekha* is cited in sec. VI of the Rock Series. It is issued to the Council of Ministers (*Parisā*). Both are marked by the style “ *evam mayā ājñāpitam*. ”

These *ājñā-lekhas* are included in the *evam-āha* documents of Aśoka; they have no separate existence there. They contain one more class of writs, called by Kauṭilya a *Pratī lekha*, where a document is drafted in the king’s own words (यथा राजवचस्तथा) (p. 74). A good example of this is the Jaugad. Separate Record II, beginning with “ Thus saith ” but giving the *lāja-vachanika* text.

It would be, therefore, proper to call these inscriptions *Prajñāpanās* or ‘ Public Proclamations. ’ “ Edicts ” are not correct. European scholars take “ *lipi* ” of *dharma-lipi* standing at the head of the series as denoting the character of these documents and they translate it by “ edicts. ” But it can be demonstrated that *lipi* does not mean “ edicts. ” In the Sāranāth inscription Aśoka says that two *lipis* of the same *sāsana* were sent there. *Lipi* therefore means a ‘ despatch. ’¹⁰

⁷ *Sāsana* does not there invariably mean “ orders. ” Foreign correspondence was also called *sāsanas*. शासनप्रधाना हि राजानः, तन्मूलत्वात् सन्धिविग्रहयोः (p. 70.)

⁸ The other styles of commencement are obscure. They probably are “ *taddiyatām ched-gadi tatteam* = *astī* ” or “ *taddiyatām chet* ” (‘ you may give it ’ (?)) and “ *gadi tatteamasti* ” (‘ If it is true ’ (?)) and *Rājās-samīpe Parakārtam* = *āha* (meaning obscure) “ Enemy’s document (cf. करण, p. 73) come to the king says thus ” (?)

⁹ As it is an *ājñā-lekha* it must have been addressed to the Royal *Parisā* (‘ servants ’), and not to the clergy as supposed by scholars. Cf. also my interpretation of the *Parisā* in sec. VI (ante, 1913, 282-84.)

¹⁰ Cf. also the *lipi* addressed to the Government of Kāliṅga.

(5)

Vinita of Asoka's Inscriptions.

Vinita used in Asoka's *dharmalipi*, section VI of the Rock series, has been translated by European scholars, with some diffidence, as a 'carriage.'

We get the real sense if we refer to the Royal Time-Table given in the *Arthasāstra* in the chapter on Royal Duty (pp. 37-39). The chapter emphasises *utthāna* (energy) : तस्मादुत्थानमात्मनः कुर्वीत (1st paragraph : p. 37) and again, राज्ञो हि व्रतमुत्थानम् । अर्थस्यमुल्लुत्थानम् । प्राप्येन फलमुत्थानाक्रमते स्वार्थसम्पदम् (last lines, p. 39).

Now Asoka's 'edict' VI is also on *utthāna* : नास्ति हि मे नासी उत्थानम् । Bearing this in mind we can proceed further.

According to the *Arthasāstra* time-table the King was to attend to the questions of Defence and Finance early morning for 1½ hours (p. 37), and after that between 7-30 a.m. and 9 a.m. he had to entertain public petitions freely in the Throne-Hall.¹¹ After that he went to have his bath and meals and private study (9-10-30 a.m.)¹²

That this time-table was acted upon by Chandragupta may be gathered from Megasthenes, who says that the King was being 'shampooed' while receiving petitions. This 'shampooing' would naturally refer to the hours before bath.

Asoka is really extending the hours for the petitions of the public. He says that he would attend to the *artha* of the people (cf. कार्यार्थिनां, AS.) even in the hours set apart for meals and study (" while I be taking food or I be in the palace " - Asoka). Then after the hours of breakfast and study, the *Arthasāstra* again enjoins attending to public business, correspondence with the Council of Ministers (10-30-12 a.m.) after which he might have his (स्वरविहारं) rest and amusements (12-1-30 p.m.). Against this (स्वरविहारं), Asoka refers to his presence in his "garbhāgāra." This *garbhāgāra* was most likely an underground cool room for स्वरविहार in summer.¹³ In the after-noon, according to the *Arthasāstra* time table, the king would go to the military training grounds (सप्तमे हस्त्यश्वरथा युधोयान् पश्येत्, p. 38) and himself would join the drill or *vinaya* (पूर्वमहर्भागं हस्त्यश्वरथ-प्रहरणविद्यासु विनयं गच्छेत्, p. 10). Against this we have Asoka's *vachasi* and *vinitasi*.¹⁴ *Vinita*, therefore, stands for *vinaya* or military exercise.

(6)

Vracha of Asoka's Inscription.

Vacha (Girnar and Kalsi) would also refer to some military matter, as it occurs after *garbhāgāra* corresponding to the 'rest' of the *Arthasāstra* time-table. Mr. Vincent Smith restores *vacha* into *vracha* (Asoka, 1901, p. 122). The Kharosthi versions have *varcha* which in view of the eccentric orthography of those versions¹⁵ or our eccentric reading of that

¹¹ द्वितीये पौरजानपदानां कार्याणि पश्येत् (p. 37) उपस्थानगतः कार्यार्थिनामद्वारासङ्गं कारयेत् (p. 38).

¹² तृतीयं स्नानभोजनं संवेत् । स्वाध्यायं च कुर्वीत । (p. 37).

¹³ Cf. with the *bhūmi-grīham* of the *Arthasāstra*, p. 40.

¹⁴ सप्त कालं अश्मानसा मे ओलोधनसि गभागालसि वचसि विनितसि उद्यानसि सवना पडिवेइका भं जनसा पडिवेइत मे (Kalsi).

¹⁵ Cf. *parī-vedaka* (VI) instead of *prati-vedaka*.

orthography, may represent both *vracha* and *varcha*. With regard to *varcha*, European scholars have translated the word as 'latrine'. No king in his senses would ask officers to announce the business of suitors in his latrine. The basis of the interpretation (*varcha*), therefore, strikes me as being a mistaken value. *Vracha* on the other hand gives a meaning which agrees with the data of the *Arthasāstra*.

Vracha and *vacha* both equate with *vraja*. *Vrachanti* in sec. XIII. Rock series (Shahbazgarhi) stands in the place of the Khalsi *yānti*, that is, *vrachanti* = Sans. *vrajanti*. Hemachandra gives *vachchai* for *vrajati*.¹⁶ We may therefore take *vracha* and *varcha* as equivalents of the Sans. *vraja*.

Vraja in the *Arthasāstra* is a technical term for the royal stables for horses, mules, bullocks, etc., and their breeding-farms. अङ्गु चिन्हं वर्णं शृङ्गान्तरं च लक्षणमेवमुपजा निबन्धयेदिति ब्रज-वर्धनम् (p. 129); गो-माहिषमजाधिकं, खरोद्मश्वत्तराश्च ब्रजः (p. 60), also see p. 59.

Asoka thus says that whether he be in the royal steed and cattle farms and stables or he be on the parade-grounds, reviewing animals or men, urgent petitions might be brought to his notice by the ushers (*prati-vedakas*).¹⁷

The last stage of Asoka's daily routine is his presence in the *udyāna* or the Royal Gardens. The *Arthasāstra* has, against it, the performance of the *sandhyā* in the evening (p. 38). Asoka being a Buddhist had nothing to do with the orthodox prayer *sandhyā*, but he passed his time in the gardens which presumably was done in the evening. Before the evening hours, we have in the *Arthasāstra*, the king 'thinking' of *vikrama* along with the Commander-in-Chief. If it meant military expeditions Asoka had nothing to do with it either, as these had been given up by him. But if it meant military drill, it corresponded with Asoka's *vinā*.¹⁸

(7)

Vacha-Bhūmikas of Asoka.

Vacha-bhūmikas or *Vracha-bhūmikas* (Mansera) of sec. XII of the Rock series *lipis* of Asoka, in view of the interpretation of *vracha* in the last note, would 'mean the officers of the *Vraja-bhūmi*.' *Vraja-bhūmi* and *Vraja* are not the same. For the Royal *vrajas* in the *Arthasāstra* are nowhere connected with *bhūmi*; the technical term is *vraja* there, and not *Vraja-bhūmi*.

¹⁶ *J.R.A.S.*, 1913, 655, n. Bühler. *Asoka-Inschriften*, p. 173.

¹⁷ *Prativedakas* are not spies as translated heretofore but the ushers or the officers who announced the *arhuns* or suitors. This is the natural meaning, while the "spy" is forced, and unwarranted by the literature of the time.

¹⁸ We may tabulate a comparison between the two routines as follows:—

CHANDRAGUPTA.				ASOKA.	
9—10.30 a.m.	..	..	.. Meals and study.	Meals,	
10.30—12	..	..	.. Correspondence with Council.	.....
12—1.30 p.m.	..	..	.. <i>Senāra-vihāra</i> .	In the Palace; in the <i>yurbhāgāra</i> .	
1.30—3 p.m.	..	..	.. Inspection of the military elephants, horses, etc.	At the <i>vrajas</i> .	
3 to 4.30 p.m.	..	..	.. 'Vikrama' along with the <i>Senāpati</i> .	Vinśta or military drill.	
4.30—6 p.m.	..	..	.. <i>Sandhyā</i> .	In the gardens,	

We have, however, in one place another use of *vraja*. It is at p. 22 of the *Arthasāstra*—**राष्ट्रान्ते व्रज-वासिनः** : “On the frontiers *vraja*-dwellers (are to be employed as spies).” *Vraja-vāsins* here means the class of men who lived by looking after cattle, cowherds, shepherds, etc. *Vraja-bhūmikas* probably were officers of the ecclesiastical service (*dharma-yuktas*) living and working amongst the wandering population on the frontiers.¹⁹

(8)

‘Narendra’ as another name of Chandragupta in the Purāṇas.

In discussing the Puranic data about the end of the Nanda and the beginning of the Maurya chronology, I could not understand a passage of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* which read as **नन्देन्दुः स भविष्यति**²⁰ (37-324). This comes after the statement that the land had remained for 100 years under the Nandas. (**भुक्त्वा महीं** or **भुक्ता महीं**, वर्षशतं). The *Matsya* adds to this **ततो मौर्यान्** (or **मौर्यैः**) **गमिष्यति** (Pargiter, *Purāṇa Text*, p. 26).

Nandenduh in the *Vāyu* is clearly a corrupt reading. For the MSS. are not unanimous—*Nandendah*, *Nandendrah*, *Nandenthā*°, *Nandanah*, and *Nandendhah* are the variants (See Pargiter, p. 26, n. 42.)

The correct form appears in the *Brahmāṇḍa* as *Narendrah*. I could not see its significance in 1913 when I wrote this paper on the Maurya chronology,¹⁹ and it appeared to me then as filling up some gap after **भुक्त्वा महीं**. Now as the nominative form **महीं** has been found in MSS. **ही वर्ष-शतं** would stand independently and the next passage **नरेन्द्रः** etc., independently. Instead of **स भविष्यति** there has been found in one MS. (18th century) **संभविष्यति** (Pargiter, p. 26, n. 42). **नरेन्द्रः संभविष्यति** or **नरेन्द्रः संभविष्यति** would thus mean—(after the 100 years of the Nandas) “there will be *Narendra*” (“the Maurya” of the *Matsya*), that is *Narendra* Maurya = Chandragupta.

भुक्ता महीं वर्षशतं नरेन्द्रः संभविष्यति (V., Br.)

= भुक्ता महीं वर्ष-शतं ततो मौर्यैः गमिष्यति (M.)

The preceding passage mentions the destruction of the Nandas by Kaṭṭilya. Hence there is no doubt that the ‘Maurya’ of the *Matsya* is equivalent to the ‘Narendra’ of the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa*. It thus becomes obvious that ‘Narendra’ is employed as another name of Chandragupta, and *Narendra* as another name of Chandragupta is confirmed by the *Arthasāstra*. The *Arthasāstra* (p. 75) gives a verse

सर्वशास्त्राण्यनुक्रम्य प्रयोगमुपलभ्य च ।

कौटिल्येन नरेन्द्रार्थे शासनस्य विधिः कृतः ॥

—The Kaṭṭilya laid down the canons governing the issue of the *Śāsanas* for the benefit of *Narendra*.

¹⁹ For *Vraja* as a division of land see references in St. Peter's Diet. where *vraja* is opposed to forest and town. *Vraja-bhūmī* may also mean the ‘province’ or ‘country’ of *Vraja*, around Mathurā (Harivamśa and Bhāṣa); cf. *Vatsa-bhūmī* of the Sabhā-P. MBh. According to Megasthenes the Krishna cult was powerful in the *Vraja* area. It is possible that Aśoka attempted to check the adverse criticism of Buddhism by the followers of that cult through his *Vraja-bhūmika* censors.

(9)

Dipista and Dipi of Asoka's Inscriptions.

Prof. Hultzsch has corrected the old readings *dipista*, *dipa(pi)tam*, *dipapito* of Shahbazgarhi. He found that *di* is really *ni* in each case, and he derived *nipista* from *nishpishṭa* 'ground' (*JRAS.*, 1913, 653-54). Later on he inclined to connect it with the Persian *naviṣtan*, 'to write' (*JRAS.*, 1914, 97).

The *Arthasāstra* saves us from the necessity of going to Persia for the derivation of *nipista*. In view of the explanation of *nivī* offered above, it may be said with confidence that *nipi* in *nipista* stands for *nivī*, and that *nipista* stands for *nivī-stha* or *nivīṣṭha*.²¹ *Nipista* would thus mean 'reduced into document' or 'recorded.'

If we compare this with the direction in the *Arthasāstra* as to what matters were to be entered into *nibandha-pustaka* "निबन्ध-पुस्तकस्थं कारयेत्" (p. 62), we might get some additional light. Certain facts—e. g., laws and customs (धर्म-व्यवहार-चरित्र-संस्थानं), treaties, subsidies allowed to foreign kings (मित्राभिषांच सन्धिविक्रम-प्रदानानि)—were to be recorded (निबन्ध-पुस्तकस्थं कारयेत्) in certain registers kept within wooden boards at the department of the Royal Archives अक्षपदले. Likewise Asoka here is leaving certain directions to his sons and grandsons, and for them he is putting them on record (*nivī-stha*). The original *nivī* must have been kept at the Imperial *Akshapatala* enclosed and tied within wooden boards.

As '*dipi*' has to be read as *nipi* so probably *dhrama-dipi* also has to be read now as *dhrama-nivī*. *Dhrama-nivī* would mean 'the Despatch (or 'Document') relating to the Dharma.' This accords with the sense of *dharmalipi* of the Girnar and other editions. *Lipi* there, as already pointed out by me, means a 'despatch' and not an 'edict.'²²

NOTES AND QUERIES.**NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS.**

10. Slaves from Madagascar for the Company's
Settlement at Sumatra

17 October 1689. Letter from Elihu Yale and Council at Fort St. George to Benjamin Bloom and Council at Bencoolen. Your importunate desiers of a Supply of Cofferyes [kafri, caffree, native of S. Africa] to Carry and serve your fortification has Perswaded us to send the *Pearle* Friggott to Mallagasear for the procury of them and to proceed from thence directly to you, which we hope She will be Successfull in and pray send us a Particular account of whatt and how many you receive by them . . .

[October 1689]. Commission and Instructions to Mr. Watson and Capt. James Perriman for their Voyage to Maddagascarr. &c. Upon the *Pearle* Friggott.

The Chief &c. att Bencoolen advising us the great want of Cofferyes for the Rt. Honble. Company[s] Service there, we have thought fitt to

employ your Shipp. She being newly and well fitted on this Voyage for the buying of Slaves att Mallagasear, to which purpose we have laden and consigned to you for the Right Honble. Company [s] account a propper and Suffitient Stock and Cargoes which we refer to your care and management hoping you will answer orders and expectations therein, but haveing noe Settlement or People there to Recommend you to, we must leave the more to your discretions . . . so can give you no more then Generall advice to deport your Selves and negotiate your business with care, caution and prudence, that you may nither fall into Surprize by the Natives, or give them any just occation of offence by your Carriage to and dealing with them; and the lading being cheifly in Cofferyes we would have you buy so many of them as your Shipp is able to Carry with Convenieney and Safety. *Records of Fort St. George, Letters from Fort St. George, 1689, pp. 53, 58*

R. C. T.

²¹ Compare the change of *ṭha* or *tha* into *ta* in *tistati* (= *tiṣṭhantah*) in the same Rock 'Edict' (IV), Shahbazgarhi.

²² *Supra* 51, .

AUSTRIA'S COMMERCIAL VENTURE IN INDIA IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

BY SIR R. C. TEMPLE, Bt.

(Continued from p. 34.)

III. Obstructive Measures at Madras towards Individuals concerned in the Austrian Venture.

*Letter from the President and Council at Fort St George to the Court of
Directors, dated 17 October 1778.*⁸¹

THE Imperial Ship [*Joseph and Theresa*] arriving here the 4th Inst., we have given strict orders that there shall be no other Communication with her on shore but for fresh water and Provisions.

*Letter from Nathaniel Green, Consul at Trieste, to the Earl of Suffolk,*⁸²
*dated Trieste, 1 January 1779.*⁸³

I have heard talk of an intention to build some large ships: some hint also that they may be of force, but others say they are to be for the East India trade, which I am told is to be managed by a Company established here some time ago under the title of the Priviledged Company of Fiume, the Adventurers in which are of Brucells [Brussels], Antwerp &c. I am told that Bolts has certainly been in China and that the ship is on her return destined for this Port, or at least that her Cargo will be sent hither, also that the French will permit ships to be purchased and fitted out at Port L'Orient [Brittany] for carrying on this trade. I have from another part pretty sure intelligence that Bolts was about 6 months ago on the coast of Coromandel and had had some dispute with an English frigate about some sailors; that his agent Ryan died at Madrass; that he sold copper at 12 Per Cent loss, but other goods tolerably well, and that the Dutch caused him much trouble by refusing him Provisions.

*Letter from Sir Thomas Rumbold*⁸⁴ *and the Select Committee at Fort St. George
to Sir Edward Hughes,*⁸⁵ *dated 2 March 1780.*⁸⁶

We think it necessary to inform you that We understand Mr Macey, late a Lieutenant in the French Service at Chandernagore, entered in Bengal as an officer on board the small Imperial Ship now in the Road, and which is to sail for Europe in a few days. He is said to be an active intelligent man, and as his going from hence at this time may be of prejudice to the Company's Affairs, we request you will take measures for preventing his departure in that ship.

⁸¹ *Madras Letters Received*, IX. 178.

⁸² Henry, 12th Earl of Suffolk, died 6 March 1779, was Principal Secretary of State for the Southern Department from 1771-1779.

⁸³ *State Papers, Foreign, Germany (Empire)*, Vol. 221 (Public Record Office). The information in this letter, if exact, would be most interesting, as Fiume, now the great Hungarian port, has always been the rival of Trieste, the great Austrian port. I have, however, been unable to trace this Company among the Records in England. From Consul Green's letter of 11 July 1783 (see *infra*), the new venture seems to have been styled the "Imperial India (or Asiatic) Company" and to it Bolts resigned the exclusive rights of trade obtained from Maria Theresa in 1775.

⁸⁴ Sir Thomas Rumbold, Bt. (1736-1791), Governor of Madras 1778-1780.

⁸⁵ Admiral Sir Edward Hughes (1720-1794), commander in the East Indies 1773-1777 and 1778-1783.

⁸⁶ *Madras Select Committee Consultations* (1780), LXIX. 319-320.

*Letter from Sir Edward Hughes to Sir Thomas Rumbold and Select Committee,
Fort St. George, dated Ship Superb in Madras Road, 5 March 1780.⁸⁷*

I yesterday received your letter of the 2nd Instant, informing me Monsieur Macey, late a Lieutenant in the French Service at Chandernagore, was serving as an officer on board the small Imperial Ship in this Road, and as his going from hence might be of prejudice to the Company's Affairs, requesting me to take measures to prevent his departure in that Ship.

I am now to acquaint You that, in consequence of your request to me, I ordered an Officer of the Squadron to demand Monsieur Macey of the Commander of the Imperial Ship as a Prisoner of War, and he is now on board the *Superb*, where he cannot be well accommodated, to wait your Determination for the future disposition of him.

Deposition of Louis Macé at Madras, dated 25 March 1780.⁸⁸

Louis Macé, native of the Port of L'Orient in France, declares upon oath that at the time Chandernagore was taken by the English, the 17th July 1778, he was on board a Dutch Ship then at the Dutch Settlement on the River Hughley, called Barnagore [Bârânagar] that from that time he resided at Serampore, a Danish Settlement in Bengal, till the 27th August following, when he went on board ship and landed at the Danish Settlement of Tranquebar, where he resided for a considerable time till he engaged himself as a Marine Officer in the Service of the Imperial Asiatick Company of Trieste, having to that end, on the 27th of May 1779, taken the oath of allegiance to Her Imperial Royal Apostolick Majesty, Maria Theresa Empress Dowager Queen of Hungary, &c. &c. &c., which oath was administered to him by her Lieutenant Colonel, William Bolts, in consequence of the full powers granted to him by her said Majesty, under the seal of the Empire and under her own hand, dated at Vienna the 27th March 1776, which full powers the said William Bolts has caused to be shewn to and read by this Deponent. And this Deponent further makes oath that he never was made a prisoner of war, or otherwise, in any part of the dominions of Great Britain. He deposes, moreover, that on the 5th of this Instant March, he, this Deponent, being then an Officer commanding on board the Imperial Ship *le Comte Kollowrath* in Madras Road, the Colours of Her said Imperial Majesty being then hoisted on board the said Ship, a boat came from the squadron now under the command of Rear Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, with two officers armed on board the said ship, and by force took this Deponent and carried him on board the said Admiral's ship, called the *Superb*, at present in Madras Road, and he deposes that, notwithstanding the representation which this Deponent made to the said officers of his situation as above, they replied they were obliged to carry him with them as they acted under the orders of the abovementioned Admiral. And this Deponent further deposes that he was kept a prisoner on board the said ship the *Superb* till he signed his Parole of honor⁸⁹ not to leave the District of St. Thomé which is in the neighbourhood of Madras and the actual residence of the said Admiral. That in consequence of his said Parole, this Deponent went to St. Thomé, and to this moment continues, with the permission of the said Admiral, to remain at Madras without having been able to obtain his full liberty, notwithstanding many

⁸⁷ *Madras Select Committee Consultations* (1780), LXIX. 325-326.

⁸⁸ *Miscellaneous Letters Received*, Vol. 69, No. 95. Another copy, differing slightly in the wording, is to be found in *Madras Select Committee Consultations* (1780), LXIX. 511-514.

⁸⁹ A copy of the Parole, dated 17 March 1780, is entered in *Madras Select Committee Consultations* (1780), LXIX. 428-429.

Representations which he has had the honor of making to the said Admiral and to the Council of Madras at Fort St. George, at whose requisition the said Admiral told him he had caused him to be seized on board the said ship *le Comte Kollowrath*.

(signed) MACÉ.

After having made Oath in the presence of the Lord Mayor John Hollond (to the above), he, on the 26th March 1780 signed and attested it under his hand and afterwards caused the Seal of the Court of Justice to be affixed hereunto [and] registere d and attested his said signature to be true.

A true Copy, Madras the 30th March 1780.

(Signed) LOUIS MACÉ.

Consultation of the Select Committee at Fort St. George, 14 April 1780.⁹⁰

The Secretary lays before the Committee the following Letter from Mr William Bolts:—

Charles Oakeley Esqr.

Sir, I request the favor of your laying before the Board at their first Meeting the accompanying Papers, in order to be transmitted to Europe in the most regular Channel I have the honor to be Sir

Your most Obedient humble Servant

WILLIAM BOLTS.

Lieut. Colonel in the Service of their Imperial Royal
and Apostolick Majesties.

Madras, the 3rd April 1780.

Enclosures,

1. *Deposition of Louis Macé.⁹¹*

2. *Protest of William Bolts, dated Madras, 3 April 1780.*

To all whom it doth or may concern, I the underwritten William Bolts as Lieutenant Colonel in the Service of their Imperial Royal and Apostolick Majesties, namely Maria Teresa Empress Dowager of the Romans, Queen of Hungaria and Bohemia &ca, Archduchess of Austria, &ca, &ca, and Joseph the Second, Emperor of the Romans, Hereditary Prince of the States of Austria and Co-regent with his said August Mother, and also as Chief Director in India for all Affairs of the Society of Merchants united for carrying on the Trade of Asia from and to Trieste, Greeting.

Whereas on the 5th day of March 1780, by order of Sir Edward Hughes Bart., Rear Admiral and Commander in Chief of His Britannick Majesty's Squadron now at Anchor within the Roads and Jurisdiction of Madras, a Boat armed with Men and Officers belonging to the said Squadron came suddenly on board the Imperial Ship *Count Kollowrath*,⁹² then also peaceably at Anchor within the Jurisdiction aforesaid. Her said Imperial Royal and Apostolick Majesty's Colours being then flying on board the said Ship *Kollowrath*, and did forcibly take from on board the said Ship *Kollowrath* one Lewis Macé by birth a native

⁹⁰ *Madras Select Committee Consultations* (1780), LXIX. 509-518.

⁹¹ See *ante*, p. 58.

⁹² Probably named after Adolphe Frédéric, Comte de Kalkruth, Prussian Field Marshal (1736—179—).

of Port L'Orient in France, but by Naturalization a subject of their said Imperial Royal Apostolick Majestys to whom he hath taken the due and customary Oaths of fidelity and allegiance, the said Louis Macé being then the Commanding Officer on board the said Ship *Kollowrath*, and did then and there forcibly take and conduct him on board Ship of the said Squadron of His Britannick Majesty under the Command of the said Rear Admiral.

And whereas on the sixth day of the said Month of March, another Boat armed with Men and Officers belonging to the said Squadron did come on board the said Imperial Ship *Count Kollowrath*, did take from on board of her one Julius Lindeman, a Native of Germany, who was then Chief Carpenter on board, having duly entered himself upon the said Ship's Books under the usual penalties, and received his advance Money for the Voyage to Trieste, and did conduct the said Julius Lindeman on board His Britannick Majesty's Ship called the *Burford*.

And whereas several Applications have been made by and on behalf of me the said William Bolts in the Name of My August Sovereign Her said Imperial and Apostolick Majesty to the said Rear Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, Bart., for to procure the enlargement and delivery of the said Louis Macé and Julius Lindeman, but without effect.

And whereas I the said William Bolts do conceive that the said acts of the said Sir Edward Hughes are in general violations of the universally acknowledged Rights of Nations, and in particular Acts of Hostility against the Crown and Dignity of my Sovereigns.

And Whereas the said Louis Macé is a man well experienced in the celestial observations, on which I the underwritten greatly depended for the safe direction of the said Ship's path to Trieste, and the business of a Carpenter is so very material that without the said Julius Lindeman, whose place I have not been able to supply, the said Ship proceeds on her Voyage under great risks.

For all these reasons I have thought it my indispensable duty to protest against the British Government and against all persons who may have acted under the Authority thereof respectively, in the Name of my said August Sovereigns, for such reparation as may be justly due to them for the injuries which I the underwritten humbly conceive are done by the Acts aforesaid to the Imperial Crown and dignity and in the name of the said Society of Merchants united for carrying on the trade of Asia from and to Trieste, for such Losses, Charges and Damages as may already have arisen and been incurred, or which may hereafter accrue or be sustained on Account of the Premises; and particularly in case of the Loss of the said Ship and her Cargo on her intended Voyage to Trieste.

I have therefore thus publicly protested and by these Presents do for and on behalf [of the] aforesaid publicly protest against the British Government and against the said Rear Admiral Sir Edward Hughes Bart., The Honble. the President and Select Committee and Council of Madras, and all others who may have acted in the Premises under the authority of the said Government, at the same time assuring each Individual Member thereof that, impressed as I am with the highest Veneration for their public Stations and Characters, and persuaded in my own mind that they have acted in the Premises in Conformity to the orders received from their Constituents, I hope they will construe this Act on my part as it really is, an Act proceeding from an indispensable obligation and duty, and not from any other motive whatever.

In Witness whereof I the said William Bolts have on the behalf aforesaid hereunto set my hand and Seal in Madras this third day of April in the year of our Lord seventeen hundred and Eighty.

In the presence of

THOS. BAMBRIDGE
JOHN MULLENS

WILLIAM BOLTS,
Lieut.-Colonel in the Service of their Imperial
Royal and Apostolick Majesties.

Registered upon the Records of the Honble. the Mayor's Court at Madraspatam this 3rd day of April 1780.

JAMES TAYLOR Register

Agreed that the Court of Directors be advised of this Proceeding of Mr Bolts by the first Dispatch.

Consultation at Fort St. George, 5 February 1781.⁹³

Read the following Memorial from Mr James Hegner.

To the Honble. Charles Smith Esqr. President &ca.

Member of the Select Committee, Fort St. George

The humble Memorial of James Hegner
Sheweth

That Your Memorialist is Super Cargo of the Snow *Vienna*, Burthen 80 Tons, which Snow was bought by Nazareth Satur⁹⁴ of Rangoon, Merchant, for account of their Imperial Majestys, the the Cost whereof, with her outfitting, amounted to the sum of (7000) Seven Thousand Rupees. That in the Month of September 1780 the said Snow sailed from Rangoon for Nancoury (one of the Nicobar Islands, and the property of their Imperial Majestys),⁹⁵ under the Command of Captain Daniel Bowles. That the said Snow arrived at Nancoury in the month of December last. That in the beginning of this month, Lieutenant Staht, the Imperial Resident at Nancoury, appointed Your Memorialist Super Cargo of the said Snow, with orders to touch at Ateheen [Achin, in Samatra], where a Cargo would be ready. That your Memorialist sailed from Nancoury the 5th Inst., and after beating up to Windward to the 17th, the said David Bowles declared that it was not in his power to fetch Ateheen and that he must sail for Madras. That on the 26 Instant, being nearly in the Latitude of Madras, we descried the French Fleet consisting of Seven Sail and were immediately after visited by some Officers belonging to a 60 Gun ship, who, after examining our Passport and Commission, ordered us not to leave the Fleet, but to follow them, which we did accordingly, and went to the northward of Polyacott [Pulicat] on the night of the 27th, when, on account of the fast sailing of the said Fleet, we lost sight of them, and as they shewed no Lights, we tacked about and Anchored in the Roads of Madras on the same Evening, and the Cable having broke, we let go a Second Anchor.

That at Sunrise of the 28th Inst. We hoisted the Imperial Colours, and being in distress fired a Gun for a Boat to come on board; soon after which Captain Bowles wrote a letter by a Cattamaran to the Master Attendant to inform him of the Name and Owner of the said Snow. And your Memorialist wrote to Mr Agavally Satur, Merchant of

⁹³ *Madras Select Committee Consultations* (1789), V. 251-255.

⁹⁴ The two merchants named Nazareth and Agavelly Satur were evidently Persian Armenians from Julfa near Ispahan. The name Satur is nowadays sometimes transformed into Chater.

⁹⁵ See ante, p. 12-13.

Madras, to order an Anchor and Cable on board, who in consequence thereof applied to the Master Attendant for that purpose; soon after which your Memorialist came on shore to deliver his letter and spoke to Mr Agavally Satur about the want which they were in for the Anchor and Cable.

Your Memorialist sheweth that the Anchor and Cable was not sent, and the old Cable having broke about three o'clock in the afternoon of the 27th Inst., the Snow began to drive, and the Officer on board hoisted a Signal of Distress and fired again. Notwithstanding which, no assistance came, and the Officer was then obliged to hoist his Sails in order to prevent the Snow from driving on Shore. That the Indiamen thereupon fired seven or more sharp loaded Guns at the Snow, some of which shattered her Sails and Rigging and then sent three boats on board with men armed with Cutlasses, who came alongside, and altho' no resistance was made to their boarding the said Snow, they fell on the Snow's Crew with ther Cutlasses, treated them very ill, broke up many Chests and plundered the Vessel, as if it had belonged to an Enemy. That afterwards they made the Snow fast to one of the Indiamen, but as the Boats had returned, the Rope was cut and the Snow drove on Shore, where she is now lost.

Your Memorialist further sheweth that Captain Bowles hath lost all his things, and what Money he had on board: That the Mate suffered a Considerable Loss: The Imperial Soldier Suwald lost all he had, was very much beaten and ill used, and with difficulty saved his Life. The Lascars have lost every thing. That your Memorialists effects were plundered to the amount of eighty Pagodas, besides the loss of 90 Pieces of Blue Cloth to the value of 400 rupees.

Your Memorialist sheweth that throughout the whole of this misfortune from his first arrival in the Place to the hour the Snow was driven on Shore, every Act of Respect and Attention was shown to the Honble. Company by your Memorialist, by the Captain and by every person on board the said Snow, and that, by hoisting their Colours and afterwards hoisting signals of distress and firing Guns, it was evident that nothing was intended by those on board the said Snow but to save their own Lives. That their Imperial Majesties are at peace with his Britannic Majesty and with the Honble. East India Company, and as an instance of the attention of the Subjects of their Imperial Majesties to those of the British Nation, your Memorialist sheweth that Captain Williams who was taken by a French Cruizer and landed at the Nicobars was entertained for three months at the expence of the said Mr Staht, the Imperial Resident, and was granted a free passage on the said Snow *Vienna* to Madras.

Your Memorialist therefore as the immediate Subject, and as being in the employ of their Imperial Majesties submits to the consideration of the Honble. the Select Committee that the violence which has been thus offered to the Colours of their Imperial Majesties and their Subjects, and the loss of property which has followed therefrom, being entirely unmerited, ought to be redressed, and your Memorialist hopes that your Honors will be pleased to grant such redress as the Case appears to deserve.

JAMES HEGNER

Madras, 31st January 1781.

Agreed that the above Memorial be referr'd to the Company's Standing Counsel and his opinion requested thereon.

*Letter from the Company's Standing Counsel respecting Mr Hegner's Memorial,
dated Fort St. George, 9 February 1781.⁹⁶*

To Mr Secretary Sullivan.

Sir,

I have received your favor of the 7th Inst. enclosing me, by Directions of the President and Select Committee, a Copy of a Memorial delivered to them by Mr James Hegner and desiring my opinion on the subject of it. But as it is necessary, to enable me to form an opinion how it would be proper to act upon this occasion, that I should know what the Captains complained of have to offer in their justification, I think it would be right to send them a copy of the Memorial for that purpose. At present having but a partial view of the subject, it is impossible for me to form a satisfactory judgement of it. I request that you will acquaint the Hon'ble. President and Select Committee with this circumstance and am &c.

BENJAMIN SULLIVAN

*Letter from the Secretary at Fort St. George to Mr James Hegner,
dated 16 February 1781.⁹⁷*

The Hon'ble. President and Select Committee have received your Memorial. The Subject of it is under the consideration of the Company's Standing Counsel. When his Opinion is reported, I shall have the Command of Government to reply fully to you on the points in Question.

*Letter from the Earl of Hillsborough⁹⁸ to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the
East India Company, dated St. James's, 21 September 1781.⁹⁹*

Count Belgioioso,¹⁰⁰ the Imperial Minister, having presented to me, by Order of his Court, two Memorials complaining of the proceedings of Vice Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, the Governors of the Company's Settlements in India, and particularly of the Governor General, against the subjects of His Imperial Majesty, I transmit to you herewith copies thereof, and of a Declaration upon Oath of Louis Macé¹ inclosed in one of the Memorials.

I shall by the first Conveyance write to Sir Edward Hughes for what regards the Charge stated against him, as I do not find any mention in his Letters to me of those matters, but in case you may have received intelligence of what may have passed between that Admiral or the Governors in India and the Emperor's Subjects, I am to desire you will communicate the same to me, together with your opinion concerning the propriety of the Admiral's and Governor's Conduct, and if you have received no such notice, it will be highly necessary that you transmit by the very first conveyance to the respective Governors Copies of the inclosed papers, so far as regards them, and that you direct them to send you, as soon

⁹⁶ *Madras Select Committee Consultations* (1781), V. 350.

⁹⁷ *Madras Select Committee Consultations* (1781), V. 350.

⁹⁸ Viscount Hillsborough, 1st Marquis of Downshire, Principal Secretary of State for the Northern Department 1779—1782.

⁹⁹ *Miscellaneous Letters Received*, Vol. 69, No. 88.

¹⁰⁰ Louis Charles Marie Belgioioso, Comte de Barbrano, born 1728, was Maria Theresa's ambassador (and after her death ambassador for Joseph II. of Austria) in London from 1770 to 1783.

¹ See *ante*, p. 58.

as possible, circumstantial Accounts of what has happened, for His Majesty's Information, that I may be enabled to give proper Answers to Count Belgioioso thereupon.

Enclosures.

1. *Memorial from the Count Belgioioso to the Earl of Hillsborough,*
dated 21 June 1781.²

The undersigned Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary from Her Imperial and Royal Apostolick Majesty has the honor of transmitting to Lord Viscount Stormont³ the annexed deposition upon oath of Louis Macé, a naturalized subject of Her Imperial and Royal Apostolick Majesty, made at Madras the 5th March 1780, by which his Excellency will see in what manner that officer, then commanding the Ship *le Comte Kallowrath*, carrying the Imperial and Royal Flag as Lieutenant, was seized in Madras Road by order of Rear Admiral Sir Edward Hughes and detained as a Prisoner.

Her Imperial and Royal Majesty having commanded the undersigned to demand of His Britannick Majesty's Minister that the said Officer should be set at liberty, he acquits himself of that command by this Memorial, with the more alacrity as he is convinced that an act of violence so manifestly contrary to all that is due to a Power in amity could never have had the approbation of His Britannick Majesty.

(signed) LE COMTE DE BELGIOIOSO

Portman Square, 21st June 1781.

2. *Memorial from the Count Belgioioso to the Earl of Hillsborough,*
dated 13th December 1781.⁴

The undersigned Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary from Her Imperial and Royal Apostolick Majesty had the honor of transmitting to your Excellency a Memorial dated the 21 June last, to demand satisfaction and reparation for an insult offered to the Imperial and Royal Flag in Madras Road the 5th March 1780 by the English Rear Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, in the violent seizure of one Louis Macé, a naturalized Subject of Her Imperial and Royal Majesty, engaged in her Service as Chief Officer of the Imperial Ship *le Comte de Kallowrath*, and being at that time commanding Officer on board that Ship.

But the undersigned has since learnt that this insult was followed by another of the same kind on the day after the seizure of Louis Macé, the same persons having come a second time armed on board *le Comte de Kallowrath*, [sic] and having, notwithstanding the remonstrance of the Officers, taken one Lindeman, a German, an Imperial Subject, and who was Master Carpenter of the Ship.

Nor are these open violations of the rights of nations the only acts of injustice that the subjects of Her Imperial Royal Majesty concerned in the Asiatick Company of Trieste have experienced from the British Governments in India, and particularly from that of Bengal, which not only by publick notice forbid all the subjects of its Colony to have any communication with Her Imperial and Royal Majesty's subjects, but even carried its violence so far as, on the 27th of August 1779. to cause to be seized and detained a considerable quantity of Caliaton⁵ Redwood purchased on their account, without assigning any reason

² *Miscellaneous Letters Received*, vol. 69, No. 92.

³ David, 7th Viscount Stormont and 2 Earl of Mansfield (1727—1796), Secretary of State for the Southern Department 1779—1782.

⁴ *Miscellaneous Letters Received*, Vol. 69, No. 90.

⁵ This term probably means redwood from Kaliot (in South Kanara) near Mangalore, where Bolts had established a factory.

whatsoever for so doing, notwithstanding the Lieutenant Colonel and Director of the said Asiatick Company, William Bolts, repeatedly claimed it on the 2nd and 18th September following,⁶ declaring that he had paid the Duties due to the English Company on that article at Madras and that he was ready to satisfy all legal demands which could be made on the part of the said Government.

It being impossible that proceedings so unjust towards the subjects of a Power in amity, and so contrary to all that might be expected from the reciprocal sentiments of the two Courts can have had the approbation of His Britannick Majesty, the undersigned has orders to state them here as a sequel to the abovementioned Memorial transmitted by him to his Lordship on the 21st June last, and to demand the satisfaction which the honor of Her Imperial and Royal Majesty's Flag, as well as the interests of her commerce and of her Subjects require.

Her Imperial and Royal Majesty having both the one and the other so much at heart, the undersigned finds it his duty to pray that his Excellency will honor him with an answer in order that he may be enabled to give an account to his Court of this official step, which he has, by its express orders, taken in this Memorial and in the former one of the 21st June last.

(signed) LOUIS COMTE DE BELGIOIOSO

Portman Square, the 13th September 1781.

Letter from Lord Hillsborough to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the East India Company, dated St. James's, 24 November 1781.⁷

On the 22nd instant I transmitted to you copies of two Memorials which had been presented to me by Count Belgioioso, the Imperial Minister here, complaining of ill treatment which some of the Emperor's subjects are stated to have received from the Company's Governors and servants in India.

It is with concern that I now inclose to you copies of another Memorial from the same Minister with additional complaints of the like nature, as also of the two Papers accompanying it, marked No. 1 and 2, and I am to signify to you His Majesty's Pleasure that you do take the same into your Consideration and acquaint me, for His Majesty's information, with every Intelligence you may already have received from India relative to the Facts so repeatedly complained of, together with such information and observations as may enable me to give without delay as satisfactory an answer as possible to Count Belgioioso.

Enclosures.

A. Translation of a Memorial from the Count de Belgioioso to the Earl of Hillsborough, dated 21 November 1781.⁸

It is with the most just regret that the undersigned Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary from Her Imperial and Royal Apostolick Majesty once more finds it his duty to prefer complaints to His Britannick Majesty's Minister respecting an Act of violence offered by a British India ship at Madras on the 27th January last to the Imperial Snow,

⁶ See ante, pp. 32-34.

⁷ *Miscellaneous Letters Received*, vol. 69, No. 201.

⁸ *Miscellaneous Letters Received*, vol. 69, No. 205.

called the *Vienne*, which on her voyage from Pegu on account of the Imperial and Royal Asiatick Company established at Trieste, in order to supply its factory on the Nicobar Islands with stores, was forced by a storm to take shelter in Madras Road, after having lost all her Anchors ; excepting one, and having made a signal of distress, the crew of a British ship, which was there on guard boarded her, beat the crew, broke open several Chests of the Imperial Ship and caused her to run aground and to break in pieces.

The particulars of this new violence is contained in the annexed Piece, the proofs of which are not only in the possession of the undersigned, but advice thereof must have been already certainly received at the Company's India house in London. It will suffice to convince the Earl of Hillsborough of the necessity which the undersigned finds himself under to demand, in the name of his August Court, the punishment of the persons culpable, and reparation on the part of the Company, as well for the value of the *Snow la Vienne*, as for her Cargo, both of which were entirely lost upon this occasion through the unheard of conduct of a Ship's crew belonging to the Company who were on guard that day.

An Action as contrary to humanity as to the Laws of Nations leaves me no room to doubt but that it must have been committed without the knowledge and against the orders of their Superiors, but it is not the less of a nature to merit the most serious attention on the part of his Britannick Majesty's Minister, whose equity is so well known. He will certainly see with concern how little a similar conduct on the part of the Commanders and Servants of the British India Company agrees with the sentiments which, on all occasions, he has charged the undersigned to make known to his August Court, on the constant amity of the King, and that after these repeated assurances founded on the strict reciprocal amity which so happily reigns between the two Courts, it was doubtless to be hoped in favor of His Majesty the Emperor's subjects and of his flag, that at least they should meet with the same reception and assistance in the possessions of His Britannick Majesty in India which is granted to all the other European nations in amity with him.

It is consequently with a perfect confidence in the justice of His Britannick Majesty that the undersigned has the honor of addressing himself again to his enlightened Minister to represent to him instantly the necessity, not only of causing complete satisfaction to be made for these insults offered to the Imperial and Royal flags in the East Indies, but for preventing in future, by giving such Orders as the King may think most proper to the proper persons, the repetition of similar acts of injustice and violence towards the Emperor's subjects and that the latter may, in case of necessity, find every reception and assistance that the British Flag and subjects have ever found so particularly in all the Territories of the Austrian Monarchy.

The undersigned in calling to my Lord Hillsborough's recollection the two preceding Memorials which he had the honor of transmitting to him on the 21st June and 13th September last, and of which the present may be deemed a continuation, cannot at the same time avoid offering to his Excellency the accompanying Piece No. 2 [as] a proof of what he set forth in the Memorial of the 13th September, on the almost hostile behavior on the part of the Directors of the India Company towards the Imperial subjects concerned in the fitting out the Ship under the Imperial Flag commanded by William Bolts, Lieutenant Colonel in the Imperial service and a subject of the Emperor and King. This Piece being Copy of a notice published by the Governor General and Supreme Council of

Fort William, conformably to the orders of the Directors of the India Company against the said Ship and her Commander, it cannot admit the smallest doubt of the fact.⁹

This proceeding towards subjects of a Power in amity with Great Britain must by its nature strike the equitable and enlightened Minister of His Britannick Majesty too forcibly to render it necessary that any ulterior reflections should be added. It has not, however, been the first, it being known in 1776 that the Directors of the British India Company, on the 24th December in that year wrote to the Governors of their Settlements in India, giving orders that they should jointly and severally employ the most efficient means to thwart and undermine the undertaking of the Ship *Joseph and Theresia*, adding that if they could effect the failure of this first expedition, it would not be followed by a second.

The undersigned attending the honor of Lord Hillsborough's answer in order to enable him to give an account thereof to his Court has the honor to renew the assurances of his respect.

LOUIS COMTE DE BELGIOIOSO

Portman Square, the 21st November 1781.

B. 1. Testimony of divers Persons to the Violence offered by a British East India Ship to the Imperial Snow Vienna at Madras the 29th January 1781.¹⁰

We the here underwritten Pilot, Succanys [*sakkāni*, quartermaster of a ship] and Soldiers of the Imperial Snow *Vienna* make according to truth the following Declaration

The 27th of January of this year 1781, in the Afternoon, we all being on board of the said Imperial Snow *Vienna*, the wind blowing hard, our Anchor Cable broke and we began to drive: there being no Anchor nor Cable more on board, the Pilot hoisted and tied the Colours and fired a Gun for sign of Distress, and made sail in order to preserve the Snow from running on shore. Immediately the Indiamen fired several Guns sharp loaded at her, and sent some boats with Officers and sailors on board, who, without paying any Attention to the Remonstrances of the Pilot and other People, fell upon them with Swords and Pistols, treated them very ill and chiefly beat the Soldier very sorely. They broke up violently several Chests, and behaved entirely as in an Enemy's Vessel. The Time the Boats were on board the Snow, the Indiamen fastened her with a Rope, but as soon as the Boats had left her, they cut off the Rope, and let them drive on Shore, where she was entirely broken and lost. The truth of which declaration we testify herewith with our handwriting.

Madras, the 28th January 1781.

(Signed) Michel Seewald, Soldier

Piloto, Joan Garcia

Succano, Manoel Mendeff

Succano, João de Cruz

Immediately after the loss of the Snow *Vienna*, I went to the Notary Public, Mr Stephen Popham, the 27th January 1781, about 8 o'clock at night, but he then not being home, I waited upon him the 28th, as the next following day, early in the morning, in order to make a Protest against the Violence committed against the Imperial Snow *Vienna*, but Mr Popham

⁹ See ante, p. 30, for a copy of this document.

¹⁰ *Miscellaneous Letters Received*, vol. 69, No. 203.

said he would not make any protest against his own Nation, but offered to draw up in my Name a Petition to the Governor and Council of Madras. Therefore, as I could not do better, I agreed to this Proposition, in order to try what Satisfaction I would be able to get. The Truth of this I testify hereby, and desire the Gentlemen who were present at this Transaction to testify the same by their Handwriting.

Madras 28th January 1781.

(Signed) James Higner, [sic] Supercargo of the Snow Vienna

(signed) Nicolas Renaud

(signed) Agapeery Thaddeus Callandar¹¹

} I was present at this
} transaction.

B 2. Notice dated July 1779.¹²

*Letter from the Court of Directors to the Councils at Madras and Bombay,
dated 25 January 1782.¹³*

We transmit for your information and guidance copies of two letters from His Majesty's Secretaries of State respecting Mr Bolts, together with the representations of Count Belgioioso, the Imperial Minister, and we strictly enjoin and charge you to take especial care that no just cause of offence be henceforth given to any subject of his said Imperial Majesty or to the subjects of any Prince or State whatever in amity with Great Britain.

* * * * *

In addition to what we have written in a former paragraph of this letter concerning the representations of His Excellency Count Belgioioso, the Minister of His Imperial Majesty, we further direct that you forthwith prepare and transmit to us as soon as possible, the most circumstantial account of all that has happened, together with reasons at large for your proceedings in every instance which has been made a ground of complaint, and which may enable His Majesty's Secretary of State to return proper answers to the representations of His Excellency the Count Belgioioso.

*Letter from Robert Ritchie to the Chairman of the East India Company,
dated Venice. 6 May 1781.¹⁴*

The two Imperial East India ships [the *Joseph and Theresa* and her consort] that arrived at Leghorn sometime ago are not to proceed to Trieste as was at first intended. Their cargoes are actually selling and to be sold at Leghorn. Mr. Bolts seems to be protected by the Grand Duke [of Tuscany]. An English merchant has, however, laid an attachment on all his effects.

*Letter from the Court of Directors to the Councils at Madras and Bombay,
dated 29 August 1781.¹⁵*

We have been informed that the ship *Great Duke of Tuscany*, under Tuscan Colours, being an English vessel bought by Mr. Bolts since the French war commenced, with a valuable cargo from the Coast of Coromandel, was seized at the Cape of Good Hope by two French frigates and condemned by them in virtue of the French King's declaration, the Dutch Governor not chusing to interfere. The same frigates are said to have taken in

¹¹ This is also the name of a Persian Armenian merchant of Julfa.

¹² See ante, p. 30.

¹⁴ The Company's agent at Venice.

¹⁵ *Miscellaneous Letters Received*, vol. 68, No. 221b.

¹³ *Bombay Dispatches*, VI. 297, 383.

¹⁶ *Bombay Dispatches*, VI. 169—170.

that harbour an English Packet homeward bound, but from whence dispatched is not known to us, nor the name of the ship. We direct that you make a strict and particular enquiry whether any and who of our servants or persons under our protection were concerned in the above ship bought by Mr Bolts or had any interest therein which occasioned her condemnation, as also to make the most minute enquiry who of our servants or persons under our protection had any concerns or transactions in the promotion of any trade carried on by foreigners, or in furnishing them by any means with ships or vessels for the purpose of carrying on such trade or otherwise.

*General Letter from Fort St. George to the Court of Directors.
dated 31 August 1782.¹⁷*

Upon Enquiry We found that the Ship *Great Duke of Tuscany*, mentioned in your Letter of the 29th August 1781, had been loaded and dispatched by Mr Bolts from Bengal directly to Europe and did not touch at this place. But as We wished to put your Commands in Effect to their extreme Extent, We ordered the Sea Customer's Books to be examined to discover whether any Persons living under the Company's Protection had been concerned in shipping goods in the vessels that were in this Port in 1780 under the Direction of Mr Bolts. The names of some European inhabitants now residing here were in consequence reported to be found as having shipped Merchandize on the We thought proper to call on those Persons to acquaint Us if they had acted upon this Occasion on their own Account or on the Account of others, and of whom. They have in answer declared a total ignorance of the whole transaction except in one instance of a very trifling Quantity, and that their names had probably been made use of by their Servants. We shall however make every possible further Enquiry into this Business for your Satisfaction.

(To be continued)

DEKKAN OF THE SATAVAHANA PERIOD.

By PROF. D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A. : CALCUTTA.

CHAPTER I.

POLITICAL HISTORY.

THERE is hardly anybody in the Dekkan who has not heard of Sātavāhana, or Sālivāhana as he is popularly known. Curiously, however, Sālivāhana or Sātavāhana is supposed to be the name, not of a royal family as it ought to be, but of an individual king. Various traditions are known about the birth of this prince and the origin of his name Sātavāhana. Somadeva in his *Kathāsaritsāgara*¹ tells us that he was the son of a Yaksha named Sāta from the daughter of a sage. The union of this couple was not liked by the Rishis, and through the curse of the latter the former became a lion and lioness. When the son was born, the latter died and assumed her previous body. The son thereafter was one day being carried on his back by the lion father, and while the latter dismounted and the former went to the bank of a river close by to quench his thirst, a king called Dīpakarṇi slew him with an arrow whereupon he at once became a Yaksha again. And because the boy was being carried by the Yaksha Sāta, he was styled Sātavāhana, (*Sātaḥ vāhanaḥ yasya saḥ*.) Jinaprabhasūri, in his *Tirtha-kalpa*,² gives a different account. In Pratishṭhāna or Paithān in Nizam's Dominions there lived two Brāhmaṇ brothers in the house of a potter with their young

widowed sister. One day she went to the bank of the Godâvarî to fetch water, when Śeṣha, king of serpents, became enamoured of her. He assumed the human form and had connection with her against her will. In course of time she gave birth to a boy, who, when he grew up and played with his companions, used to become their king. And because he used to give them clay horses, elephants and other conveyances, he was called Śātavāhana (*śātāni dattāni rāḥamāni yena saḥ Śātavāhanah*). Soon after, Vikramāditya, king of Ujjain, when he heard that he was to die at the hands of a virgin's son, despatched his Vetāla or king of ghosts in search of him. Vetāla saw Śātavāhana and informed Vikramāditya. The latter came with a large army to destroy the child, but Śātavāhana, by means of an incantation communicated to him by his father Śeṣha, infused life into the clay figures with which he was in the habit of playing, and at once raised a large army. He gave battle to Vikramāditya, killed him, and instituted an era called Śālivāhana-śaka commencing with A.D. 78.

Such would have been our knowledge of the ancient history of the Dekkan, if we had had mere legends to go upon. Fortunately for us inscriptions have been found in sufficient numbers, and it is possible to construct a history which is reliable. If these inscriptions had not been found, to this day we should have continued believing that Śātavāhana was the name of a king and not of a dynasty and that he was the founder of the era beginning with A.D. 78. The latter question does not concern us here, and we may dismiss it with a few words. The phrase *Śālivāhana-śaka*, which is used at present in Mahārāshtra to denote this era, has really no meaning, because the word *śaka* has in no Sanskrit lexicon been given as signifying "an era." And what inscriptions teach us is that up to the eleventh century it was called *śaka-kāla*, *śaka-nṛpa-kāla*, or, as in an inscription at Badāmî in the Bijāpur district, *śaka-nṛpa-rājyābhisheka-kāla*, showing clearly that it was believed to be founded by a Śaka king and that Śālivāhana or Śātavāhana had absolutely nothing to do with it. Let us now see in detail what we can know of the Śātavāhana dynasty from epigraphic records, which are the principal and most reliable source of our information here. These inscriptions have been engraved in caves at Nāsik, Kārle, Junnar, Kapherî and so forth. The names of some of the kings of this family mentioned in epigraphs occur also in the list of the Andhra dynasty enumerated in the Purāṇas, such as the Vāyu, Mātsya and Viṣṇu. The founder of this family is therein described as *Andhra-jātiya*, i.e. as belonging to the Andhra race. It, therefore, behoves us to say a few words about the Andhras before the actual account of the Śātavāhana dynasty is concerned.

We learn for the first time about the Andhras from the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa*,³ a work which was certainly composed long prior to 500 B.C. Andhras are there represented as a Dasyu tribe living on the fringes of the Aryan settlements and to have descended from Viśvāmitra. Evidently this means that they were a non-Aryan race, and that at the time when the *Brāhmaṇa* was compiled there was an admixture of blood between them and the Aryans, especially the hymn-composing Aryans. The next notice of this people is to be found in a well-known passage of Pliny,⁴ the Roman encyclopædist, whose information was doubtless derived from the writings of Megasthenes, who we know was an ambassador sent by Seleucos to the court of Chandragupta, the founder of the Maurya dynasty. He describes the Andhras, or the Andaræ as he calls them, as a powerful race, "which possesses numerous villages and thirty towns defended by walls and towers, and which supplies its king with an army of 100,000 infantry, 2000 cavalry, and 1000 elephants. . . ." From this we infer that about 300 B.C. the Andhra country was thickly inhabited and occupied by a large urban

³ VII. 18.

⁴ *Hist. Nat.*, Book vi. 21-3.

population, and their kingdom was then an important second-rate independent power of India. The next important notice of this people is supplied by Aśoka's Rock Edict XIII⁵ promulgated about 256 B.C. It speaks of many independent and feudatory princes to whose kingdoms the Maurya monarch dispatched missionaries. In this connection the king of the Andhras is mentioned, but his name is included in the list of those of the feudatory princes. We thus see that about 300 B.C. the Andhra king was independent but was a subordinate chief about 256 B.C. We know from Aśoka's inscriptions that Kalinga was the only province which he conquered. Evidently the Andhras were deprived of their independence either by Chandragupta or his son Bindusāra.

We do not hear of the Andhras again till about 75 B.C. The Purāṇas tell us that one Śiśuka (Simuka) of the Andhra race uprooted not only the Kāṇvas, but also "whatever was left of the power of the Śuṅgas," who, we know, supplanted the Maurya dynasty to which Aśoka belonged. It appears that the Kāṇvas, like the Peshwas of the modern day, usurped the power of their masters, the Śuṅgas, and that Śiśuka (Simuka) by supplanting the power of the Kāṇvas supplanted that of the Śuṅgas also.⁶

The Telugu country lying between the rivers Kistna and Godāvari is called Andhra-deśa at present. But whether or not it was the original home of the Andhras, has been called in question. One Buddhist Jātaka,⁷ however, speaks of two traders going from the Seriva kingdom to a town called Andhapura situated on the Telavāha river. Andhapura certainly corresponds to the Sanskrit Andhrapura, and as *pura* is invariably used in early Pāli literature to signify 'a capital-town,' Andhrapura must mean the capital town of the Andhra kingdom. The river Telavāha is either the modern Tel or Telingiri⁸ both not far distant from each other and flowing near the confines of the Madras Presidency and the Central Provinces. This, indeed, locates the original Andhra country which must, therefore, have comprised parts of both these provinces.

The name of the Andhra dynasty that came to power about 75 B.C. is Śātavāhana. There can be no doubt that the order of succession of its first three kings has been correctly given by the Purāṇas, viz. (1) Śiśuka (Simuka),⁹ (2) Kṛishṇa, and (3) Śrī-Śātakarṇi. Kṛishṇa, we are told, was a brother of Simuka and father of Śrī-Śātakarṇi. No record of Simuka has come to light, but of Kṛishṇa we possess an inscription in a cave at Nāsik. It tells us that the cave was scooped out by the Mahāmātra Śramaṇa, inhabitant of Nāsik, when Kṛishṇa of the Śātavāhana family was the king.¹⁰ Of the third prince, Śātakarṇi we have two inscriptions, the most important of which has been engraved in the cave at Nānāghāt, a pass in the Western Ghāts in the Poona District. Though it is mutilated, it is of great importance. In the same cave figures have been carved on the front wall with their names inscribed above them, which are supposed to represent the royal personages referred to in the big inscription. A combined study of these monuments gives us the following results. Śātakarṇi was the supreme ruler of Dakṣiṇāpatha (Dekkan). His queen was Nāganikā. They together performed a number of sacrifices, and Aśvamedha we are told was celebrated twice—which

⁵ *EI.*, II. 471.⁶ *Vide* Appendix A.⁷ I. 111. 5-8.⁸ I owe this suggestion to my friend Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.⁹ Simuka is the name given by a Nāpāghāt inscription (*ASWJ.*, V. 64, No. 3) and must therefore represent the correct original (*ibid.*, 69-70).¹⁰ *EI.*, VIII. 93. No. 22.

is a clear indication of Śātakarṇi being a paramount sovereign.¹¹ Nāganikā was the daughter of the Māharaṣṭhi Tranakayiro of the Angiya family. She had two sons, viz. Vedisrī and Śaktisrī (Hakusiri). When the inscription was actually incised, Śātakarṇi was dead and queen Nāganikā was regent during the minority of her son Vedisrī. There can be no doubt that Śātakarṇi was a powerful monarch. For the Hāthigumphā inscription gives us to understand that he was the ruler of the whole country to the west of Kalinga.¹² Śātakarṇi, it is true, has been styled the paramount sovereign of Dakṣiṇāpatha, but it does not at all mean that his might was confined to the Dekkan only. His second inscription has been found on an arched gateway (*torana*) of the celebrated *stūpa* at Sānchi¹³ in the Bhopāl State, Central India. This shows that Mālwā also owned his sway, and it is quite possible that his power was extended still further north.

A long interval intervenes between the earlier and the later inscriptions of the Śātavāhana dynasty. A period of 89 years has been unanimously allotted by the Purāṇas to the first three kings just described. According to this calculation the third king, viz., Śātakarṇi, ceased to reign in A.D. 16. Gautamīputra (Śātakarṇi), according to the Purāṇas, came to the throne in A.D. 133, which fits excellently as we shall see shortly. There was thus an interval of 117 years during which no Andhra inscription has so far been found. Of course, we can imagine that Vedisrī, when he came of age, succeeded to the throne of his father Śātakarṇi. His name, it is true, is nowhere mentioned in the Purāṇas, but as a king is described also by his epithets, it is possible that Apilava or Apitaka may be another name for Vedisrī. The Purāṇas show a remarkable agreement in point of the names and the lengths of the individual names. We may therefore provisionally fill up this long period with reigns recorded in the Purāṇas. It is true that no Andhra inscription has been discovered during this interval, but a good many epigraphic records are known which belong to this period. They clearly tell us that an alien dynasty had risen to power and had for a time eclipsed the glory of the Śātavāhanas.

The name of the new dynasty was Kṣaharāta, and its members called themselves Kṣhatrapas. The name Kṣhatrapa is worth considering. At first sight it seems tempting to take the name to mean *Kṣhatraṃ pātīti Kṣhatrapah*, the protector of the warrior class. But such a title is unknown to Sanskrit or Prakrit literature, and must be taken to have been borrowed from a foreign language—a conclusion strengthened by the fact that all the early chiefs of the Kṣhatrapa families bear foreign names. Like the Greek term Satrap, Kṣhatrapa seems to be a Sanskrit adaptation of the old Persian *Kṣhatrapāvan*, 'protector of the kingdom', which was used to denote the governor of a Persian province. Four Kṣhatrapa Houses have

¹¹ Bühler wrongly supposes that the sacrifices narrated in the large Nānāghāt inscription were all performed by the queen Nāganikā. He himself admits that "according to the *Śāstras*, women are not allowed to offer *Śrauta* sacrifices, and that the Brāhmanas who perform such sacrifices for them (*striyājaka*) are severely blamed." It is true he further says, that "that prohibition does not apply to queens who may be conducting the government of a state, either independently or for minor sons," but this is a mere gratuitous assumption as no proof has been adduced by him in support of his position. Again, the Nānāghāt record speaks of Aśvamedha sacrifice as having been twice performed. It is inconceivable that Nāganikā, even as queen-regent, celebrated it of her own accord and to indicate her paramount sovereignty. An Aśvamedha sacrifice is performed by a king who lays claims to universal monarchy by conquering all neighbouring princes, and as Nāganikā's husband Śātakarṇi has been styled *apratihatachakra*, it is proper and natural to suppose that it was he who celebrated the sacrifice twice. What appears to be the case is that Śātakarṇi it must be, who carried out the sacrifices referred to in the epigraph, and as all sacrifices are performed by Yajamānas along with their consorts, Nāganikā has been associated with him.

¹² Lüders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*, No. 345.

¹³ *Ibid*, No. 346.

so far been traced in the different parts of India from their inscriptions and coins. A few isolated names of Kshatrapas and Mahākshatrapas have also been found, but the exact province of their rule not yet known. Two of the four Kshatrapa families ruled over Western India, but here we have to deal with only one of them. It was again only one prince of this family with whom we are directly concerned. His name was Nahapāna, and it was he who seems to have wrested Mahārāshtra from the Sātavāhanas. He has been mentioned in no less than eight cave inscriptions. Of these six have been cut in Cave No. 10 of the Pāṇḍu Lepā near Nāsik, one in the Chaitya cave at Kārle, and one in a cave at Junnar.¹⁴ All of these except the last specify the many charitable and publicly useful works of Ushavadāta, who calls himself son-in-law of Nahapāna and son of Dīnīka. All these records give Nahapāna's family name Kshaharāta which, in Prakrit forms, appears as Khaharāta or Khakharāta. For a long time Nahapāna was the only Kshaharāta prince known to us. A few years ago, another Kshatrapa of the Kshaharāta clan, named Bhūmaka, was brought to light by the celebrated numismatist, Prof. E. J. Rapson, by carefully reading the legends of certain coins wrongly attributed to Nahapāna.¹⁵ He was the immediate predecessor of Nahapāna in Rājputānā and Mālwā, but does not seem to have ruled over Mahārāshtra. A fragmentary inscription found by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel on the site of Gaṇeshrā,¹⁶ three miles west of Mathurā, revealed the name of yet another Kshaharāta, viz., Ghatāka, who, if the restoration proposed by him, is correct, was also a Kshatrapa.

It has just been mentioned that of the eight inscriptions which refer themselves to the reign of Nahapāna, no less than seven describe the benefactions of his son-in-law Ushavadāta (Rishabhadatta)¹⁷ and the latter's wife Dakhamitā (Dakshamitrā). Most of these charities stamp Ushavadāta as a staunch adherent of the Brahmanical religion, and these we will describe in the next lecture. Ushavadāta's other charitable works were the gifts of gold and river-side steps on the river Barjāsā¹⁸ and the bestowing of thirty-two thousand coconut trees at the village Nānāgola¹⁹ on the congregation of Charakas²⁰ at Pīḍitakāvaḍa, Govardhana,²¹ Suvarṇamukha and Rāmatīrtha in Sorpārāga.²² Among the works of public utility executed by him may be mentioned quadrangular dwellings for Brāhmins and rest-houses at Bharukachha,²³ Daśapura,²⁴ Govardhana and Sorpārāga and the establishment

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Nos. 1099, 1131-1136 and 1174.

¹⁵ *J.R.A.S.*, 1904, pp. 371-4.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 1912, pp. 121-2; *ASI., AR.*, 1911-12, 128-9.

¹⁷ This name is not the Hinduised form of a foreign name as has been thought by some; for it has been mentioned in the *Katpa-sūtra* as the name of a Brāhmin (*SBE*, XXII, 226). This name occurs also in Kārle Inscr. No. 11 (*EL.* VII, 56; *ASWT.*, IV, 91) as the name of the father of one Mitradevanaka hailing from Dhenukākāṭa and bearing the expense of a pillar in the Kārle Chaitya cave. M. Senart no doubt identifies him with Ushavadāta, son-in-law of Nahapāna, and Prof. Rapson seems to agree with him (*CIC.A.Wk.*, etc., Intro. lix). I am afraid I cannot accept this view. We have got an inscription of Nahapāna's son-in-law in this cave recording the grant of a village to the Buddhist monks residing in it. Evidently he made this grant after the cave was excavated. But as Mitradevanaka incurred the expenses of carving one pillar in this cave, it is clear that his gift was in time prior to its excavation. Mitradevanaka's father, Ushavadāta, cannot, therefore, be the same as Ushavadāta, son-in-law of Nahapāna.

¹⁸ Barjāsā corresponds with the Sanskrit Parjāsā mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* and with the modern Banās, which is the name of two rivers in Rājputānā—one coming from Mount Abū and falling into the Gulf of Cutch and the other a tributary of the Chambal. The former river can hardly be meant, as it rarely contains any water except during the rains.

¹⁹ Perhaps Nārgol on the Thāpā sea-board, four miles west of Sanjān, as proposed by Bhagwānlāl Indrajī.

²⁰ These seem to be identical with the Charakas who are named in the stereotyped formula of the Buddhist (e. g., *Mahāvastu*, III, 412, *angū-tīrthika-Charaka-Paricrājaka*) and Jaina texts, namely, a certain special category of Brahmanical ascetics (*EL.*, VIII, 79).

²¹ This is Govardhan-Gaṅgāpūr, six miles west of Nāsik.

²² Sopārū near Bassin in the Thāpā district. A holy reservoir here is still called Rāma-kunḍa.

²³ Modern Broach.

²⁴ Mandasor (Fleet, *GI.*, 79, n. 2), which is on the borders of Rājputānā and Mālwā.

of free ferries across and the erection of waiting places and *prapās* or gratuitous distribution of drinking water on the banks of the Ibā, Pārādā, Damāṇa, Tāpī, Karabeṇā and Dāhanukā.²⁵

Ushavadāta was no doubt a follower of the Brahmanical faith, but according to the catholic spirit of the age, he was by no means slow to extend his charities even to the Buddhist community. Thus his Kārle inscription speaks of his granting the village of Karajika for the support of the monks residing during the rainy season in the caves of Valūraka, which was unquestionably the name of the old place within whose bounds the caves were situated.²⁶ Nāsik Cave No. 10, again, was caused by him to be cut in the Trirāśmi hills in Govardhana. This cave, we are told, was spacious enough to accommodate twenty Buddhist monks during the rains. Like a true liberal donor Ushavadāta had made ample provision for their comfortable maintenance. Thus for supplying food to them, he purchased a field for 4,000 Kārshāpaṇas on the north-west side of Govardhana. He also made a perpetual endowment of 3,000 Kārshāpaṇas, 2,000 of which were deposited in one weavers' guild and 1,000 in another both of Govardhana, and at the rates of one and three-fourths per cent per mensem respectively. The first investment yielded a sum of 240 Kārshāpaṇas, of which a sum of 12 Kārshāpaṇas was made over to every one of the twenty monks for his *chivara* or garments. From the annual interest of 90 Kārshāpaṇas, accruing from the other deposit, each monk was granted a Kuśāṇa.²⁷

The Junnarcave inscription of the time of Nahapāna records the gift of a cistern and a hall by Ayama (Aryaman) of the Vatsa *gotra*, his minister (*amātya*). It is worthy of note that this epigraph specifies the date 46 and speaks of Nahapāna as Mahā-kshatrapa, whereas the Kārle and Nāsik records give the dates 41, 42 and 45 and call Nahapāna only a Kshatrapi.

Nahapāna struck both silver and copper coins. In point of weight, size and fabric, coins of the first class agree with the hemi-drachms of the Græco-Indian princes, Apollodotus and Menander, which, as the author of the *Periplus* tells us, were up to his time current in Barugaza (Breach).²⁸ Nahapāna's silver coins were of extreme rarity until the discovery ten years ago, of a hoard of at least 14,000 coins at Jogalṭembhi in the Nāsik district.²⁹ From an examination of the busts on the four specimens of Nahapāna's coins in his possession, Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji had inferred that they were struck at different ages of the king and that whereas the earliest had the face of a man 30 years old, the latest, of a man 70 years of age.³⁰ But the Jogalṭembhi hoard conclusively proves that we have here faces varying not only in age but in every feature.³¹ The various types of the face which this hoard presents viz., short-necked, straight-nosed, hook-nosed, low forehead and high forehead, lean face and fat face, cannot possibly represent one and the same individual even at different ages. The Rev. H. R. Scott, who has given a full account of this interesting and important find, solves the difficulty by saying that the heads represented are those of the members of Nahapāna's family, who "caused their own likenesses to be engraved on the coins whilst keeping the inscription of Nahapāna unchanged, as he was the founder of the family."³² This does not however, meet the case, and it seems that these faces are not likenesses at all, but merely copies of Roman coins—an inference strengthened by the figures on plates accompanying Mr. Scott's article, "where the head-dress, the style of dressing the hair, the absence of moustache, and, above all, the shape of the head and features are very similar to the heads on coins of the Roman emperors of from 30 B.C. to A.D. 150"³³

²⁵ Bhagwanlal Indraji identifies Ibā with Ambikā, Pārādā with Pār, and Karabeṇā with Kāveri—all in South Gujarāt. Damāṇa, of course, is the Damāṇagaṇḍā river, and Dāhanukā the Dāhāṇū creek.

²⁶ *ET.*, VII. 57-8.

²⁷ This seems to be the name for the silver coins struck by Nahapāna. See further in the text.

²⁸ *IA.*, VII.

²⁹ *JBBRAS.*, XXII. 223 and ff.

³⁰ *JRAS.*, 1890, 643.

³¹ *JBBRAS.*, XXII. 236.

³² *Ibid.*, 237.

³³ *JRAS.*, 1908, 551.

The obverse of Nahapâna's silver coins bears 'Head of king' just described and an inscription in the Græco-Roman characters. When only four specimens were known, this legend could not be deciphered, but with the find of thousands of his coins at Jogaltembhi it has now become possible to read it and was first read beyond all doubt by Mr. Scott who has found it to be an almost exact transliteration of the Brâhmi inscription on the reverse.

It runs thus : —

PANNIΩ IAHAPATAC NAHAPANAC.

Though this legend is essentially Greek, it contains the Roman H with the value both in his proper and tribal names.³⁴ The reverse of the coins has, on the left, an arrow pointing downwards, and, on the right, a thunderbolt, with a pellet in between. It bears two legends—one in Brâhmi, and the other in Kharoshthi characters. The first reads *Rajño Kshaharâtasah Nahapânasah*, and the second, *Rajño Chhaharatasa Nahapânasah*. Nahapâna's copper coinage is at present represented by a solitary specimen in the possession of Cunningham who found it in Ajmer. The obverse is engraved with a thunderbolt on the left and an arrow pointing downwards on the right. Of the inscription incised on it, only the letters (Na)hapâna have been preserved. On the reverse appears a tree with large leaves, within railing. Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji also is reported to have possessed two more specimens which came from Mandasor. Nothing is, however, known about their present whereabouts.

The extent of Nahapâna's rule may be inferred from the places where his coins have been found and the localities where his son-in-law Ushavadâta made benefactions. It stretched as far north as Ajmer in Râjputânâ and included Kâthiâwâr, S. Gujarât, Western Mâlwa, North Konkan from Broach to Sopârâ, and the Nâsik and Poona districts. As some of his coins have been found at Junâgadh, Surâshtra or Kâthiâwâr must have been under his sway. In one mutilated inscription in Nâsik Cave No. 10, a charity of Ushavadâta's seems to have been made at Ujeni (Ujjain). This shows that Nahapâna's kingdom comprised at least Western Mâlwa. There can be no doubt that it extended as far northwards as Ajmer. For both at Ajmer and Pushkar his coins have been found. Besides that is proved by a postscript to Nâsik Inscription 10 in Cave No. 10. Therein we are informed that in the rainy season he had gone in the north, at the command of his lord who can be no other than Nahapâna, to relieve the Chief of the Uttamabhadras who had been besieged by the Mâlavyas. The Mâlavyas fled away at the mere sound of his approach and were all made prisoners of the Uttamabhadras. Ushavadâta is represented to have thereafter repaired to the Poksharas, performed ablutions, and given three thousand cows and a village. Poksharas is obviously Pushkar, 7 miles west of Ajmer. The word actually used is *Poksharâni*,³⁵ the plural and not singular. Even to this day, not one or two but three, Pushkaras are known—*jyeshtha*, *madhya* and *kanishtha* all situated within a circuit of six miles. And as Ushavadâta bathed there and gave cows and a village, it shows that even so early as the 2nd century A.D., Pushkar was a centre of Brâhmanism. And the very fact that Ushavadâta here granted a village, which to be of real use must have been in the vicinity of this sacred place, shows that Nahapâna's dominions stretched as far northwards as Ajmer and Pushkar. The Mâlavyas whom he defeated must, of course, be the Mâlavas,³⁶ who at this time were settled in the eastern part of Râjputânâ, especially in the south-east portion of the Jaipur State.

³⁴ *Ibid*, 1907, 1044.

³⁵ This has been wrongly translated "Pokshara tanks" by M. Senart (*Et.*, VIII, 79) and "Pushkara lakes" by Prof. Lüders (*List*, No. 1131). So far as I know there is only one lake at Pushkar, but three different Pushkars are known within a circuit of six miles, as stated in the text.

³⁶ As in the cave inscriptions of this period *v* is sometimes replaced by *y*, I have no doubt that Mâlavya equates here with Mâlava. Thus the correct form of the name of Gautamiputra Sâtakarni's son is Pulumâvi, as evidenced by the Purânas and his coins (Rapson's *CIC.*—*A.Wk.*, 20-22). But in the cave inscriptions it is spelt Pulumâyî except in one instance. That the Mâlavas were settled at this time in eastern Râjputânâ is proved by their coins (Smith's *CCIM.*, I. 161-2).

It was, therefore, quite natural for Ushavadâta to have gone to Pushkar after inflicting a defeat on the Mâlavas.

The concluding portion of Nâsik Inscription 12 speaks of Ushavadâta having given to gods and Brâhmanas a gift of 70,000 Kârshâpanas, the value of two thousand Suvarṇas, counting 35 Kârshâpanas for one Suvarṇa. The reference here, as Prof. Rapson rightly says, must surely be to the contemporary gold currency of the Kushanas, which we must, therefore, suppose to have been prevalent in Nahapâna's kingdom.³⁷ Neither the Indo-Bactrian princes nor the Indo-Scythian kings before the Kushanas are known to have struck gold coinage, which was for the first time introduced by Kadphises II., the second of the Kushana sovereigns. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Nahapâna was a viceroy of Kadphises II. There was yet another type of coins current in these parts but introduced by Nahapâna, which seems to have an intimate connection with the name of the Kushana family and to show that he was a subordinate of another Kushana ruler. Nâsik Inscription 12 which speaks of Suvarṇas also makes mention, as stated above, of Kuṣāṇas, which were to be given to the Buddhist mendicants occupying Ushavadâta's cave. Ushavadâta deposited a sum of 1,000 Kârshâpanas at the monthly rate of $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. and yielding therefore an annual interest of 90 Kârshâpanas. This amount of 90 Kârshâpanas, we are told, was the *Kuṣāṇa-mûla*, i.e., the value of Kuṣāṇas. The word Kuṣāṇa has very much exercised all the editors of the Nâsik cave inscriptions. M. Senart, however, has clearly shown that it must correspond with the word *paḍiko* in the expression *Chivarika solasaka* (sometimes *bârasaka*) *paḍiko cha mâse utukâle* and other similar phrases which occur in the Kaṇheri inscriptions.³⁸ As the words *Chivarika bârasaka* of this expression are actually found in the Nâsik record, the words *Kuṣāṇa-mûla* which immediately follow in it must, as correctly pointed out by M. Senart, be taken to correspond with *paḍiko cha mâse utukâle* of the Kaṇheri inscriptions. Unfortunately, however, he takes it to mean "a monthly stipend, assigned to every monk during a certain period of the year, and probably to be applied to his food." This does not appear to me to be quite in order, because, as the last postscript of Nasik Inscription 10 informs us, Ushavadâta had already provided for the boarding of the monks by assigning a field. It seems more natural, therefore, to take *Kuṣāṇa*, like *Paḍika* (= *Pratika*), as denoting a specific coin. And to me the name appears to have been given to the silver coinage of Nahapâna, because he issued it for his overlord who must have been known as Kuṣāṇa, i.e., Kushana. We have instances of coins named variously after the kings who struck them. Thus we have Vighrahapâla-drammas and Ajayapâla-drammas, no doubt, called after the proper names of the kings.³⁹ Coins have also been named after the epithets or titles of kings. Thus Śrīmad-Âdivarâha-drammas have been so styled after the epithet Âdivarâha of Bhoja I. of the Imperial Pratihâra dynasty. These coins are also called Śrīmad-Âdivarâhas without the addition of the word *dramma*. It is thus not unreasonable to suppose that Kuṣāṇa denotes the coins issued by Nahapâna for his suzerain who must have been commonly called simply Kushana. Was there any Kushana king who was also known by the mere name Kushana? Certainly this must be the Kushana sovereign referred to in the Taxila scroll inscription of the year 136.⁴⁰ It is worthy of note that he is here simply styled Kushana with the titles *Mahârāja Râjâtîrāja Devaputra* without any specification of his proper name. I have elsewhere shown that he can be no other than Kujula Kadphises, or Kadphises I. as he is also known.⁴¹ It thus seems that Nahapâna was a viceroy not only of Kadphises II. but also of Kadphises I. Against this it might perhaps be argued that Kadphises I. flourished about the beginning of the fourth quarter of the first century A.D., whereas Nahapâna's dates 41, 42, 45 and 46, which are unanimously taken to be years of the Śaka era and thus

range between A.D. 119 to A.D. 124 place him about the first quarter of the second century. It will, however, be shown shortly that Nahapâna was ruling as early as A.D. 85 and that consequently he was a contemporary of Kadphises I. also. Again, the principal characteristic of Nahapâna's coins is the imitation of the Roman head on the obverse, as stated above. This is exactly the characteristic of one type of Kadphises I's coins, in the head of whose obverse numismatists recognise the likeness of a Roman emperor though they differ in regard to the identification of the exact original.⁴² And what can be more natural than that Nahapâna, striking coins as viceroy of Kadphises I., should adopt the special features of his sovereign's money? The word Kuṣāṇa, therefore, indicates the currency started by Nahapâna as subordinate of the Kushana ruler Kadphises I., and the monks residing in Ushavadâta's cave were to be given each a Kuṣāṇa, *i.e.* Nahapâna's silver coin, for every month of the rainy season, just as the monks living in the Kaṇheri caves received each a Paḍika, *i.e.*, one Kārshāṇa, for every month of summer or the rainy season.

It will thus be seen that Nahapâna was a Kshatrapa of both Kadphises I. and Kadphises II. It is not necessary to suppose that Kadphises I. himself led an army and conquered Rājputânâ, Central India and Gujarât. It is possible that he may have sent Nahapâna to subjugate these provinces, of which the latter was afterwards made a Satrap. The name Nahapâna is of Zend-Persian origin, and he is,⁴³ therefore, regarded as a Pahlava or Parthian. This is not at all impossible. His son-in-law, Ushavadâta, was a Śaka, and it is, therefore, quite natural to expect Nahapâna to belong to a different clan, as was required by the matrimonial connection subsisting between them. And as Pahlavas at this period are constantly associated with Śakas not only in Sanskrit works but also in inscriptions, and as the name Nahapâna is Iranian, it is very likely that he was a Parthian. That he came from the north is also indicated by the use of the Kharoshthî alphabet on his coins. The proper home of this script is Eastern Afghânistân and Northern Punjâb though its use extended as far south-west as at Bhāwalpur near Multân, as far south as Mathurâ, and as far south-east as Kāngrâ, in which regions it is generally found side by side with the Brāhmī alphabet. Not a single inscription has been discovered in Kharoshthî in Rājputânâ, Central India, Gujarât or the Dekkan, where Brāhmī alone was used. And the very fact that Kharoshthî occupies an equally important place with Brāhmī in the coin legends of Nahapâna shows that he came from a province where Kharoshthî alone was prevalent. It also shows that Nahapâna was not a mere adventurer who came southwards to carve out a kingdom for himself. The employment of Kharoshthî on his coins, in the provinces where Brāhmī alone was understood, shows that it was a script of his court and that he came from the north along with several scribes knowing Kharoshthî. In this connection it will be interesting to note that a Nāsik inscription⁴⁴ speaks of a scribe called Vudhika who was a Śaka and a resident of Daśapura, Nahapâna's capital. It seems tempting to suppose that he was probably one of the scribes who accompanied Nahapâna, when the latter was sent south by his Kushana overlord for the subjugation of territory.

The author of the *Periplus* in chapter 41 of his book informs us that next after Barake (Dwârakâ) follows the gulf of Barygaza (gulf of Cambay) and the sea-board of the region called Ariake being the beginning of the kingdom of Mambaros (or Nambanus) and of all India. The capital of the kingdom was Minnagara, whence much cotton was brought down to Barugaza (Broach). Pandit Bhāgwanlâl Indrajī has rightly corrected Ariake into Λβαρικη, the Prakrit form of Aparāntikâ, an old name of the western sea-board of India. M. Boyer had more than fifteen years ago shown cogent reasons for identifying Nambanus

⁴² Prof. Rapson recognises in it a likeness of Augustus (*IC.*, 1897, § 15, 66), and Mr. V. A. Smith of Augustus or Tiberius (*EHI.* 236; *CCIM.* 1. 66) and also of Caius and Lucius, grandsons of Augustus (*JRAS.*, 1903, p. 30, n. 1).

⁴³ *JRAS.*, 1906, 215.

⁴⁴ *RI VII* or

with Nahapâna. It was, however, left to Dr. Fleet to explain satisfactorily how the name Nahapâna could partly through the copyist's confusion and partly through phonetic influence be easily transformed into Mambanos or Nambanos.⁴⁵ The late Mr. McCrindle has adduced strong reasons to hold that the *Periplus* was written between A.D. 80—89, and no scholar of repute has called this date in question. Nahapâna was thus alive *circa* A.D. 85, long before A.D. 124 which is the last known date for him. The capital of Nahapâna's territory, according to the *Periplus*, was Minnagara. The work also mentions another Minnagara, but this was the capital of "Scythia" and was situated in the delta of the Indus in Sind. The name has been taken to be a hybrid word meaning "a city of the Mins, the Scythians." Nahapâna's Minnagara has been identified by McCrindle with Indore,⁴⁶ by Pandit Bhagwânâlâl with Junâgâḥ,⁴⁷ by Mr. Schoff with Nagari north of Chitorgaḥ in Râjputânâ,⁴⁸ and by Dr. Fleet with Dohad in the Pâñch Mahâls district, Bombay Presidency.⁴⁹ It deserves to be noticed that Ptolemy, the Greek geographer, who wrote shortly after A.D. 150, refers to both these cities, and, what is more interesting, specifies both the latitude and the longitude of these as of other places. In regard to the inland Minnagara which was, no doubt, the capital of Nahapâna, he gives 115° 10' and 19° 30' as its latitude and longitude, which for Barugaza are 113° 15' and 17° 20'.⁵⁰ Minnagara was thus nearly 2' east and 2' north of Barugaza, which, we know for certain, is Broach. The only old place which fulfils these conditions is Mandasor, the ancient Daśapura. Daśapura certainly was a place of importance in Nahapâna's time as it is mentioned in one of Ushavadâta's inscriptions along with such big cities as Sôrpâraga, Govardhana and Bharukachha. Besides, it seems at this time to have been inhabited by some Śakas, as we see from a Nâsik cave inscription.⁵¹ I have often thought that it was impossible for Ushavadâta not to have made any benefactions at the capital town of Nahapâna and that consequently one of these four cities must have been his capital. But Ptolemy's geography no longer leaves this point in doubt.

As Daśapura was the capital of Nahapâna's kingdom, the other three cities, viz., Sôrpâraga, Govardhana and Bharukachha, must have been each the head-quarters of a district. Govardhana certainly was the principal town of an *âhâra* or district, as we learn from other Nâsik cave inscriptions of this period.⁵² This Govardhana is the large modern village of Govardhan-Gaigâpur, on the right bank of the Godâvari and six miles west of Nâsik. We have seen that a Junnar cave epigraph mentions an *amâtya* of Nahapâna called Ayama (Aryaman). *Amâtya*, of course, has been used in inscriptions to signify the head officer of a territorial division. Thus Junnar seems to have been the head-quarters of the Mâmala district which is mentioned in a Kârle inscription and which has been identified with Mâval. Nâsik inscription 14(a), as we have seen above, makes mention of Ujenî (Ujjayinî), which, no doubt, was included in Nahapâna's dominions and must have been the head-quarters of a division called Avanti. There was yet another district called Kâpur-âhâra which is also referred to in one of Ushavadâta's inscriptions. It was at Chikhalapadra in this division that he granted 8,000 cocoanut trees. From the mention of the cocoanuts Chikhalapadra seems to have been on the coast and most probably is Chikhali, the principal town of a tâluka in the Surat district, as suggested by Pandit Bhâgwanâlâl Indrajî. Kâpura is mentioned as the name of both the district and its head-quarters on a copper-plate grant of the Traikûṭaka king Dahrasena found at Pârḍî in the Surat Collectorate. Kâpura thus appears to correspond to the modern Surat district and was situated between the Sôrpâraga and Bharukachha districts.

(To be continued.)

⁴⁵ JRAS., 1907, p. 1043, n. 2.

⁴⁶ IA., CIII, 140.

⁴⁷ B. G., VIII, 487.

⁴⁸ *Periplus*, p. 180.

⁴⁹ JRAS., 1912, 788.

⁵⁰ IA., XIII, 359.

⁵¹ EI, VIII, 95-6.

⁵² See, for example, Nâsik Cave Inscriptions Nos. 4 & 5, where Govardhana is mentioned as a place where an *amâtya* was stationed.

VIVĒKAPATRAMĀLA.¹

BY T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A. : TRIVANDRAM.

IN my article on the Arivilimaigalam plates of Śrīnāgarāya II., contributed to the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XII, an attempt was made to identify certain members of the family of the document (*śāsana*) writers of the later Vijayanagara dynasties with certain poets of Mullāṇḍram. Since writing this article more materials have been accumulated, which enable me to review the situation in greater detail.

There are no less than fifty-five copper-plate documents belonging to a period intervening the reigns of Harihara II to Raṅga VI. in which the names of the following persons, the *composers* of the documents, are mentioned : namely, Sabhāpati, son of Abhirāma, his sons Svayambhu, Kāmakōṭi or Kāmakshi and Gaṇapārya ; his grandsons Rājanātha by Svayambhu : Kṛṣṇakavi and Rāmakavi by Kāmakōṭi and Kāmaya by Gaṇapārya : Kāmaya's son was Sōmanātha. Then again the engravers of the *śāsanas*, are said to have been Muddaṇa, Virāṇa I., Muddaṇa II., Virāṇa II., Mallāṇa II., Virāṇa III., Appaṇa, Gaṇapārya, Virāṇa IV., Virāṇa V., Kāmaya, Achyuta and Sōmanātha. The following table gives the details regarding the kings, the composers and engravers of their documents and other information : —

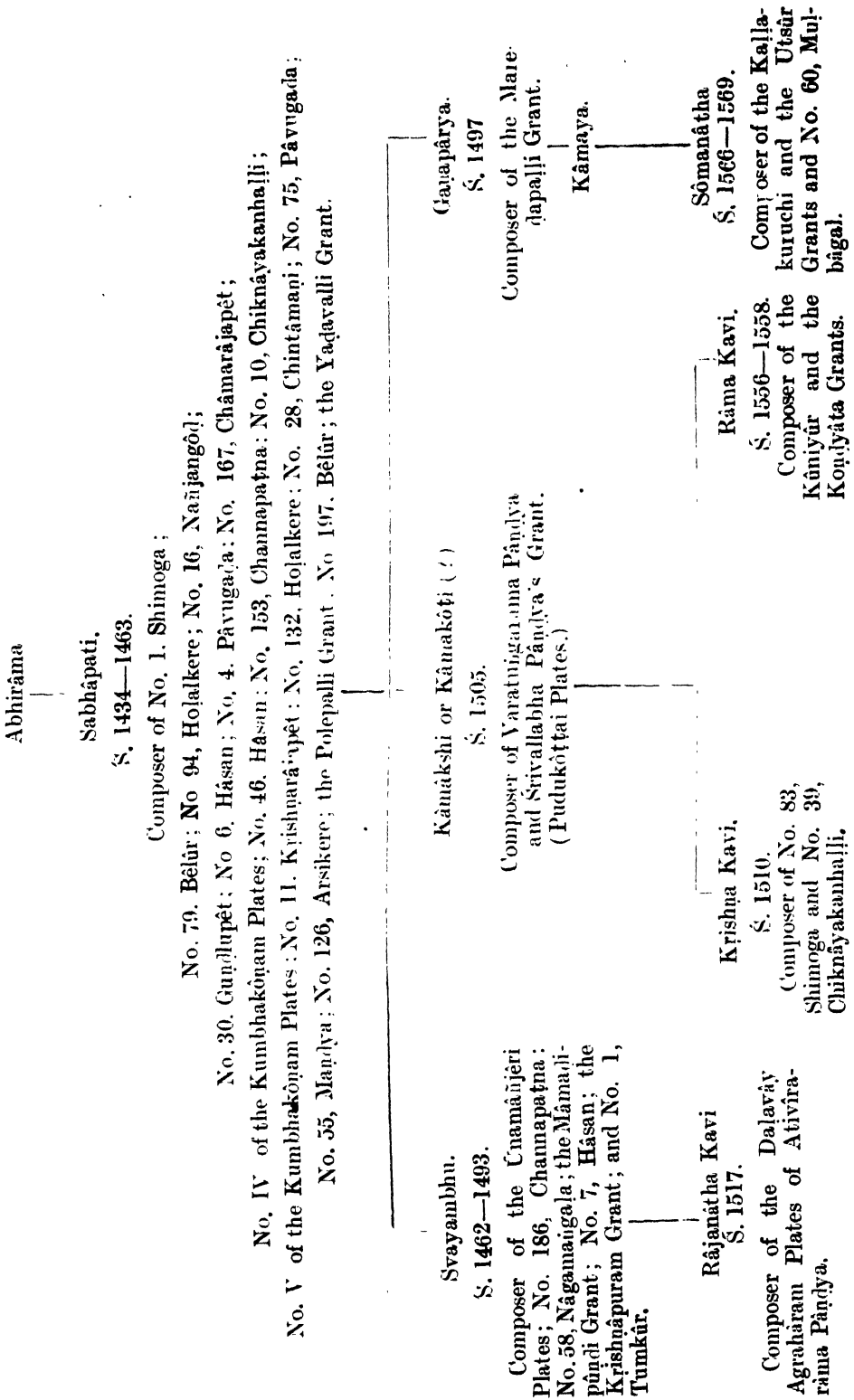
Seriat No.	Date.	Name of the King.	Composer	Engraver	Reference.
1	S. 130.	Harihara I.	Mallaṇārādhya	Nāgīdēva.	Tīrṭh, No. 9.
2	S. 1316.	Bukka II.	Mallaṇārādhya, son of Kōṭisvarārādhya of the Ātrēya gōtra and Yajusākhā.	Nāgīdēva.	Goribidnūr. No. 46.
3	S. 1318.	Harihara II.	Muddaṇāchārya.	.....	Hāsan, No. 86.
4	S. 1319.	Do	.....	Nāgīdēva.	T. Narsi. No. 134.
5	S. 1348.	Praudhadēvarāya.	.....	Virāṇāchārya, son of Muddaṇāchārya.	Tumkūr, No. 11.
6	S. 1351.	Dēvarāya II.	.....	Muddaṇa, son of Virāṇa (?)	Līṅga m p ā ḍ u Grant.
7	S. 1386.	Im. Praudhadēvarāya.	Mallaṇa, son of Kāmaṇa of the Bhāradvajagōtra and Rikṣākhā (?).	Virāṇa, son of Muddaṇa.	Nagar, No. 69.
8	S. 1386.	Mallikārjuna.	.....	Do.	Tīrthahalli, No. 206.
9	S. 1396.	Virūpāksha.	.....	Mallaṇa, son of Virāṇa.	Mallavalli No. 121.
10	S. 139.	Mallikārjuna.	.....	Virāṇa son of Muddaṇa.	Śrīraṅgaṇa, No. 11.
11	S. 1429.	Virāṇārasimha.	.....	Mallaṇa (son of Virāṇa).	Nagar, No. 64.
12	S. 1429.	Do.	.....	Virāṇa, son of Mallaṇa.	Kumbhakōṇam Plates.
13	Do.	Do. ..	.....	Do.	Do.
14	S. 1433.	Kṛṣṇadēvarāya.	Sabhāpati	Do.	Bēlūr, No. 79.

This is sometimes known also as the *Vibhōga-patra-mōla*.

Serial No.	Date.	Name of the King.	Composer.	Engraver.	Reference.
15	S. 1433.	Krishnadêva-râya.	Sabhâpati.	Mallana, son of Virana (?).	Holalkere, No. 94.
16	S. 1434.	Do.	Do.	Virana, son of Mallana.	Shimoga, No. 1.
17	S. 1437.	Do.	Do.	Viranâchârya, son of Mallana.	N a ñ j a n g ô d , No. 16.
18	S. 1437.	Do.	Do.	Do.	G a n d l u p ê t , No. 30.
19	S. 1438.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Hâsan, No. 6.
20	S. 1438.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Pâvugaḍa, No. 4.
21	S. 1444.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Chamarâyaṇapâṭna No. 167.
22	S. 1444.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Kumbhak ô ṇ a m Plates, No. IV.
23	S. 1445.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Channapâṭna, No. 153.
24	S. 1446.	Do.	Do.	Appanâchârya, son of Viranâchâri.	Hâsan, No. 46.
25	S. 1447.	Do.	Do.	Virana, son of Mallana.	Chiknâ y a k a n - halli, No. 10.
26	S. 1450.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Kumbhakôṇam Plates, No. V.
27	S. 1453.	Achyutadêva-râya.	Do.	Do.	Krishnarâjpêṭ, No. 11.
28	S. 1455.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Holalkere, No. 132.
29	S. 1455.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Pâvugaḍa, No. 75.
30	S. 1456.	Do.	Do.	Virana, son of Mallana.	Mandya, No. 55.
31	S. 1456.	Do.	Do.	Virana, son of Virana.	Arsikere, No. 126.
32	S. 1458.	Do.	Do.	Virana, son of Virana.	Chintâmaṇi, No. 28.
33	S. 1458.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Polepalli Grant.
34	S. 1461.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Bêlûr, No. 197.
35	S. 1462.	Do.	Svayambhu, son of Sabhâpati; of Sâvarṇya gôṭra.	.....	Û ṇ a m â ṇ j ê r i Plates. Ep. Ind., Vol. III.

Serial No.	Date.	Name of the King.	Composer.	Engraver.	Reference.
36	Ś. 1463.	Ach y u t a d ē - varāya	Sabhâpati.	Viranâchârya.	Yadavali Grant.
37	Ś. 1467.	Sadâsiva-dēva- rāya.	Do.	Do.	N â g a m a n - g a l a, No. 58.
38	Ś. 1470.	Do.	Svayambhu, son of Sabhâpati.	Virana, son of Virana.	Chau n a p a t n a, No. 186.
39	Ś. 1471.	Do.	Do.	Do.	M â m a d i p û n d i Grant.
40	Ś. 1483.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Hâsan, No. 7.
41	Ś. 1489.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Krishnâpura m Grant.
42	Ś. 1493.	Tirumalarāya.	Do.	Virana, son of Ganapârya.	T u m k û r, No. 1.
43	Ś. 1497.	Śriranga II.	Ganapârya, son of Sabhâpati.	.....	M a r e d a p a l l i Grant.
44	Ś. 1504.	Varatuṅga Pāṇḍya.	.....	Nârâyana ..	Trav. Arch. Se- ries, p. 124
45	Ś. 1505.	Varatuṅga and Śrivalḷabha.	Kâmâkshi, son of Sabhâpati, and grandson of Abhirâma.	Nârâyana, son of Pûrandara.	Do, p. 81
46	Ś. 1510.	V ê n k a t a - patirāya.	Krishnakavi, son of Kâmakôṭi, and grandson of Sabhâpati.	Virana, son of Ganapârya.	Shimoga, No. 83.
47	Ś. 1511.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Chiknayakanhalli, No. 39.
48	Ś. 1517.	A t t i v i r a r â ma Pāṇḍya.	Râjanâthakavi, son of Svayambhu.	Purandara, the Rathakara.	Trav. Arch. Se- ries, p. 142.
49	Ś. 1524.	Vênkaṭa I.	Ch i d a m b a r a - kavi, sister's son of Sivasûrya, king of poets.	K â m a y a r y a son of Ganapârya, and brother of Virana.	Maigalam p â d u Grant.
50	Ś. 1556.	Vênkaṭa II.	Râmakavi, son of Kâmakôṭi, and grandson of Sa- bhâpati.	Ach y u t a, son of Ganapârya, and grandson of Virana.	Kûṇṇiyûr Grant.
51	Ś. 1558.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Koṇḍyâta Grant.
52	Ś. 1566.	Raiga II.	.....	Sômanâtha, son of Ka- maya, and grandson of Ganapârya.	K a l l a k u r i c h i Grant.
53	Ś. 1569.	Raiga VI.	Râmakavi, son of Kâmakôṭi and grandson of Sa- bhâpati.	Sômanâtha, son of K â - m a y a and grandson of Ganapârya.	Utsûr Grant.
54	Ś. 1569.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Mulbagal, No. 60.

From the above tabular statement we may frame the following pedigree of the *śāsanam* Composers of the Vijayanagara Empire :—



And the he śāsanam engrave hu

Genealogy of the Engraver of the Vijayanagara Grants

Mudalaya I.

ic va

348 Engraver of
11 Tunkū Tk

Ep.

ddana II S. 1351. Engraver
of Lingpāḍu Grant. B
Nellore inscriptions.

raṇa I 39 Engraver
of No. 69, Nagar Tk
Tirthahalli. Ep. Carn

4. Mallaya I. S. 1396—1
Engraver of No. 121, Malav
and No. 64, Nagar Tk. Ep. Carn

5. Virāṇa IV. S. 1429—156
Engraver of Nos. 2 and 3 of
Kumbhakōṇam Plates; No. 1
Shimoga; No. 79, Belūr; No. 16
Nāṅjangōḍi; No. 30, Gūṇḍuḍi
No. 6, Hāsan; No. Pāvagaḍa
No. 167, Chāmarajapattana
No. 4, Kumbhakōṇam Plates
No. 153, Channapattana; No. 10
Chiknāvakanhalli; No. 5 of the
Kumbhakōṇam Plates; No. 11
Krishnarajapatt; No. 132, Hā
kere; No. 55, Mandya.

7. Virāṇa III. S. 1456—1458.
Engraver of No. 28, Chintā-
mani; No. 126, Arsikere; the
Polepalli Grant; No. 197,
Belūr; No. 186, Channapattana;
No. 58, Nāgamaṅgala; the
Māmaṅḍipūḍi Grant; No. 7,
Hāsan; and the Kṛishṇa-
puram Grant.

Appanāchāi
S. 1446.
graver of No. 46,
Hasan.

S. 13—
Eng
No. T
and No
Shi ga.

Kāmaya.
S. 1524
Engraver of
Māṅgalam -
pāḍu Grant.

Achyuta,
S. 1555—
1558.
Engraver
of the
Kūṇiyūr
Grant and
Kondyāta
Grant.

Somanātha.
S. 1566—1569.
Engraver of the
Kallakuruchi
and the Utsūr
Grants and No. 60,
Mulbāgal.

MISCELLANEA.

VAISHNAVA WORSHIP AND BUDDHISM.

THE date assigned by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and other scholars to the rise of the Vaishnava cult is too well known to be quoted here. I want to draw attention to a piece of evidence which carries one aspect of Vaishnava cult to a period not later than 700—600 B. C. This was the worship of Trivikrama Vishnu, curiously enough the form of worship was the worship of foot-prints.

The worship was current even before Yāska and was alluded to by a predecessor of his. That predecessor was Aurnavābha, who was probably identical with the Teacher of that name in the *Bṛihadāranyaka Upanishad*. Aurnavābha is cited in several places by Yāska who gives his *aithāsika* or legendary and historical interpretations of the *Rigveda* hymns.

Commenting on the wellknown ṛichā इहं विष्णु-विचक्रमे अथा निरधे पद्म्, Yāska in his *Nirukta* (Daivata, 6.3.19) quotes Śākapiṇi first, who explains that Vishnu crosses 'all this' with three steps placing them on the earth, on the *antariksha* (horizon) and on the sky. (यदि किञ्च तद्विक्रमे विष्णुस्त्रिधा निधत्ते पदं अथामावाय पृथिव्यामन्तरिक्षे दिव्यति शाकपूणिः।) Then he cites Aurnavābha who takes the verse in the sense that Vishnu literally and physically crossed in the past (चक्रम) in the manner described by Śākapiṇi, stepping over the earth, horizon and sky, and he says "in ascending (he stepped) at the *Vishnu-pada* on the Gayā Peak" ¹—

समारीह्यो विष्णुपदं गयशिरसीत्यौणवानः।

Aurnavābha is referring to the first step *prathivya* and is giving the Aithāsikas' view current in his time by referring to the "*Vishnu-pada*" at Gayā-Hill from which place, they believed, Vishnu

actually went up. The "*Vishnu-pada*" at Gayā-Hill is still worshipped and was being worshipped in the days of and before the *Vāyu-Purāṇa* (600 A. D.).

The passage is not only important for the history of the Vaishnava cult, but throws light also on the religious history of early Buddhism. The custom of worshipping foot-prints, it shows, had been already an old institution before the time of the Buddha. It probably originated in this Vedic legend of Vishnu's stepping over the earth. ² His supposed foot-prints (*Vishnu-pada*) were worshipped by the Aithāsikas and those who believed with them.

The passage also shows that Gayā had long become a sacred place before the Buddha went there to do his meditation. ³ And it was a sacred place of the orthodox people who derived their cult from the *Rigveda*.

I take this opportunity of pointing out that the identification of the Trivikrama-Vāmana Vishnu with Vasudeva was complete before the *Baudhāyana-dharma-Sūtras* (see 11.5.9.10). Also before the *Baudhāyana-dharma-Sūtras* child-Krishna (Dāmodara) and the cowherd-Krishna (Govinda) were known deities (*ibid.*) ⁴ This disposes off the view held by Indian and European scholars that the Krishna worship in the child-form is post-Christ. The accepted date of the *Baudhāyana-dharma-Sūtras* is "before 400 B.C." (Macdonell, *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 259.)

My own view which will appear in my *Tagore Lectures* is that the date is over-estimated by two centuries. In any case the cowherd and the child-god Krishna was worshipped here before Christ was born.

K. P. JAYASWAL.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES FROM OLD FACTORY RECORDS.

11. Company's officers obliged to go through the ranks.

13 December 1689. Letter from Elihu Yale and Council at Fort St. George to John Nicks and Council at Coimere. We commend Mr. Kings martial Inclinations, but first he must well understand the duty of a Sontinall before he climbs to an officer as those Gentlemen here did [whom] the Governour advanced in that Imploy, who served

severall months as reformadoo [volunteers], duely performinge there duty, which when Mr. King has well discharged the Governour will encourage him to his Meritts, but in this you must also have a regard not to discourage our officers whose only hopes is there due succession and preferment which ought duly to be observed to all that deserve. *Records of Fort St. George, Letters from Fort St. George, 1689, p. 67.*

R. C. T.

¹ For *Gayā-Peak* in the *Jātakas*, see J. I. 142.

² The orthodox worship of foot-prints to-day is confined to Vishnu-pada (Vishnu's foot-prints) only.

³ Apparently he went there because it was a sacred place.

⁴ In the *Ānandāśrama* edition the twelve names Kṛṣṇa, etc., are given separately. But see Bühler, *S.B.E.* XIV. The identity is established by the *Vaikhāṇasa-dharma-Sūtra* (lately published) which gives the *pratikā* "Kṛṣṇa" of the *Baudhāyana mantra* and calls them 'the twelve names'. (The date of the *Vaikhāṇasa* in the present form is *cir.* 200 B.C. Its earlier shape which can be easily detected goes back before the Buddha's time and Pāṇini. It is quoted by Gautama and Baudhāyana and the quoted *sūtras* are to be found in the present *Vaikhāṇasa*. I discuss its date and importance in my *Tagore Lectures*. The MS. known to European scholars was a later book than the present one.

AUSTRIA'S COMMERCIAL VENTURE IN INDIA IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

BY SIR R. C. TEMPLE, Bt.

(Continued from p. 59.)

IV.—The Trieste Society of 1782.

Letter from Robert Ritchie to Peter Michell,¹⁸ dated Venice, 21 February 1783.¹⁹

I NOW transmit the Prospectus of Mr Bolt's scheme, and should have done it some time ago had I seen any probability of his finding subscribers for the sum wanted; he seems, however, to have some chance now of being able to send out his ship one way or other, though I doubt much whether the subscription will be really, or only nominally, full. The scheme is printed in Italian, which I have translated into English, because some of the Gentlemen who may have the curiosity to peruse it, perhaps do not understand that language.

Convention relative to the expedition of the Ship "Cobenzel" by the Trieste Society from Trieste to the East Indies and China, and back to Trieste.²⁰

It is universally known that the underwritten Lieutenant Colonel William Bolts obtained from the Empress Queen Maria Teresa of glorious memory²¹ a Commission or Patent, with very extensive privileges, to establish a direct Commerce with the East Indies, dated the 5th of June 1775.

It is equally notorious that the trials made by him with several ships sent out on that voyage, in company with other persons, yielded on their return, considerable profits, insomuch that, under his co-direction, a Company was formed with a Capital of two millions of florins, divided in Actions (shares) among her Imperial Majesty's subjects in the Low Countries.

It is flattering to him to have been, in this manner, the founder and restorer of this important and lucrative Commerce after it had been abandoned for half an age, and it will give him still greater satisfaction if he can succeed in animating the subjects of these hereditary States with trust and confidence with regard to this trade. To which end he offers the following proposals.

1. The abovementioned Mr Bolts, jointly with the underwritten Codirectors, and for account of the Trieste Society, will set out and dispatch for the East Indies and China, by the ordinary way of the Cape of Good Hope the new Imperial Ship called *Cobenzel*, of about 600 tons burden, now in this port of Trieste, furnished with experienced Officers, and commanded by Captain John Joseph Bauer, a subject of the Emperour, [Joseph II], and this ship will sail, at the farthest, within the month of March next.

2. Although the above ship, including her rigging, furniture, arms, &c., actually in readiness, cost Mr Bolts more than the sum of 130,000 florins, yet, to the Society now proposed, the ship and furniture shall be valued only at 110,000 florins; and in order to facilitate the ballancing of accounts, he obliges himself to take back the ship, on her

¹⁸ Secretary to the East India Company, 1768-1783.

¹⁹ *Miscellaneous Letters Received*, vol. 72, No. 92.

²⁰ *Miscellaneous Letters Received*, vol. 72, No. 94.

²¹ Maria Teresa, Empress of Austria, died 29 Nov. 1780.

return to Trieste, for two thirds of the value she shall cost the Company when ready to sail, in the condition she may return from sea, with the rigging, furniture, arms, &c., belonging to her, so as they then happen to be, without pretence to any deduction for whatever accident may happen, which he expressly renounces by these presents.

3. This projected voyage, including the ship and cargo, a part whereof is already provided, as is well known, and a part not, requires a fund of four hundred thousand florins. This fund is to be divided into a hundred actions or shares, of four thousand florins each, and every proprietor is at liberty to purchase as many shares as he thinks proper, till the whole hundred are completed, and also a half, fourth, or eighth of a share, so that a greater number may partake of the profits which this foreign trade offers.

4. Mr Bolts being convinced by experience and a long stay in India of the solidity of this undertaking, obliges himself to take for his own account fourteen shares, amounting to the sum of fifty six thousand current florins of Vienna.

5. As he has the *jus* and privilege for another similar voyage to India, therefore, in order to give the concerned in the present Adventure a greater prospect of gain, he promises and obliges himself that those among them who are unwilling to be interested in that voyage shall have the preference as far as the half of the sums they have subscribed to this, on condition that, thirty days after advertisement, they shall declare whether they chuse to be concerned in that separate adventure and how much.

6. To convince the Adventurers of the solidity of this enterprize, he obliges himself to warrant, and hereby does warrant, ten per cent. per annum as certain profit, from the day the ship *Cobenzel* sails to her safe return, to each of the adventurers on the capital respectively advanced, and five per cent. from the day of disbursement till the day the ship sails, and from the day of her return till the final liquidation of the respective quotas.

7. All charges of whatever kind being deducted, as also the abovementioned ten and five per cents., the next profit of the voyage is to be divided into two equal parts, one of which to be subdivided among the adventurers according to their respective shares, and the other half becomes the property of Mr Bolts, in consideration of his having formed the project and ceded his privilege, and also by way of premium for his guarantee of a certain gain to each adventurer of ten and five per cent. as above.

8. Furthermore, the said Mr Bolts obliges himself not to withdraw or sell, cede or alienate his interest of fifty six thousand florins till all the adventurers are fully satisfied, not only in regard to their capital, but likewise the profit warranted or insured of ten and five per Cent., in conformity to the 6th article, and also the surplus that may fall to their respective shares on their half of the next gain, after all the charges are deducted.

9. To the end that the business of the projected expedition may be managed with good order and exactness, and in order to give a greater and more general faith and trust in the concerned, Messrs. James de Gabbiati, John Adam Wagner, and John Rossetti are appointed Directors conjointly with the said Mr Bolts, and it is hereby expressly stipulated that, without the consent of the Codirectors, neither he, nor in his absence, his Agent, Mr Edward Watts, shall assume the management of any business whatever relative to, connected with, or dependent on the said adventure.

10. In consequence, however, of the foregoing obligation, it shall be incumbent on the Codirectors jointly with Mr Bolts, to prepare and draw up the publick or private advertisements to the Adventurers, to collect the money arising from the sale of the actions, to realize and verify the fourteen shares taken by Mr Bolts; to provide the goods required for the voyage; to give the needful instructions to the Captain, Supercargo, and other officers of the said ship; to get insurance done, not only on the capital, but also on an expected or imaginary gain, as is usual in maritime trade; to sign letters of correspondence, and whatever else is requisite in the execution of this undertaking; and in like manner, after the return of the ship, to take care that the merchandize be landed, sold, the produce got into Cash, charges paid, the respective dividends made, and whatever else may be necessary or convenient for the general interest of the Society.

The money chest shall be kept under four keys, whereof Mr Bolts or his Agent shall have the custody of one, and one shall remain in the hands of each of the other three Directors. In this chest shall be lodged not only the money received or to be received for Actions, but also all the documents relative to the expedition, such as the bills of lading signed by the Captain, the policies of insurance, and every voucher concerning the voyage out and home.

The books shall be kept by Mr Edward Watts, but under the constant inspection of the Codirectors, who, jointly with Mr Bolts, shall, in due time, get insurance done on the cargo out and home, and likewise on an imaginary or hoped for profit, so as, in case of a misfortune, which God forbid, the capital and interest of all the Adventurers may be insured.

In like manner, they shall jointly give the requisite instructions to the Captain, Supercargo and Officers, that, in case of any fortunate circumstance, particularly in Asia, on the opportunity of this ships return to Europe, if a certain profit should be offered independent of the fund of this Society, all such transactions may be done which are usual in these parts, and from which a sure profit results, but not otherwise; and these profits, independent of the Company's funds, shall be divided, that is, three fourths to Mr Bolts, and one fourth to the Adventurers, the commission of the Direction, as in the following article, deducted.

In recompense for the pains and care of all the four Directors, they shall be allowed, by way of commission and premium, two and a half per cent. on the whole amount of the expedition outward, and two and a half per cent. on the sales of the homeward cargo, after the ships return, that is, two fifths to Mr Bolts, and three fifths for the other three Directors.

On the safe return of the ship, with all convenient speed in regard to the interest of the Company, the whole cargo shall be sold at publick sale; and when the accounts are made up, all the charges are to be paid, and the ten per cent. and respective five per cent. to the Adventurers, the commission to the Directors, premiums of insurance, and whatever else falls to the charge of the common concern; and the remaining profit, hoped for, shall be decided according to the seventh article.

In case of loss, the funds insured are to be recovered and brought into cash, and the capital, interest, and hoped for gain that have been insured are to be paid to the Adventurers in the manner above mentioned; and every thing is to proceed in a clear orderly manner for the satisfaction of the concerned, who shall at all times have free access to see the accounts and vouchers.

All the Adventurers, excepting the Directors, are at liberty to sell their shares, giving notice to the Directors for the registry ; but the Directors shall not be responsible for the eventuality of this expedition, whether fortunate or not, having done their duty as indicated above.

Whoever chuses to accede to this Convention and social contract will be pleased to sign their names, and note the number of actions they desire to take, with an obligation to accept the bills at usance which the Directors shall draw for the value of the purchase as soon as the whole number of one hundred actions is completed.

Trieste. 17th December 1782.

We underwritten, elected and appointed for managing the affairs relative to the Association called the Trieste Society for the expedition of the Imperial ship *Cobenzel*, in conformity to the foregoing printed plan, declare that the subscriptions in Trieste till this day amount to the sum of 140,000 florins, and so soon as the subscriptions required are completed, the names and respective sums of all the Adventurers shall be published.

Trieste, the 20th December 1782.

(Signed) GUGLIELMO BOLTS,
GIACOMO DE GABBIATI
GIAN ADAMO VAGNER
GEO : ROSSETTI

Note on the Prospectus of the Triestine Company.

The foregoing prospectus is very interesting as showing the methods of the Austrian Company, known to the English as the Triestine Society (*Société Impériale Asiatique de Trieste*) in raising funds for its voyages. Apparently the Society raised a separate subscription for each voyage, which was liquidated on its completion.

Put into modern commercial parlance and divested of its "wrapping," the scheme developed in the prospectus is illuminating, as it tells us how funds for ventures were raised in the 18th century in Europe ; and it shows incidentally that the Company promoters of that time were as "smart" as the most modern of their tribe.

On 20 December 1782, Bolts, in the name of the Triestine Society, promoted a special issue of shares for the voyage of the ship *Cobenzel* to India, China and the East, and back. The Directors were to be himself, as Managing Director, and three others. He was also to be the promoter.

The share capital was to be 400,000 florins (say £40,000, taking the Austrian florin at 2s. to be divided as to 260,000 florins into 520 20% preference shares of 500 florins each, held by the subscribers, and as to 140,000 florins into 35 unsaleable fully paid ordinary shares of 4,000 florins each, held by the Directors in the proportion of 14 by the promoter and 7 each by the other Directors. The preference shares were to receive on the promoter's guarantee 5% from the date of subscription to the date of sailing, 10% during the voyage, and 5% from the date of return to the date of final liquidation. These dividends were subject to all the charges of the venture, including the Directors' remuneration.

The Directors' remuneration was to be 2½% on all sales during the voyage and 2½% on all sales after the ship's return, payable in the proportion of ¾ to the promoter.

and $\frac{1}{3}$ each to the other Directors.²² The balance of the net profits on the voyage, which were to include the value of the ship taken at $\frac{2}{3}$ of the total capital (*i.e.*, at 266,000 florins), and the guarantee of the promoter, was to be divided, half to the promoter and half to the shareholders. The ship was to be insured by the Society, and in case of loss the insurance money was to be available for dividend. Any incidental profits, *i.e.*, any made during the voyage by trading in goods not included in the original cargo, were to be divided, $\frac{2}{3}$ to the promoter and $\frac{1}{3}$ to the shareholders.

The objects of the issue were to purchase the ship *Cobenzel* of 600 tons, valued at 130,000 florins, but sold to the Society by the promoter for 110,000 florins for the purposes of the issue, and to equip her and take her on a voyage to India, China and the East and back, the total cost of the scheme being estimated at 400,000 florins. The outward trade cargo was to consist of copper, gunpowder, iron, cloths and wine, and also porcelain, cannon, etc., as presents for Haidar Ali of Mysore and other Indian potentates; and the homeward cargo was to be pepper. It was stated in the prospectus that the promoter's previous voyage for the Society to the East had been very profitable.

The subscription to the issue was opened on 20 December 1782, the capital was fully subscribed by 23 June 1783, and the ship had commenced her voyage before 29 September 1783, but I have not been able to trace her arrival in the East. The promoter reserved the right to undertake arrangements for a similar voyage for the Society immediately on completion of those for the present one, and he set to work to raise funds for another venture to the East as soon as the *Cobenzel* had started on her voyage.

It will be seen from the foregoing statement that what Bolts did was this. He guaranteed his subscribers nominally 20%, but in reality only 5%²³ on the capital they put up, 260,000 florins, risking thus 13,000 florins²⁴; but he sold his ship to them for 110,000 florins in cash, so he made them pay handsomely for his guarantee. He also guaranteed to buy the ship nominally for 266,000 florins on her return, but the shareholders were to have her insured; and so if she was lost on the voyage he not only risked nothing, but got his share of the insurance money as owner of 14% of the total capital.²⁵ If the ship returned safely, his share of the profit would cover the risk, as it would necessarily be great.²⁶

Thus he got 56,000 florins worth of shares (14% of the total capital as above noted) for nothing²⁷; half the gross profit beyond 20%, as the shareholders paid all the charges of the venture including his remuneration; three-fourths of any trading profit (beyond those on the proceeds of the outward and homeward cargo) made during the voyage; and one per cent. ($\frac{2}{3}$ of 2½%) on all sales of both the outward and homeward cargo which were always very high in those days.

It was these considerations that apparently made business men of the day accept his guarantee, as at that time he was practically bankrupt, the voyage of the *Joseph and Theresa* not being the success he would appear to have made it out to be. It is probable that he

²² *I.e.*, 1% to the promoter and $\frac{1}{3}$ % to each of the other Directors.

²³ That is until the return of the ship the only dividend payable on the prospectus was 5% for the time before the ship started.

²⁴ This was the outside risk, as the 5% it represented was only payable after deduction of "expenses."

²⁵ By the prospectus the insurance money was specially earmarked as available for dividend.

²⁶ The value of the ship was also to be available for dividend.

²⁷ His total outside risk was 56,000 florins for shares and 13,000 florins as guaranteed dividend against 110,000 florins, the price of his ship paid him by the shareholders.

had to give away a large share of his advantages in the prospectus to them for assistance in floating the issue, in a manner well known to the modern Company-promoter.

The object of giving Bolts three colleagues in the direction of the Society's venture was obviously to protect the shareholders, but they had individually so subordinate an interest in the concern that their control must have been shadowy.

One result of this story is to bring home to the present-day reader, with convincing clearness, what it meant to European merchants, even in the late 18th century, when "their ships came home."

*Letter from Mr Nathaniel Green, Consul, to Mr Secretary Fox,²⁸
dated Trieste, 9 May 1783.²⁹*

Mr. Bolts is now at Vienna, soliciting Credit for the Value of One Hundred Thousand Florins in Copper and Gunpowder for the Cargo of the Ship *Cobentzel*, which is to be fitted out here for Bengal and China so soon as the Actions are all engaged, if the Disputes among Mr Bolts's Creditors do not throw Obstacles in the Way. This Expedition proposed (according to all Appearance) by Mr Bolts to amuse his Creditors, is to be carried on under the Firm &c. of La Societa Triestina. Mr Bolts and three Merchants of this Place are the Managers, and they hope, not only to send out this Ship, but also to find Funds in the same Way, that [is,] by Shares or Actions, for sending out another immediately afterwards. All this affair is totally separate from those of the Antwerp Company to whom Mr Bolts has ceded his Octroi or exclusive Privilege for the East India Trade, which began in 1775 and its term will expire in 1785. Mr Bolts, however, notwithstanding his present very critical situation and his extensive Engagements, still contemplates his favourite Project of a Voyage to the North West Coast of America and round the Globe, for which intent he retains yet in his Service the People he first engaged to assist in that Enterprize, *vizl.*

Mr Gilpin, Astronomer, who went the last Voyage with Captain Cook.³⁰

[G.] Dixon, Armourer in the same.

[Wm.] Walker, Joyners Mate Do. and

[H.] Zimmerman, Mariner Do. This last is a Native of Spiers in the Palatinate and is the Man who has published in German a Relation of Captain Cooke's last Voyage.³¹

Thus Mr Bolts's projects may produce two trading Companies instead of one, besides setting something of the same kind a going in Leghorn, from whence a Ship lately sailed under Tuscan Colours for East India, though perhaps its Voyage may terminate at the Isle of France, and Mr Sherriman, late of Madras, is now soliciting the Grand Duke for his Protection of another Ship for the Coast of Coromandel. There is some Ground to

²⁸ Charles James Fox (1749-1806), Joint Secretary of State with Lord North, April—Dec. 1783.

²⁹ *Miscellaneous Letters Received*, vol. 73, No. 189.

³⁰ Mr. Edward Heawood informs me that in Kitson's *Life of Captain James Cook* the name of G. Gilpin appears in the list of officers and men who went with Cook on his second (not last) voyage, 1772-1775. Gilpin's name figures among the supernumeraries as "servant" to the Astronomer on the *Resolution*, and he probably acted as assistant.

³¹ G. Dixon, Wm. Walker and Heinrich Zimmermann were all members of the crew of the *Discovery* in Cook's last voyage. Zimmermann's account, entitled *Reise um die Welt mit Capit. Cook*, was published at Gottingen in 1781. A second ed. was published at Mannheim in 1782. In a note to the 1st ed. the author is said to have been a quartermaster in the *Discovery*, but in Kitson's list (see previous note) he is styled coxswain. I am indebted to Mr. B. G. Corney for this information.

believe that all East India Speculations would soon be laid aside in this Country if they were not supported by the Assistance of Englishmen and other Foreigners, and the Facility they find of fitting out Ships from English and other Foreign Ports. Next week I shall have the Honor to transmit some Notes on the Account which Mr Bolts has lately presented to his Creditors on his stopping Payment.

P. S.—Some Presents for Hyder Ally [Hydar Ali] are getting ready at Vienna, of what kind I know not, but believe the bulk small.

*Letter from Mr Green, Consul at Trieste, to Mr Secretary Fox,
dated 23 June 1783.³²*

The Subscription of florins 400,000 for the Expedition of the Ship *Cobentzel* for Bengal and China for Account of Mr Bolts and the Triestine Society as it is called (not the Imperial Asiatic Company) is now full, and the Ship is to be fitted out in all haste. Hyder Ally has given Commission for 150 Tons of Iron which is to go in this Ship. A messenger is to be dispatched by the Way over land to the Coast of Malabar. A Manufacturer named Martin, at or near Marseilles, gives Mr B. credit for a large Quantity of Cloth for this Voyage; a Person at Madeira offers him 200 Pipes of Wine for half ready Money and half credit at Thirty Months. Mr Berthon of Lisbon writes to him that if he cannot immediately succeed in his Project here, He may find better Friends at Lisbon.

*Letter from Consul Green to Mr. Secretary Fox,
dated Trieste, 11 July 1783.³³*

Mr Bolts Ship, the *Cobentzel*, is to sail about the end of August for the Coast of Malabar, from whence she is to go to China. A Messenger will set out in a few days with Dispatches for Mangalore, where he is to wait the arrival of the Ship.

The great Ship building at Fiume for the Imperial India Company³⁴ will not be ready for Sea till December next.

*Letter from Consul Green to Mr Secretary Fox,
dated Trieste, 25 July 1783.³⁵*

The Ship *Cobentzel* is to carry the Presents from His Imperial Majesty to Hyder Ally, Part of which I am told will consist in some Porcelaine of Vienna and some Brass Cannon. The Present which Mr Bolts brought from Hyder for the late Empress was Shauls and Diamonds, supposed to be worth about Thirty Thousand Florins. The Company hopes by the Favor of Hyder to be able to procure a Cargo of Pepper on the Coast, to bring home which, a Ship is to be bought there.

*Letter from Consul Green to Mr Secretary Fox,
dated Trieste, 18 August 1783.³⁶*

Two Days ago a gentleman named Campbell set out from hence with Dispatches from Mr Bolts and the new Association called the Triestine Society, for Hyder Ally and for some Correspondents at Bombay. Their Ship, *Cobentzel*, will be ready to sail from hence in about three Weeks. She is to touch at Marseilles to receive a Quantity of Broadcloth, at Madeira for a large Quantity of Wine, and, I believe, also at Cadiz for some other Articles. It is pretended that She will be at Mangalore in the Month of May next, but I am told by some who understand the Nature of the Voyage and the Course of the Seasons that She cannot arrive on the Coast of Malabar till some Months later. Some

³² *Miscellaneous Letters Received*, vol. 73, No. 12.

³³ *Miscellaneous Letters Received*, vol. 73, No. 54.

³⁴ See *infra* letter of 29 Sept. 1783.

³⁵ *Miscellaneous Letters Received*, vol. 73, No. 72.

³⁶ *Miscellaneous Letters Received*, vol. 73, No. 121.

Englishmen who are Officers on board are very much dissatisfied with Mr B. who refuses to pay them, as he promised when his Affairs were in disorder, and he engaged them to wait till this period. Some others whom he had also brought here to serve in his Expedition to the North West of America by the Way of Cape Hoorn are now also in Dispute with him for their Pay and Discharge, both of which he refuses, and pretends he shall yet be able to put this Project in execution. This may be very uncertain, and I believe that he himself sees that this Country is not well adapted to his views nor can give hopes of Success to them. I know also that he has entered into Correspondence with Naples and hopes to be furnished with a Ship there and that Court will take some part in the Affair. He has also lately treated for an English Ship which is now here and offered £6,000 Sterling for the Voyage, but could not persuade the Captain to undertake it.

*Letter from Consul Green to Mr Secretary Fox,
dated Trieste, 29 September 1783.³⁷*

The Triestine Society have at length sent away their Ship *Cobentzel* for the Coast of Malabar and China. The Captain is Mr John Joseph Bauer, an Hungarian, Chief Mate Mr. Lindsay, Second Mr Moore, and Third Mr Smith, which three with two Petty Officers have made themselves Austrian Subjects. The Society is now in Treaty for another Ship for a second Expedition, conformable to the Privilege which Mr Bolts has reserved to himself in the Agreement with the Imperial Asiatick Company when he gave up the Octroy ³⁸ to them.

Some Projects are in Contemplation for re-establishing the Course of India Trade by the Way of Suez, Cairo, &c. Some Proposals of such Tendency have been made both from hence and from some Englishman in India, to people of consideration in Egypt, who have given a very encouraging Answer.

Additional Paper on Austrian Trade in the East.

Unsigned Letter from Brussels, dated 11 April 1788, containing the general Tenor of the Instructions intended to be sent by the Emperor to the Consuls General in India.³⁹

The Viscount de Walekiers⁴⁰ has just now called on me to desire me to tell you that he cannot keep his promise of sending you to-day the heads of the instructions intended to be given by the Emperor to the Consuls General appointed in India, because the form and words of those instructions are not yet finally settled, and besides, their expedition in due form depends on other regulations now about to be taken to prevent effectually the abuse of the Imperial flag in India.

You know his only view in proposing to send you the copy or substance of the Instructions was that you might find some means of learning whether they are such as may be in all respects perfectly consonant with the wishes of those at the head of India affairs on your side of the water, in order that any alterations they think proper to hint might be made in them. Perhaps a general idea of them may answer that purpose which a few words will convey to you.

³⁷ *Miscellaneous Letters Received*, vol. 73, No. 169.

³⁸ This word is used in its now obsolete meaning of commercial privilege, exclusive right of trade.

³⁹ *Home Series, Miscellaneous*, vol. 74.

⁴⁰ Joseph Walcher, born 1718 at Lentz, was Director of Navigation on the Danube and later a member of the Austrian Government.

They are directed to conform, as far as circumstances will admit of, to the existing maritime Regulations of the late Empress for Trieste and to those adopted in this Country—To take cognizance of all Ships which come within their district under the Imperial Flag—To cause the Captains and Officers [to] produce their Passports and requisite authority for carrying that Flag—To keep proper accounts and Registers of the whole, granting their certificate of such papers having been only produced and in the proper form, and they are to request of the Governors, &c. in India to pay no respect to the assumed Flag of such Ships as are not provided with such Passports and comply with these forms. And also upon the certainty of illegal proceedings of this nature, they are to ask the protection and assistance of all Governors &c. that they may be enabled to deal with such subjects unauthorized, according to the aforementioned regulations now making. And if those assuming the Emperor's Flag are not Imperial Subjects the Consuls or their Deputies or Vice Consuls are to give any public declarations or certificates of it which may be necessary to enable them in whose ports they are to seize them or deal with them as they please, renouncing all claims on that account on the part of the Emperor.

They are, on the other hand, to protect, as far as in their power, and endeavour to obtain protection from those in power, in favour of all Imperial Ships and Subjects duly authorized by His Majesty to trade beyond the Cape of Good Hope, to call them before them, hear and determine their disputes and differences among themselves, take depositions, grant certificates valid in Law here give sentences to be executed subject to appeal here, and in short, to act in general as other Imperial Consuls do in foreign Countries, but always with the concurrence, where needful, and under the protection of the Governor &c. in whose Presidencies or Districts the Circumstances occur. They are to make proper Reports to the Emperor of their proceedings and in general to maintain, as far as in their power, good order and tranquillity among his subjects who trade to India or are there properly authorized—to encourage this trade and obtain for them such indulgences and favours as they may stand in need of, but to take care those placed thus under their authority commit no offence against the laws in the places they frequent, and should that happen, to assist as far as in their power in bringing them to justice and obliging them to make proper reparation.

You may look upon these as the chief principles and substance of the Instructions to be given to the Consuls General, and the Viscount de Walekiers would be glad you could learn whether any stronger restrictions or injunctions ought to be added for the satisfaction of the British Government or the East India Company. In that case, it will only require a hint from him to have it done, for Government here are determined to put a stop to all the abuses which have of late been committed under the Imperial Flag.

Our friend the Viscount is also very anxious to know if the orders are given for admitting those Consuls, especially the one in Bengal. I wish you could learn something about this and write to him, if you do not pay us a visit in your way to Paris, but we firmly expect to see you.

[THE END.]

VIVĒKAPATRAMĀLĀ.

BY T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A.; TRIVANDRAM.

(Continued from p. 83.)

THE *Vibhāgapatramālā*, a manuscript hitherto unpublished, whose existence was brought to my knowledge by Mr. Raṅgasvāmi Sarasvati, B.A., and which is a very late production, gives some account of the poets of the village of Muḷḷaṇḍram. It gives us some glimpses into the lives of a few of them, more especially, of Aruṇagirinātha (otherwise known also as Śōṇādrinātha, &c.) and his son Rājanātha Kavi. It is stated therein that a Chōḷa king who went on a pilgrimage to Benares (Gaṅgaikoṇḍa Rājendra Chōḷadēva I. is evidently referred to here) was met there by a number of learned men of the village of Mandāra. This king being pleased with the erudition and character of these people took them with him to his dominions for the purpose of erecting temples for Śiva and settled them in the Kāñchimaṇḍala. They were eight in number and belonged to eight different *gōtras*; their names and *gōtras* are as follows :—

1. Prāsādavallabha	..	..	..	..	Kāśyapagōtra.
2. Bhāskarakavi	..	..	..	..	Gautamagōtra.
3. Rājanāthakavi	..	..	..	..	Sāvarnyagōtra.
4. Subrahmanyakavi	..	..	..	..	Śāṇḍilyagōtra.
5. Jaṭādhareśa Dikshita	..	..	..	..	Śrīvatsagōtra.
6. Nilakaṇṭhakavi	..	..	..	..	Bhāradvājagōtra.
7. Sōmanātha Dikshita	..	..	..	..	Gōtama (Sāmaga) gōtra. and
8. Mallikārjunabhāṭṭa	..	..	..	..	Saṅkṛitigōtra.

After some time, the Chōḷa king granted them an *agrahāra* worth 450 *nishkas* of gold, which was named Mettaippāḍi (translated in Saṅskṛit as Talpagiri) and which was divided into ten shares, of which eight were given to the abovenamed eight *brāhmaṇas* and two to the god of the local temple. In this village which was also known as the Rājanāthapura (perhaps after one of the donees, No. 3 of the above list), Rājanātha built a temple for Śiva and set up in it a *liṅga* which he called Rājanāthēśvara. The hill situated on the east of their village was called the Mettaippāḍimalai.

The first of the donees, Prāsādavallabha Dikshita, had, by the grace of the god of Chidambaram (Puṇḍarikapura), a son named Sabhāpati. The kings of the Chēra, the Chōḷa and the Pāṇḍya countries became his disciples; whenever Sabhāpati went out, a drum (*dhakkā*) mounted on an elephant used to be sounded to announce the advent of the illustrious poet. Hence he was better known as Dhakkā Sabhāpati. The great grandson of Dhakkā Sabhāpati was Bhāskarārya, the author of the *Prasannakāvya*. In this family was born the poet Tyāgarāja who set up a pillar of victory in the Kāmakoṭīśvara pīṭha (*i. e.*, the Śaṅkarāchārya *maṭha* which is at present situated in Kumbhakōṇam). Tyāgarāja had two sons named Svayambhu and Gurusvāmi.

The contemporaries of Svayambhu in the other families were :—

Dakṣiṇāmūrti Yajvā and Bhāskara Dikshita of the family of Bhāskara Dikshita of the Gautamagōtra; Vidyāpatimakhi, Divākarakavi and Sūryabhāṭṭa of the family of the Rājanāthakavi of the Sāvarnyagōtra; Gurumūrtikavi and Śivasūryamakhi of the family of Subrahmanyakavi of the Śāṇḍilyagōtra; Śivasūryamakhi, Subrahmanyamakhi, Rāmaliṅga-makhi and Rāmachandra of the family of Jaṭādhareśa Dikshita of the Śrīvatsagōtra; Śaṅkarayajvā, Nīlakaṇṭhamakhi, Yajñanārāyaṇa and Anantakavi of the family of Nīlakaṇṭhakavi of the Bhāradvājagōtra; Rājanāthakavi and Vēṅkaṭakavi of the Gōtamagōtra;

and Dēvarāma. . . of the family of Mallikāṛjunabhaṭṭa of the Saṅkṛitigōtra; thus the original eight families consisted, in the time of Svayambhu, of twenty-one households.

Svayambhu had a son named Sabhāpati, and Gurusvāmi had a daughter named Abhirāmāmbikā and a son called Sōmanātha, who were born twins. Abhirāmāmbikā was married to Rājanātha of the Gōtamagōtra; she attained her age in her 13th year, and in the Kali year 4400 expired (A.D. . . .) gave birth to a son named Sōṇadhara (or Aruṇagiri).

Of the twenty-one householders mentioned above seven left their native village Mettaippāṭi and began to reside in the village of Attiyūr granted by Bukkarāya as an *agrahāra* to Brāhmaṇas. The king Bukka is described in the manuscript as one who had received the grace of the sage Vidyāranya, who was the giver of all desired objects and who was the establisher of several temples for Viṣṇu and Śiva. These seven people employed a Karnāṭaka *brāhmaṇa* and his brother as the *Pañchāṅgi* and accountant respectively on a fixed pay and another *brāhmaṇa* for doing *pūjā* in the local temple. These ten families lived in Attiyūr cultivating their knowledge of *Vēdānta* and other *sāstras*. They had friends in the adjacent village of Puttūr founded by the Chōla kings.

Sōṇādrinātha (Aruṇagirinātha) was sent to a teacher to learn all *sāstras*. While studying, his father who was anxious to have his son married, died. The boy was taken under his charge by his uncle Sōmanātha, for, his mother Abhirāmāmbikā committed *sati* with her deceased husband. After some time had passed, Aruṇagirinātha found the wife of his uncle not at all kind to him; her ill treatment made him run away from his uncle's house. All along Sōmanātha was ignorant of the fact that his nephew was not accorded proper treatment by his wife and when he found the boy missing he set about searching for him. Three days after he found him on the river bank, his lips tinged red with betel. When questioned about the matter, he explained that feeling tired he slept away the previous night in the Śaiva temple in Puttūr (Navāgrahāra), meditating upon Vidyapati, the god of that temple. He then dreamt that a person whose head was ornamented with the crescent moon, whose arms were adorned with bracelets of snakes, and who was accompanied by a number of children and four disciples approached him and spat in his mouth the betel he was chewing. Seeing that his lips were coloured red he got up to wash them in the river and therefore he happened to be then by the side of the river. Forthwith he burst into poetic effusion and ever since became a famous versifier and by his divine gift he attracted the attention of the then newly-crowned king Praudhadēvarāya Mahārāya and became a very intimate friend and companion of the king. He married Yajñāmbikā, a girl belonging to the Sāvanya-gōtra.

There was a pretty garden belonging to the crown, situated on the south of the village of Mettaippāṭi (Talpagrāma), on the east of Attiyūr (Audumbarapura) and on the north-west of Puttūr (Navagrāma): the officer who was in charge of this garden was named Nilagiri. Once when Rukmiṇi, the queen of Praudhadēvarāya saw this garden she liked it so well that she desired to possess it and the king immediately made over this property to her.

The cows of the Brāhmaṇa villages near by used to enter the garden and destroy the valuable plants. Nilagiri protested against the straying cattle, but the *brāhmaṇas* paid no heed to his protestations. Then he detained the cattle and declined to liberate them; among those thus penned there were some cows belonging to Sōṇātri (Aruṇagiri). Incensed at the insolence of Nilagiri, Sōṇātri appealed to the king not simply to order Nilagiri to liberate the cows, but to grant him the garden so that he might build an *agrahāra* on its site. The king, however, declined to interfere with the estate of his queen. Sōṇātri then left the kingdom of Praudhadēvarāya, it is stated, and proceeded to that of the Suratrāya (Sultan) where by the cleverness of his composition he got access to his presence and pleased him very much. The court poet by name Anapāya, surnamed Kavimalla, came out with his characteristic drum, *dindima*, beating, to meet Aruṇagiri in an intellectual wrangle; it was resolved that if Kavimalla was defeated by Sōṇātri he should deliver all his distinctions to

the latter. Unfortunately for him, he was overcome by Śōṇādri and lost his title and distinctions. The Sultan then decorated him with the distinguishing appellation of "Vidyā-ḍiṇḍima Śōṇāsāila Kavi" and detained him for some time with himself. On one occasion Aruṇagiri so pleased the Sultan with his poetic talent that the latter conferred upon him the title of 'Ḍiṇḍima-sārvabhauma-kavi.' Aruṇagiri rendered the story of Rāma into a *kāvya* and a *nāṭaka* and wrote also several works on *śāstras*. Having thus distinguished himself in the court of the Sultan and having pleased him, Aruṇagiri got a note of the Sultan ordering Prauḍhadēvarāya to grant the queen's garden near Puttūr to Aruṇagiri (!). Prauḍhadēvarāya, it is said, quietly gave away to Aruṇagiri the garden belonging to his queen. Aruṇagiri then ordered an *agrahāra* to be built there on the bank of the river Kuṭila; in the middle of which was constructed a temple for Śiva under the name of Sabhāpati and on the south-east corner another for Viṣṇu. This new village received five different names, namely, Prauḍhadēvarāyapuram, Sārvabhaumapuram, Ḍiṇḍimālayam, Trimaṇḍalam and Mūlāṇḍam.

Though Ḍiṇḍimakavisārvabhauma often caused panic in the minds of great poets, he never interfered with the lesser ones.

The above is an abstract of the contents of the *Vibhāgaṭratramālā*. From this we see that the so-called "deed of division" is nothing more than a panegyric on Ḍiṇḍimakavi-Sārvabhauma Aruṇagirinātha. The genealogy of this person as gathered from the manuscript may be tabulated thus:—

Prāsādavallabha Dīkṣita of the

Kāsyapagōtra.

Dhakkā Sabhāpati.

Son

Grandson

Bhāskarārya

Author of *Prasannakārya*.

Tyāgarāja.

who set up a pillar of victory in the Kāmakōṭīśvara Pīṭha.

Svayambhu

Gurusvāmī

Sabhāpati

Sōmanātha

Abhirāmāmbikā

× Rājanāthā of the
Gōtamagōtra.

Aruṇagiri

×

Yajñāmbikā of
the Sāvarnya-
gōtra.

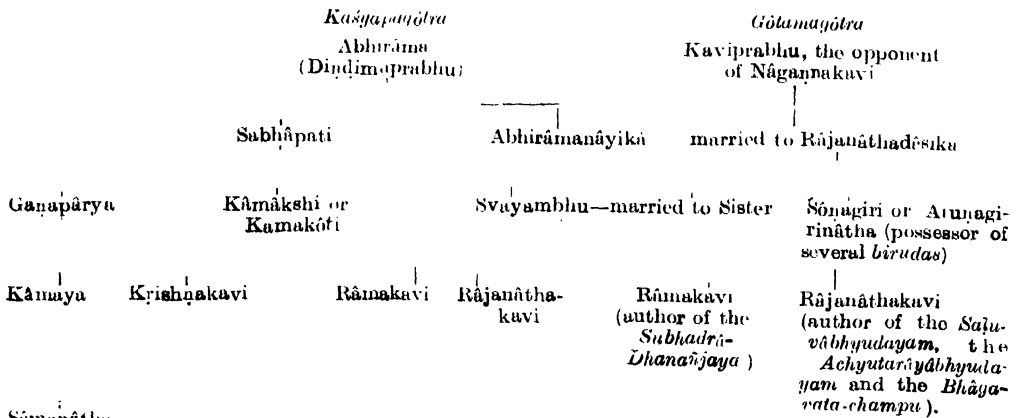
(*alias* Śōṇādri,

.....)
received the grace of
Śiva in becoming a
poet; contemporary
of Prauḍhadēvarā-
ya; rendered the
story of Rāma into
a *kāvya* and also a
nāṭaka; obtained
the *birudas* of Ḍi-
ṇḍimakavisārvabhau-
ma; defeated Ana-
pāya, *alias* Kavimalla.

17. Saiva-sâstra-jivâtu, and

18. Akhilavêda-sâgara-sâmyâtrika.

Of these a very large number of the *birudas* qualify Arunagiri or Sônâdrinâtha than glorify his son, the son born of the merits of such a great man as Arunagirîsa who bore almost all the foregoing *birudas*, was Râjanâthakavi, the author of the *Sâluvâbhyudayam*. But in the *Achyutarâyâbhyudayam* not even the name of the father of the poet is given; one thing, however, is certain, namely, that the author of the *Achyutarâyâbhyudayam* and the *Bhâgavata Champu* are identical, as will be observed from the introductory verses in both, extracts of which are given in the appendix; the authors of these two poems were the contemporaries of Achyutadêvarâya. The verse beginning with *dhammilla-saivâladhara* is found, without the least change, in both poems. From the facts detailed above some feel inclined to dissociate the two Râjanâthas, the authors of the *Sâluvâbhyudayam* and of the *Achyutarâyâbhyudayam* and treat them as two different persons; there is also apparently some ground for their doing so, because, the one deals with the history of a king who lived at least 25 years earlier than the king whose exploits are recorded in the second poem. It might also be stated that it cannot be that the title-less Râjanâtha (the grandfather of the highly-sounding-titled Râjanâtha, whose father's name even is not mentioned), was the author of the *kâvya* dealing with a later king and his grandson, the composer of the *kâvya* dealing with the history of the earlier king. One gets out of this difficulty, if one admits that the author of the *Sâluvâbhyudayam*, the *Achyutarâyâbhyudayam* and the *Bhâgavata-champu* was one and the same person, Râjanâtha, the son of Arunagiri. If this conclusion is admitted, as it must be, the genealogy of the poets of Muḷḷaṇḍram could be shown as related to that of the *śâsana* writers of the Vijayanagara kings thus



The identification of the *śâsana* writers of the kings of Vijayanagara with the poets of Muḷḷaṇḍram is based upon the following considerations:

- (i) The poets of Muḷḷaṇḍram and the *śâsana* writers of the Vijayanagara kings bear the same names.
- (ii) They both have written the eulogies of the kings of Vijayanagara.
- (iii) They both were the protégés of the Vijayanagara kings and possibly because,
- (iv) as the poets, according to the *Vivêkaputramâlâ* were the followers of the Srikantbhâgama and bore the high-sounding title *Aghôrasivâchâryas*, were able to induce the family guru of the Vijayanagara kings, Kṛiyâśakti Paṇḍita to exert his influence with the kings to procure for them the hereditary position (*mirâśi*) of the *śâsana* writers of the kings.

The above are the only reasons which induced me to take the poets as identical with the *śāsana* writers. How far this identification is tenable it is too much to say at present. Future research alone should bear out or contradict this identity.

As regards certain facts mentioned in the *Vivēkapatramālā*, a few words of explanation are necessary. First, it is stated that the ancestors of the poets of Muḷḷaṇḍram were originally the inhabitants on the banks of the Ganges and that when a Chōḷa king went on a pilgrimage to Benares, he met those learned men and took them with him and settled them in Toṇḍaināḍu. If the statement is true, the Chōḷa king is, as has been already remarked, Rājēndrachōḷadēva I. who conquered all the countries as far north as the Ganges and as a consequence was better known as Gaṅgaikoṇḍachōḷa. It was after his name the city of Gaṅgaikoṇḍachōḷapuram and the superb temple in its centre were constructed and the former made the capital by that king. This fact of his having brought some Śaiva Brāhmaṇas of the Āgamānta school on his way from the banks of the Ganges is also referred to in his work the commentary on the Siddhānta-Sārvaḷi of Trilōchanaśivāchārya by Anantaśivāchārya. And we know from the inscriptions of Rājarāja I. and his son Rājēndrachōḷadēva I. that they preferred the Brāhmaṇas of Lāṭa, Gauḍa, &c., countries to be *maṭhādhipatis* and *pūjāris* in temples. Thus there is some truth in the statement made in the *Vivēkapatramālā*.

The next fact stated therein is that the original immigrants into the Toṇḍaināḍu were the followers of the Śrīkaṇṭhāgama. The present inhabitants of the village of Muḷḷaṇḍram who trace their descent from the poets mentioned in the *Vivēkapatramālā* now assert that they are not Āgamāntins but Vēdāntins belonging to the Vaḍama sect. One of them is to-day the *guru* of the oilmonger caste (*Vāniyan*). It is very hard to believe how they could have become Vaḍamas if they trace their lineage from persons who once bore the title of Aghōraśivāchāryas.

Again Muḷḷaṇḍram is stated to have been the native village of Ṭiṇḍimakavi and that it also bore the name Praudhadēvarāyapuram. An inscription (No. 396 of the Madras Epigraphist's Collection for 1911) found in Muḷḷaṇḍram "records that the Mahājanas of Praudhadēvarāyapuram *alias* Agaram-Muḷḷaṇḍram including the poet Ṭiṇḍimakavi, assigned house sites to certain stone-masons in the Kaṇṇāḷatteru. This charter was engraved on the temple of Tāndōṇṇisvaram-uḍaiyār." This is dated in the cyclic year Raudra. Another record belonging to the same place (No. 397 of 1911) dated S. 1472, Sādhāraṇa records "Gift of land by a Brāhmaṇa lady to the shrine of Anṇāmalainātha built by her, in the temple of Svayambhunātha for the merit of herself and her husband Kumārar Ṭiṇḍimar Anṇāmalaināthar." If S. 1472 was Sādhāraṇa, Raudra adjoining Sādhāraṇa will be the Śaka years 1423 or 1483, the earlier perhaps being more probable. From these two inscriptions we learn that the ages of the Kavi Ṭiṇḍima and perhaps of his son Kumārar Ṭiṇḍimar Anṇāmalaināthar were about the middle of the 15th century of the Śaka era which falls in the reign of the Vijayanagara king Achyutadēvarāya—a fact which clearly shows that the author or authors of the *Sālvābhyudayam*, the *Achyutarāyābhyudayam* and the *Bhāgavata-champū* should necessarily have lived only in the reign of Achyutadēvarāya and not before. The inscriptions further inform us that another name of the village Muḷḷaṇḍram was Praudhadēvarāyapuram, as mentioned in the *Vivēkapatramālā*.

According to the *Vêdântadêśika Vaibhavaprakâśikâ* of Doḍḍayâchârya of Chôlasingapuram, Vêdântadêśika, the great Visishtâdvaita Âchârya, the founder of the Vaḍagalai sect of the Srivaishṇavas, is said to have had a philosophical wrangle with a Ḍiṇḍima-Sârva-bhauma Kavi.² This Ḍiṇḍima-Sârva-bhauma Kavi is herein said to be the author of a work called *Râghavâbhyudayam* and that to excel this composition Vêdântadêśika is said to have written *Yâdavâbhyudayam*. We know from other sources that Vêdântadêśika lived for over a hundred years from S. 1191-1293 (= A.D. 1269-1371). Therefore the opponent of the Srivaishṇavâchârya must be an ancestor of Aruṇagirinâtha (in his mother's side).

Again, Nainârâchârya, the son of Vêdântadêśika, a contemporary, like his father, of Sarvajñasiniha Nâyaka, is reported to have defeated in a philosophical discussion a poet of the court of the prince abovenamed, known by the appellation of Sâkalya-Malla. This must be the Kavimalla who was overcome by Ḍiṇḍimakavi Aruṇagirinâtha, as evidenced by one of his titles, Kavimalla-galla-tâḍana-paṭu.

The *Vivêkapatramâlâ* contains an absurd statement that Aruṇagirinâtha, incensed by the conduct of the keeper of the queen's garden near Mettaippâḍi, complained against him to the king Prauḍhadêvarâya and requested him to present him with the garden, so that he might construct there an *agrahâra*, that Prauḍhadêvarâya refused to give it and that thereupon Aruṇagiri went to the Sultan of Delhi and got an order from the latter to Prauḍhadêvarâya to cede the garden in favour of the poet. Even supposing that the Sultan of Delhi is a mistake for the Sultan of one of the five kingdoms into which the Bahmani kingdom broke, we fail to understand what right the Sultan had to issue an order to be obeyed by Prauḍhadêvarâya and how the Vijaya nagara king endured the conduct of this most disloyal and dangerous poet and settled him down in the midst of his loyal subjects. But the village of Muḷḷaṇḍram is actually called Prauḍhadêvarayapuram, a fact which clearly bears out the fact that it was made an *agrahâra* by Prauḍhadêvarâya. Perhaps it might be argued that after all, it might be that the king first felt some difficulty in conferring his queen's garden to the Brâhman poet, but later on was pleased by his conduct and his learning to grant it to Aruṇagirinâtha. But this supposition cannot be upheld, because the age of Aruṇagiri is far behind that of Prauḍhadêvarâya and therefore the one cannot be the donee and the other the donor.

From all these petty contradictions and absurdities contained in the *Vivêkapatramâlâ* we can assert without fear of contradiction that the work is not one written in the life-time of Aruṇagirinâtha but long after it, the chief source of information being the traditions current in the village of Muḷḷaṇḍram at the time of its composition.

A number of places, etc., occur in the *Vivêkapatramâlâ*; they are Rajanâthapura, otherwise known as Talpagiri, the Talpagiri hill near the *agrahâra* of that name, Audumbarapura and Navâgrahâra (N. grâma). These are absurd literal translations of the Tamil names Mettaippâḍi, Attiyûr and Puttûr—all three of which are in the Arni division of the North Arcot District. Muḷḷaṇḍram is also there.

(To be continued.)

² जित्वा कविं विण्णिमसार्वभौमं कृत्वा च कृष्णभुजं मनोज्ञं । स्तुतस्तदा तेन गुरुस्तमो बल्लभाभयः सकला-
स्वतन्त्रं ॥

A CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS THE EARLY HISTORY OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY.¹

BY HERMANN JACOBI.

[Translated with permission by Dr. V. A. Sukthankar, Ph.D., Indore.]

THE Indians have no historical tradition regarding the origin of their six philosophical systems; the general belief that they are very ancient has been most effectively strengthened, if not occasioned, by the circumstance that their originators, who are believed to be the authors of the *Sûtras*, are called Ṛṣis, i. e., "Seers of olden days". Being free from such prejudices, philological research has arrived, on the ground of general considerations, at a relative chronology of the six systems, or rather, of three pairs of systems, as each two of them have always been closely allied with each other. The two *Mīmāṃsās*, as regards their contents, are closely associated with the Revelation; their followers are the Vedic theologians. The representatives of Śruti. Sāṅkhya and Yoga hold the later religious ideal: asceticism and contemplation instead of sacrifice; their followers are representatives of the Smṛiti.² Vaiśeṣika and Nyāya do not stand in an intimate relation to any strata of the older literature, neither the Revelation nor the Tradition. They form the Philosophy of the learned man of the world, the Pandit.³ Thus three chief directions of Philosophy get clearly marked, each of which has for its representative, one of the classes of the Brahman community. The first draws its concepts and ideas from the Revelation; the second propounds a rational scheme of the world through bold speculation; and the third tries to bring it into systematic coherence through the examination of the facts of experience. As Śruti, Smṛiti and Śāstra are the three successive stages of the development of the Indian spiritual life, the chief philosophical schools belonging to each of them, stand also in a similar relation of time to each other.

This much can be gathered from general considerations with a fair degree of certainty. Recently, however, we have acquired a positive starting point for constructing the history of Indian philosophy, and to expound it is the object of these lines. It is found in *Kauṭilyam*,⁴ a treatise on state-craft by Kauṭilya or Viṣṇugupta, which has very lately become accessible. The author is best known by the name of Chāṇakya; he was the first Imperial Chancellor of the Mauryas, and overthrew the last of the Nanda princes and helped Chandragupta, the CANΔPAKOTTOC of the Greeks, to the throne, as he himself says in the last verse of his work:—

yona śātram ca śāstram ca Nandarājagatā ca bhūḥ |
amarjeṇo 'ddhṛitāny āśu tena śāstram idaṃ kṛtam ||

¹ The translator is a former pupil of Prof. Jacobi.

² This assertion will be proved more thoroughly in the course of this Essay. For the present it should be remembered that in works which are religious but do not belong to the *Veda*, such as the *Purāṇas*, the Sāṅkhya ideas constitute the philosophical back-ground.

³ The oldest work of a non-religious character which has the doctrines of Vaiśeṣika and Nyāya for its philosophical basis is the *Charaksaṃhita*: for Vaiśeṣika see I. 1, 43 ff., 63 ff.; for Nyāya see III. 8. 24 ff.

⁴ The *Artha-Śāstra* of Kauṭilya, edited by R. Shama Sastri, Mysore, 1909. Cf. the valuable contribution by Von Alfred Hillebrandt: On the *Kauṭilya-Śāstra* and Allied Subjects in the 86th Annual Report of the Schlesischen Gesellschaft für Vaterländische Kultur; and J. Hertel, *Literary Matters from the Kauṭilya Śāstra*, WZKM., 24, p. 416 ff

Thus the composition of the *Kauṭilya* must be placed about 300 B.C., so long as no proof is brought forward to show that it is an old forgery.⁵

Kauṭilya treats in the first Adhikaraṇa (Vidyāsamuddeśa) of the four branches of learning (Vidyās) :—1 Ānvīkṣikī, Philosophy ; 2 Trayī, Theology ; 3 Vārttā, Science of Industries, and 4 Daṇḍanīti, State-craft. The second Adhyāya gives the views of different authorities regarding the number of the Vidyās (the Mānavas accept three [2-4], the Bārhaspatyas two [3 & 4], the Auśanasas only one [4]), and then explains that under Philosophy are to be understood Sāṅkhya, Yoga and Lokāyata (Sāṃkhyam Yogo Lokāyataṃ cety ānvīkṣikī).

Then the text continues :

dharmādharmau trayyām, arthānarthau vārttāyām, nayānayaṃ daṇḍanītyām, balābale ca 'tāsām hetubhir anvikṣamāṇā lokasyo 'pakaroti, vyasane' bhyudaye ca buddhim avasthāpayati, prajñāvākya-kriyāvaisāradyaṃ ca karoti :

pradīpas sarvavidyānām upāyas sarvakarmaṇām !

śāstrayas sarvadharmaṇām śāśvad ānvīkṣikī matā ||

“In as much as philosophy examines (religious) merit and demerit in Theology, profit and loss in the Science of Industries, right and wrong policies in State-craft, and also discusses, with reasons, the relative importance of these (three sciences), it serves mankind, gives correct insight into prosperity and adversity and lends sharpness of intellect and cleverness in business and speech :—

Philosophy has always been considered to be the lamp of all the sciences, a means of performing all the works, and the support of all the duties.”

According to Kauṭilya the essence of philosophy lies in systematic investigation and logical demonstration ; in his judgement these conditions are satisfied only (*iti*) by Sāṅkhya, Yoga, and Lokāyata.

Now it will be of interest to place by the side of the above remark of Kauṭilya concerning the essence of *ānvīkṣikī*, Vātsyāyana's exposition of the same subject as given in *Nyāya-Bhāṣya* (I. 1, 1). I shall give here the passage, together with a few comments by Uddyotakara (6th century A.D.) on the same in his *Vārttika*.⁶ The occasion for the exposition of this subject in the *Nyāya-Bhāṣya* is the question why in the *Nyāya-Sūtra* sixteen categories, *pramāṇa*, *prameya*, *saṃśaya*, etc., should be introduced when *saṃśaya* and the rest are included in the first two, viz. :—“the means of knowledge” and the “right knowledge.” Vātsyāyana admits it and then continues : imāḥ tu chatasro vidyāḥ prīthak prasthānāḥ prāṇabhṛitām anugrahāyo 'padīsyante, yāsāṃ caturthī 'iyam ānvīkṣikī nyāyavidyā : “But these (*i.e.*, the well-known) sciences, of which this philosophy or the science of Nyāya is one,⁷ are taught for the benefit of men, in so far as each of them has its special subject.” On this Uddyotakara comments : catasra imā vidyā bhavanti, tās ca prīthak-prasthānāḥ : agnihotra-havanādi-prasthānā trayī, halaśaka-fādī-prasthānā vārttā svāmya-

⁵ Hillebrandt has identified the quotations and references in the Classical Literature (*Loc. cit.*, p. 4 ff.) To these evidences of the genuineness of the work may be added, as we shall immediately see, those from the *Nyāya Bhāṣya* of Vātsyāyana of the 4th or 5th century A.D. Further indications will be given in the course of this essay.

⁶ *Bibl. Ind.*, p. 13.

⁷ Chaturthī is to be understood in the sense of the Indian Grammar (*Pāṇini*, V. 2, 48) as *Puraṇḍ*, and not to determine the order of enumeration ; because, according to Kauṭilya, the *Ānvīkṣikī* stands in the first place, and Vātsyāyana, as we shall see, follows Kauṭilya. Hence Chaturthī means here the Vidyā which completes the number four.

mātyānuvidhyāyini daṇḍanītil, saṃśayādi-bhedānuvidhyāyini ānvikṣiki. "These sciences are four in number and each has its separate subjects: those of Theology are *agnihotra*, sacrifices, etc.; those of the Science of Industries are plough, cart, etc.; those of Statecraft are Prince, Minister, etc.; Philosophy treats of "Doubt and the remaining (categories)." Vātsyāyana continues after the passage just translated: tasyāḥ prithak-prasthānāḥ saṃśayādayaḥ padārthāḥ; teṣāṃ prithagvacanam antareṇā 'tmavidyāmātram⁸ iyaṃ syād, yatho 'paniṣadaḥ." Its (*i.e.* of philosophy) special subjects are the categories "Doubt," etc.; if these are not taught separately it would be nothing more than a doctrine of Ātman (or redemption) like the *Upanishads*." Uddyotakara says: tasyāḥ saṃśayādiprasthānam antareṇā 'tmavidyāmātram iyaṃ syāt. tataḥ kiṃ syāt? adhyātmaavidyāmātratvād Upaniṣadvidyāvat trayyām evā 'ntarbhāva iti catuṣtvaṃ nivarteta." Without these special subjects "Doubts," etc., "it (philosophy) would be nothing more than a doctrine of the Ātman, like the *Upanishads*. What would that come to? It would then be, like the doctrine of *Upanishads*, included in Theology, as it would be nothing more than a doctrine of redemption; and then the number of *Vidyās* would not be four." A few lines after the passage we have discussed, Vātsyāyana defines the Ānvikṣiki in this way: pramāṇair arthaparikṣaṇaṃ nyāyaḥ. pratyakṣāgamāśritam anumānam, sādānvikṣā pratyakṣāgamābhyam iṅkṣitasya ānvikṣaṇam anvikṣā. tayā pravartata ity ānvikṣiki nyāyavidyā nyāyaśāstram. "The examination of a subject by means of the right means of knowledge is called demonstration (*nyāyas*). The inference depends upon sense perception and communication (*āgama*); it is reflection (*anvikṣā*), *i.e.*, subsequent knowledge obtained from what one has already learnt through perception and communication: the *Ānvikṣiki* has to do with this reflection and is thus the science of demonstration, the *Nyāya Śāstra*." And Vātsyāyana concludes the *Bhāṣya* in the following way: Se'yaṃ ānvikṣiki pramāṇādibhiḥ padārthair vibhajyamānā: pradipāḥ sarvavidyānām upāyaḥ sarvakarmaṇām | āśrayaḥ sarvadharmāṇām Vidyoddeśe prakīrtitaḥ || tad idaṃ tattvajñānam niḥśreyasādhigamārthaṃ yathāvidyaṃ veditavyam: iha tvadhyātmaavidyāyām ātmādi tattvajñānam, niḥśreyasādhigamo 'pavarga prāptiḥ. "This our Philosophy arranged according to "categories," 'means of knowledge,' etc., is praised by (Kauṭilya in the *Adhyāya*) Vidyoddeśa⁹ as a lamp of all the sciences, a means of performing all the works, and the support of all the duties. One has to ascertain in the case of the different sciences wherein the knowledge of truth that is said to lead to the proposed goal lies. But here in this science of redemption (*Ādhyātma Vidyā*) the knowledge of truth refers to the Soul, etc. (I. 1. 9) and the attainment of the highest goal is the acquisition of salvation."

In this exposition of Vātsyāyana, there are three points which are of importance for our investigation: (1) The statement of Kauṭilya that there are *four* sciences, not more and not less, has acquired unquestioned currency: the views which disagreed with his and were mentioned by him (see above p. 102) seem to have been definitely set aside.

(2) Vātsyāyana makes the claim for the Nyāya Philosophy to be the *Ānvikṣiki* KAT' E OXHN in the sense which Kauṭilya gives to it.

⁸ Some MSS. read *adhyātmaavidyā*. Both words are used synonymously; cf. the next passage from the *Vārttika*.

⁹ In another place also Vātsyāyana shows his indebtedness to Kauṭilyam. At the end of his *Bhāṣya* on I. 1. 4, he says: paramatam apratisiddham anumataṃ iti tantrayuktiḥ. The last *adhyāya* of Kauṭilyam discusses the 33 "Rules of Method" (*tantrayuktayah*) after which the chapter is named. The 19th *tantrayukti* reads: paravākyaṃ apratisiddham anumataṃ (*qui tacet consentire videtur*), hence Vātsyāyana has borrowed this maxim.

(3) He expressly designates it as an *Ādhyātma Vidyā*, i.e., as a Philosophy which recognises the *ātman* and would help it to its redemption.

Now as regards the second point the claim of the Nyāya Philosophy to be the true Ānvikṣikī is, as a matter of fact, thoroughly justified; as it, together with the Vaiśeṣika, fulfils the conditions demanded by Kauṭilya in a higher degree than other philosophical systems. And this is recognised also by others. The commentator to Kāmandaki's *Nītisāra* 2, 7 (ānvikṣiky ātmavijñānam) says that *Ānvikṣikī* is *anumānavidyā Nyāyadarśana-vaiśeṣikādikā*; and Madhusūdana Sarasvatī explains ānvikṣikī to be Nyāya (nyāya ānvikṣikī pañcādhyāyī Gautamena praṇītā). All the more it is therefore of importance that Kauṭilya does not mention by name Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika, while enumerating the systems recognized by him as Ānvikṣikī. From this we can draw the inference with certainty that at his time, i.e., 300 B.C., Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika had not yet received the recognition as philosophical systems, not to speak of the existence of the *sūtras* of Gautama¹⁰ and Kaṇāda in the form in which they are now before us.

In his enumeration of the philosophical systems recognised by him as *Ānvikṣikī* Kauṭilya mentions after Sāṅkhya and Yoga the Lokāyata (Sāṅkhyam Yogo Lokāyatam cety ānvikṣikī). The Lokāyata system is known to us only from references to it in Brahmanical, Buddhistic and Jaina Philosophies, all of which are agreed in their abhorrence of this infidel philosophy. Mādhava in his *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* devotes the first chapter to it and calls its founder, Cārvāka as *nāstika-siromaṇi*, "an arch-heretic." The Lokāyata doctrine is a gross materialism:—The senses alone give correct knowledge, the material things alone (the four elements Earth, Water, Fire, and Wind) are real; there is no immaterial soul but the spirit arises from a certain mixture of these elements just as the intoxicating effect of a drink is produced by the fermenting ingredients of the same; the Vedas are a fraud just as everything they teach. These are the fundamental principles of the system and on this point all the records are in complete agreement.

Now it is difficult to believe that Kauṭilya, who acknowledges the entire social order founded on the Vedas, meant this grossly materialistic system by that Lokāyata which he puts on the same line together with Sāṅkhya and Yoga as a representative of *Ānvikṣikī*. And still there is no doubt about it, because the Lokāyata doctrine is ascribed to Bṛihaspati, the teacher of the gods, and many of the verses handed down to us are put in his mouth. There was also a *Nīti-śāstra* which was likewise ascribed to Bṛihaspati. Kauṭilya refers to his teaching in the second *adhyāya*: vārttā daṇḍanītiś ceti Bārhaspatyāḥ; samvaranamātram hi trayī lokayātrāvida iti. "The followers of Bṛihaspati recognise only two sciences: the science of Industries and the science of State-craft, while Theology is seen to be only a fraud¹¹ by him who understands life." Here we

¹⁰ Gautama is, of course, not the founder of the Nyāya system, but he only helped one school of the Naiyāyikas to obtain general recognition. Thus Vātsyāyana mentions in I. 1. 32 that some Naiyāyikas maintain that the inference consisted of ten parts instead of five as taught in the *sūtra*. Perhaps also the true explanation of the three kinds of inference, which Vātsyāyana gives in I. 1. 5 did not arise for the first time after the composition of the *sūtra* but had existed before. It is worth noticing that Caraka, III., 8, 24 ff. gives for the use of physicians a short compendium of Nyāya which in part entirely agrees with our Nyāya; but in details differs considerably from it. Have we perhaps here to trace a collateral school of Nyāya which existed by the side of that of Gautama?

¹¹ Here *Samvarana* must have the same meaning as the Māhāyānistic *saṃvṛiti* which corresponds to *Māyā* of the Vedāntins. It will be to the purpose to compare the saying (*dḥḥāṇaka*) quoted by Mādhava (*loc. cit.* p. 2) agnihotrām trayo vedās tridaṇḍam bhasmaguṇṭhanam; buddhi pauroś'ahnānām jivike'ti Bṛihaspatiḥ. This verse has been quoted in *Prabodhacandrodaya* II., 26.—Kauṭilya mentions the Bārhaspatyas several times, e. g., pp. 29, 63, 177, 192. The *Nīti*—teachings of Bṛihaspati, which Draupadī expounds in *Mahabharata* III. 32, are at any rate as orthodox as one can wish!

have evidently to do with the same repudiator of the Revelation as is known to be the founder of this Materialism. And that this Brihaspâti was known to be the teacher of gods can be seen from the fact that a School,¹² which was a rival to the Bārhaspatyas, that of the Ausānasas, is traced back to Uśanas, i.e., Śukra or Kāvya Uśanas, the teacher of the Asuras. The Bārhaspatyas were not merely a school of philosophy but also a school of Smṛiti, like the Mānavas, the Pārāśaras and Ausānasas, whom also Kauṭilya mentions.

We thus understand how he comes to place the Lokāyata in the same line with Sāṅkhya and Yoga. Because these systems are also considered to be Smṛitis. Śaṅkara expressly designates them as Smṛitis in *Brahma Sūtra*, II. 1, 1—3 and Bādarāyaṇa was of the same view, as can be seen from the wording of the *sūtras*,¹³ even though he mentions only the Yoga by name.¹⁴ That the old Sāṅkhya had the character of Smṛiti is seen also from its method of teaching, of which it was so characteristic to expound its principles through similes and parables, that the *Sāṅkhya Sūtra*, which is certainly a pretty modern work, devotes to them the whole of its fourth chapter, the *Ākhyāyikādhyaḥ*. Iśvarakṛṣṇa similarly testifies that the *Ākhyāyikās* were an integral part of the old Sāṅkhya; Kārikā 72 runs:—

saptatyāṃ kila ye 'rthās te 'rthāḥ kṛtsnasya saṣṭitantrasya |
ākhyāyikāvirahitāḥ paravādavivarjitā's cāpi ||

Sāṅkhya Yoga and Lokāyata thus belong to the same stratum of ancient Indian Literature and hence Kauṭilya could mention them together. We know, indeed, that Sāṅkhya and Yoga are two ancient systems—*sanātane dve (maté)*. The *Mahabharata* says of them, XII, 349.72—nevertheless the positive testimony of Kauṭilya is not to be underestimated. We now know for certain that Sāṅkhya and Yoga existed at least 300 B.C. and indeed as philosophical systems which were based on logical demonstration (*ānūśīkī*), and not only in the form of intuitive speculation, as the so-called "Epic Sāṅkhya", which is only a popularized variety of the real Sāṅkhya.¹⁵

All the same we cannot assert that the Sāṅkhya and Yoga of Kauṭilya's time are identical in the details of their teaching with these systems as they are known to us in the Sāṅkhya Kārikā and the Yoga Sūtra. These are rather the last stages of their development and as there intervened between the beginning and the end of this development from seven to eight centuries, if not more, changes in detail cannot but occur, as indeed we can see from the fact that the teachings characteristic of Sāṅkhya and Yoga (*pratitantrasiddhānta*)

¹² The notorious *Sukranṭi*, from which once G. Oppert proved that the ancient Indians possessed guns, is certainly a later fabrication.

¹³ Smṛty=anavakāśa-dosaprasaṅga iti cen nā 'nyasṁty-anavakāśa-dosaprasaṅgāt (1); itāreṣhāṃ cā'nupalabdhēh (2); etena yogaḥ pratyuktaḥ (3).

¹⁴ He did not need to mention the Sāṅkhya as the whole of the first Ādhyāya in its polemical part is directed against it. Thibaut explains (*SBE.*, Vol. XXXIV p. XLVI): "It is perhaps not saying too much if we maintain that the entire 1st Adhyāya is due to the wish, on the part of the Sūtrakāra, to guard his doctrine against Sāṅkhya attacks." Only on this supposition can the beginning of the 2nd Adhyāya be understood:—in the 1st Adhyāya the attempts of the Sāṅkhyas to interpret individual passages from the Scriptures as a proof of their teachings, were rejected. The first Sūtra of the 2nd Adhyāya rejects the claim of the Sāṅkhya to be considered authoritative as Smṛiti, and the 2nd Sūtra says that the rest of its teachings found no support in the Holy Scriptures.

¹⁵ Compare W. Hopkins, *The Great Epic of India*. p. 97 ff.

as explained by Vātsyāyana in *Nyāyadarśana* I. 1. 29 do not quite correspond with our knowledge of these systems.¹⁶

We saw above that Kauṭilya in his enumeration of Philosophical systems passes over Vaiśeṣika and Nyāya : this must evidently be due to their not existing at his time. He does not mention the Mīmāṃsā, because he must have considered it not as a systematic Philosophy (*Ānvīkṣikī*), but as a branch of study belonging to Theology. He does not indeed mention it expressly in his concise survey of Theology (Trayī) in *Adhyāya*. 3: "The four Vedas and the Itihāsa-veda along with the six Vedāṅgas." But we may assume that the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā (Adhvara-Mīmāṃsā) was included as a subsidiary branch of Kalpa (especially of the Śrauta Sūtras)¹⁷ under this Vedāṅga. Kāmandaki who belongs to the school of Kauṭilya mentions the Mīmāṃsā by name :

aiṅāni vedāś catvāro mīmāṃsā nyāyavistarāḥ |
dharmaśāstrāṇi purāṇāṇi ca trayī 'dam sarvaṃ ucyate ||

One thus sees that Kauṭilya's enumeration of what belongs to Theology did not go much into details : that even the *Purāṇa* and *Dharmaśāstra* belong to it, follows from his explanation of *Itihāsa*, p. 10. Had he given a similar account of the Vedāṅgas he would certainly have mentioned the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā. But whether the Uttara Mīmāṃsā, the Vedānta existed as a school of Philosophy is doubtful. Because the *Sūtra*, as I have shown elsewhere,¹⁸ can scarcely be older than the 3rd century A.D. But on the other hand it mentions a succession of teachers¹⁹ from which we can conclude that a school of the exegesis of the *Upaniṣads* already existed in early times. This be as it may, there was for Kauṭilya no occasion to mention the Uttara Mīmāṃsā as this also must be reckoned as pertaining to Theology.

Still a few words regarding the Buddhistic Philosophy by which I here understand, of course, not the dogmatic speculations of the canon²⁰ but metaphysical and epistemological theorising, such as the Kṣaṇikavāda or the doctrine of the momentariness of existence, against which the whole Philosophy of later times had to wage a bitter war. Had this doctrine, which must have required at least as much acuteness for being maintained, as its opponents evinced in refuting it, been in existence at the time of Kauṭilya, it is quite conceivable that he, having recognised the infidel Lokāyata as a systematic Philosophy, would not have denied the same recognition to a heretical system, if it only had deserved the name of Philosophy (*Ānvīkṣikī*). Such an inference, however, must not be drawn. Because a real statesman like Kauṭilya could easily come to terms with the theoretical unbelief of Brihaspati as long as there were no practical consequences to follow from it. It is not, however, reported that Brihaspati wanted to set aside the political and social institutions resting on Brahmanical groundwork, to maintain which was, according to Kauṭilya, the highest duty of a prince. But the Buddhists and Jainas took up another standpoint with regard to this important question ; and that must have been the reason why this Brahman writer on state-craft ignored their Philosophy.

¹⁶ Cf. P. Tuxen, *Yoga* : Copenhagen, 1911, p. 10 ff.

¹⁷ *SBE.*, XXXIV, p. XII.

¹⁸ *JAOS.*, XXXI, p. 29.

¹⁹ Deussen, *System des Vedānta*, p. 24.

²⁰ If Kauṭilya had considered these worth his trouble to know he must have regarded them as different branches of heretical Theology. He, however, recognised the Brahmanical Theology, the *trayī*, as a *vidyā* worthy of study. Cf. Manu, XII. 95,

yā Vedabhyāḥ śrutayo yāś ca kās ca kudṛṣṭayaḥ |
sarvāś tā niṣphalāḥ pretya tamoniṣṭhā hi tāḥ smṛtāḥ ||

We have seen that according to Kauṭilya the number of Vidyās is four. He lays great emphasis on this number. For he first puts forth the views of the three schools, which differ from him. Those of the Mānavas, Bārhaspatyas and Auśanasas, who maintain that the number of *vidyās* is respectively 3, 2 and 1; and he continues: *catasra eva vidyā iti Kauṭilyah, tābhīr dharmārthau yad vidyât, tad vidyânām vidyâtvaṃ*. "Kauṭilya teaches that there are four Vidyās not more and not less. They are called *vidyās* because through them one learns (*vidyât*) Dharma and Artha." From these words one can gather that he was the first, who not only taught that the number of the *vidyās* was four, but also recognized the Ānvīkṣiki as a special Vidyā. For he says about the Mānavas that they included Ānvīkṣiki in Theology.²¹ It is not that they denied the Ānvīkṣiki but they did not admit it to the rank of an independent Vidyā and hence connected it with Theology. As far as two Mīmāṃsās are concerned, they were perfectly justified in doing so. Sāṅkhya and Yoga, however, could be looked upon as different branches of Theology, because as we have seen they were considered as Smṛtis. That the Mānavas knew both these philosophical systems can be seen from the circumstance that Manu, who certainly is to be considered a later offshoot of this school, makes a considerable use of Sāṅkhya and Yoga ideas in the theoretical part of his work. Kauṭilya's innovation thus consists in the fact that he recognized Philosophy to be a science by itself, inasmuch as it has its own method of treatment. And therefore he can bring in the Lokāyata, the character of whose contents must exclude it from the Trayī. Had the conception of the Ānvīkṣiki, as Kauṭilya grasped it, been current before him, the Bārhaspatyas would have considered the number of the Vidyās not to be two (Vārttā and Daṇḍanīti) as we saw above; but would have mentioned the Ānvīkṣiki as the third Vidyā. Because they themselves were followers of Lokāyatam which was recognised by Kauṭilya as the Ānvīkṣiki.—Hence when we find in Gautama's Dharma Śāstra (XI, 3) the statement: *trayyām ānvīkṣikyāṃ cā bhīṣinītaḥ*, "(The Prince) should be well schooled in Theology and Philosophy", we may presume that the passage is a later interpolation. J. Jolly classes the work with the revised Dharma Śāstra.²² The combination referred to by Gautama: of *Trayī* and *Ānvīkṣiki*, is not at all mentioned by Kauṭilya; probably it arose from the efforts of an enthusiast, who was anxious to emphasise the authority of Vedas and Brahmanas for every duty of a prince, as Gautama himself does elsewhere.²³ But all other authors recognise four Vidyās. The passage that has been translated above from the *Nyāya Bhāṣya* shows that for Vātsyāyana the number *four* had almost canonical authority, as he bases upon it his argument to prove that the *Nyāya Śāstra* must be called the true Ānvīkṣiki. I shall soon bring forward further early evidence to show that the view of Kauṭilya that there are four Vidyās, received general recognition. But in one point all the later writers are agreed, as opposed to Kauṭilya, viz., in demanding that the Ānvīkṣiki is at the same time Ātma-vidyā. We saw above that the author of the *Nyāya Bhāṣya* requires of the Ānvīkṣiki that it should not be merely an *Ātma-vidyā*; but should have subject-matter peculiar to itself. Nevertheless he claims towards the end of the passage translated above, that the *Nyāya Śāstrā* is not only the Ānvīkṣiki but also Ādhyātma-vidyā, a Philosophy, which

²¹ Trayī vārttā daṇḍanītiś cēti Mānavāḥ. trayīviseso hy ānvīkṣiki 'tī.

²² "Recht und Sitte," in *Grundriss der indoar. Phil.* p. 5.

²³ If the tradition (SBE., II., p. XLV) according to which Gautama is supposed to be the grandson or great-grandson of Uśanas, can be taken seriously, Gautama must have belonged to the school of the Auśanasas; but this recognized, according to Kauṭilya, only one Vidyā; daṇḍanītir ekā vidyē 'ty Auśanasāḥ.

recognises the existence of the soul and leads it to salvation. The idea obviously is that only that Philosophy which at the same time is *Ātma Vidyā* has a claim for recognition. In this way not only was Lokāyata excluded, which Kauṭilya had recognised, but also the Buddhistic systems which probably arose as dangerous opponents of Brahmanical Philosophy only after Kauṭilya's time, in the centuries immediately before and after the beginning of our era. In order to defend itself, the Brahmanical Philosophy assumed the roll of *Jñānamārga*, "the way of Salvation depending upon Philosophical knowledge." This means exactly the same as the demand that the Philosophy should also be an *Ātma Vidyā*. It shows that in the authoritative circles of Brahman society a decided movement had started in favor of exclusively orthodox views.

This transformation had already taken place when Kāmandaki, belonging to the school of Kauṭilya, wrote his *Nītisāra*. While discussing the four Vidyās in the second Sarga, he says:

ānvikṣiki ātmavidyā syād ikṣaṇāt sukhaduḥkhaḥ |
ikṣamāṇas tayā tattvaṃ harṣaśokau vyudasyati ||

"The Philosophy must be an *Ātma Vidyā* inasmuch as through it one understands the nature of pleasure and pain; (the prince) realising the truth from it, overcomes exultation and grief."

Prof. C. Formichi discussed the question of the age of Kāmandaki's *Nītisāra* at the XIIth International Congress of Orientalists held at Rome ("Alcune osservazioni sull' epoca del Kāmandakīya Nītisāra," Bologna 1899)—and showed that Kāmandaki was comparatively late (a contemporary of Varāhamihira or a little older). From his arguments, which I supplement in details, the matter seems to stand as follows:—While enumerating the Ministers Kāmandaki mentions, in IV, 33 (tādrk sāṃvatsaro 'py asya jyotiḥśāstrārthacintakaḥ | praśnābhidhānakusalo horāgaṇitattattvavit ||). The astrologer after the Purohita, whereas Kauṭilya concludes his remarks regarding the Ministers with the latter without referring to the astrologer; and does not at all mention the *Manuhūrtika* along with the ministers, but places him in the same rank with the Physician and the head-cook (p. 38). During the interval between Kauṭilya and Kāmandaki Greek astrology (*Horā*) came in vogue and the astrologer came to stand high in the esteem of kings, as the "Great Seer Garga" testifies:²⁴

Kṛtsnāṅgopāṅgakuśalaṃ horāgaṇitanaiṣṭhikam |
yo na pūjayate rāja sa nāśam upagacchati ||
yas tu samyag vijānāti horāgaṇitasamhitāḥ |
abhyareyaḥ sa narendreṇa svikartavyo jayaīṣiṇā ||

According to this, Kāmandaki must have lived at the earliest in the 3rd or 4th century A.D. The date so determined explains also the fact, that the proof given by Kāmandaki for the existence of the Soul, I. 20 agrees in general with Nyāya Darśana I. 1. 10 and Vaiśeṣika Darśana, III, 2. 1, and his proof for the existence of the 'inner sense' (*Manas*) I. 30 agrees almost literally with Nyāya Darśana, I. 1. 60 (cf. Vaiśeṣika Darśana, III. 2. 1). For, as I have shown elsewhere,²⁵ the Nyāya Darśana in the form in which it is now before us, cannot well be placed earlier than the 3rd century A.D. But it may be pointed out that Kāmandaki combines these Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika ideas with those that are borrowed from Sāṅkhya and Yoga (I. 28, 30b to 35), and thus he prepares an eclectic philosophy in *usum delphini*. On the other hand Kauṭilya

²⁴ *Brhatsaṃhitā adhy. 2.*

²⁵ *JAOS.*, XXXI, p. 9 ff.

attaches importance to philosophy in so far as it exercises the princes in logical thinking ; and the contents of the system do not seem to him to matter much, as he recognises even the infidel Lokâyata, along with Sâṅkhya and Yoga. This clearly indicates a great difference in point of view between Kauṭilya and his later follower Kâmandaki.

An older witness is Manu. According to Kauṭilya the Mânavaś recognised only three Sciences, because they included Philosophy in Theology (trayī vārttā daṇḍanītiś cē 'ti mānavāḥ; trayī viśeshohy ānvīkṣiki 'ti). Hence one may expect Manu to recognise only three Vidyās; but he mentions *four*, just like Kauṭilya, because he, like the latter, separates Philosophy from Theology; however he demands that the Ānvīkṣikī shall be an ātma vidyā (VIII, 43):

traividyebhyas trayīm vidyām daṇḍanītim ca śāśvatim |
ānvīkṣikim cā 'tmavidyāṃ vārttārambhāṃś ca lokataḥ ||

“(The king should learn) from Brahmans well versed in Vedās, Theology, the everlasting State-craft and Philosophy which teaches the nature of the Soul and learn the works taught in the Science of Industries from people who understand it.” We thus find the same views in Manu as in the *Nyāyabhāṣya* and in Kâmandaki. They based their teachings on Kauṭilya modifying the latter to suit the orthodox tendencies of the time which set in after Kauṭilya, probably after the dissolution of the system of Government introduced by the heretic Emperor, Aśoka. That the account of Philosophy as we find it in *Kauṭilyam* could not hold good a few generations after the life-time of Châṇakya, speaks for the genuineness of its text that has come down to us.

I may recapitulate the results of our investigation by saying that the Mimāṃsā, Sâṅkhya, Yoga and Lokâyata already existed in the 4th century B.C., whereas Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika and probably the Buddhist Philosophy also came later into existence.

THE PRATIHARA OCCUPATION OF MAGADHA.

BY R. D. BANERJI, M.A., POONA.

IN my monograph on the Pâlas of Bengal I had stated that “Magadha was annexed by the Gurjara-Pratihâras to their dominions, and after Nârāyaṇapâla we find the names of the Gurjara princes in the votive inscriptions of Magadha.”¹ The discovery of two inscriptions in the province of Bihâr has thrown new light on this period and has now enabled us to determine the extent of the occupation of Magadha by the Pratihâras more precisely. The Vishṇupâda inscription of the 7th year of Nârāyaṇapâla's reign proves that up to that date Gayâ was in the possession of Nârāyaṇapâla. The Bhâgalpur grant of Nârāyaṇapâla proves that up to the 17th year of his reign Mudgagiri or Munger was in his possession. A small brass image bearing a votive inscription on its back was discovered in Bihar Town two or three years ago. At present it is in the Museum of the Baṅgiya Sâhitya Parishad at Calcutta. The image is that of a goddess with four hands

¹ *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. V, p. 63.

seated in the *ardha-paryanka* posture. The inscription is incised on the back of the throne of the image. It reads :—

Oṃ Deya-dha [rmmeṃ] aṃ Śrī-Nārāyaṇapāla-deva-rājye Samvat 54, Śrī-Uddanḍapura-vāsturaṃ Rāṇaka Uchaputra Thārukasya.

Translation.

“The pious gift of Thāruka son of the Rāṇaka Ucha (Utsa), (dedicated) in the year 54 of the reign of the illustrious Nārāyaṇapāladeva.”

This new inscription proves that Nārāyaṇapāla reigned for at least fifty years and that in the 5th year of his reign Uddanḍapura or Bihar was included in his dominions. The characters of the two Pratihāra inscriptions discovered in the Gayā District show a marked resemblance to the characters of the Viṣṇupāda inscription of the year 7 of Nārāyaṇapāla and therefore it would be safer to place these two records after the Viṣṇupāda inscription but before the Bodhagayā-pedestal-inscription of the reign of Gopāla II. This proves that after the 7th year of Nārāyaṇapāla Gayā and Western Magadha were occupied by Gurjaras, but Uddanḍapura or Bihar Town and Eastern Magadha continued to be ruled by the kings of the Pāla dynasty.

The Guneriya inscription of Mahendrapāla, a tentative reading of which was published by me in my monograph on the Pālas is being republished now. I edit it from a photograph kindly lent to me by Dr. D. B. Spooner, B.A., PH.D., F.A.S.B., Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Eastern Circle :—

Text.

1. *Samvat 9 Vaiśākha.*
2. *Sudī 5 Śrī-Guṇa.*
3. *-carita Śrī-Mahendrapā*
4. *-la-deva-rājye deva-dha*
5. *-rm[m]o[ṃ]yām Paramôpāsaka*
6. *-vanika Haridatta putra Śrī (?) pa . . .*

Translation.

“In the year 9 on the 5th day of the bright half of Vaiśākha, in the reign of the illustrious Mahendrapāla, at the illustrious Guṇacarita, the pious gift of Sripā (? la) son of the merchant Haridatta.”

The record is incised on the pedestal of an image of Buddha which has been placed inside a modern shrine near Guneriya.

The continued occupation of Eastern Magadha by the Pālas during their struggle with the Gurjjara Pratihāras can now be proved from a number of records :—

1. The Viṣṇupāda inscription of the 7th year of Nārāyaṇapāla.
2. The Bihar inscription of the 9th year of Nārāyaṇapāla. ² This inscription was found among the specimens collected by the late Mr. A. M. Broadley in the subdivision and therefore it proves that Eastern Magadha was in the possession of Nārāyaṇapāla upto the 9th year of his reign.

² *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V, p. 63 ; pl. XXXI.

3. The Bhagalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla of the year 17. This proves that Mudgagiri or Munger was in the possession of Nārāyaṇapāla up to the 17th year of his reign.

4. The Bihar image inscription of the year 54. Though the find spot of this image is uncertain the mention of Uddanḍapura in the record proves that the city was included in the dominions of Nārāyaṇapāla in that year. There is a blank between the years 17 and 54 and in these thirty-seven years the Gurjaras may have temporarily occupied Eastern Magadha. Such occupation could not have been of a permanent nature as Eastern Magadha was in the occupation of Nārāyaṇapāla in his 54th year.

5. No records of the reign of Rājyapāla, son of Nārāyaṇapāla, were known when my monograph on the Pālas was published. Two or three years ago Mr. Puran Chand Nahar, M.A., B.L., Zamindar of Azimganj, Murshidabad, discovered an inscription of Rājyapāla in the Jain temple at Bargaon near Bihar in the Patna District of Bihar and Orissa. Bargaon is the site of the ancient Nālanda. A Jain temple, amidst the ruins, is the oldest temple at that place. Mr. Nahar informs me that there are four stone pillars at this place, all of the same design. The record is incised on one of these pillars. Mr. Nahar has kindly supplied me with four inked impressions of this record from which I edit it. It consists of five lines; the language is incorrect Sanskrit verging on Prākṛit. The object of the inscription is to record the visit (?) of one Vaidanātha (Vaidyanātha), son of Manoratha of the merchant family, to the temple in the month of Mārgga (śirṣa) in the 24th year of the reign of the illustrious Rājapāla (*Rājyapāla*).

Text.

1. *Om Samvat 24 Mārgga dīw.*
2. *Śrī-Rājapāla-deva-rā-*
3. *-je Vanika-kule Manora-*
4. *-tha-sutena Śrī-Vaidanātha¹*
5. *Devathāne paraṇavata²*

Translation.

“ In the year 24, the —day of Mārgga (śirṣa), in the reign of the illustrious Rājapāla (Rājyapāla) the illustrious Vaidanātha (*Vaidyanātha*) son of Manoratha of the merchant family, bows in the temple. ”

This inscription proves that Rājyapāla reigned for at least 24 years and in that year Nālanda, and most probably the whole of South Bihar belonged to him. This is the first inscription of Rājyapāla that has been discovered as yet. Two inscriptions of Gopāla II., the son and successor of Rājyapāla has been discovered; one at Bargaon and the other at Bodh Gayā. These prove that Gopāla II. recovered the whole of Bihār from the Gurjaras. Only one record of Vighrapāla II. has been discovered as yet. It is the colophon of a MS. copied in the 26th year of his reign. But this does not help us in determining the western limit of the Pāla kingdom. Mahipāla I., the son of Vighrapāla II., possessed the whole of Bihār and a series of records prove that Mahipāla I., Nayapāla, Vighrapāla III. and Rāmapāla ruled over Eastern Magadha.

¹ Read *Vaidyanātha*.

² Read *Paraṇavati*. The form *paraṇavati* for *paraṇamati* is to be found in one of the Barābar cave inscriptions where we have: *Ācārya-Śrī-Deśananda paraṇavati Siddheśvarah*.

MISCELLANEA.

THE WEEK-DAYS AND VIKRAMA.

THE late Dr. Fleet argued (*JRAS.*, 1912, p. 1039) that the Jewish calendar of the week-days found its way into India after Europe received it from the Jews, that is, in the third century of the Christian era. If India received the week-days from outside¹ it must have been from Syria direct, not *via* Europe. The evidence is twofold. The *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna* (*Divyāvadāna*) mentions these days (p. 642).² In the 3rd century it was translated into Chinese. Dr. Fleet tries to get over this evidence by saying that the days are not to be found in the Chinese translation. But the natural explanation is that it being rather difficult to express week-days in Chinese, the translator left them out. The other evidence is more ancient. The *Bauddhāyana Dharma-sūtra* (Bühler, II. 5. 9. 9)³ prescribes *turpana* to the week-days or their planets in the same order as we know them here or as Europe learnt centuries after the *Bauddhāyana-Sūtras* from the Semitic world.

The point comes before us in connexion with the *Gāthā-Sapta-Śati*, where one of the day-names occurs.

Even if we knew the week-days in the first century A.D., as is clearly proved by the *Avadāna* referred to, the date of the *Gāthā-Sapta-Śati* need not be lowered from the 1st century A.C., which was the date assigned to it by Sir R. Bhandarkar. My friend Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar's argument in the Bhandarkar Memorial Volume loses its force in

the face of the *Avadāna* and the *Bauddhāyana Dharma-sūtra*.

The *Gāthā-Sapta-Śati* mentions Vikrama (V. 64), a fact which was not known to me when I published my theory in 1913 on the identity of Vikrama with one of the two Sātavāhana kings, either the one who conquered Nahapāna or the one who succeeded him. The theory apparently appealed at the time, as I was fortunate to receive a letter from one of the greatest Indian scholars, Mr. Haraprasād Shāstri, who signified his acceptance of my view. The theory, or rather the mythology about the non-existence of Vikrama circulated by early Indianists in their imperfect knowledge, is fit to be given up.⁴ I might point out that the new Jaina datum (see my article on Kalki)⁵ places the end of Nahapāna (Nahavāna) in 58 B.C. The authority which I had before me in 1913 placed him a few decades earlier. The new material makes the identification doubly strong. Nahapāna was the Śaka of the popular tradition who was taken captive, and whose rule was ended by Vikrama. It is impossible for the Hindu public to have forgotten the great conqueror, the son of Gautamī who destroyed so many oppressors of "dharma." The Jaina book *Vīra-charitra* also connects Vikrama with Śūdraka Sātavāhana.⁶ The Sātavāhana (= Śālavāhana) origin of the Vikrama explains the confusion in the popular tradition, which connects Śālavāhana with Vikrama.

K. P. JAYASWAL.

¹ Apparently she did, as in old literature we have only *paksha*.

² Not only 'some' as supposed by Fleet. All the week-day (*grahas*) names are there.

³ *Rāhu* and *Ketu* were originally separate as in the Ānandāśrama ed. of the *BDhS*. They make up the nine *grahas*. The *Avadāna* also has got *Rāhu* and *Ketu*.

⁴ It has been given up, for Fleet and others do admit that there was a Vikrama, but they say he was a foreigner.

⁵ *Ante*, 1917, April.

⁶ *IS.*, XIV, 97 ff.

THE FĀRŪQĪ DYNASTY OF KHĀNDESH.

BY LT.-COLONEL T. W. HAIG, C.M.G.

[*References to Firishṭa are to the Bombay text of 1830.*]

UNTIL recently our sole authority for the history of this dynasty, which ruled in Khândesh for 225 years, was the industrious but careless and uncritical Firishṭa, but the publication in 1910, by Dr. Denison Ross, of the first volume of *Zafar al-Wāliḥi bi Muẓaffar wa Ālih*, (*An Arabic History of Gujarāt*), placed at our disposal an original historical sketch of the family, on which the *Burhān-i-Ma'âsir*, first brought to notice by Major J. S. King, who published in 1900, under the title of *The History of the Bahmani Dynasty*, an abstract translation of the introductory portion of the work, which had already appeared in *The Indian Antiquary*, also throws some light. The history of the small state of Khândesh which, though surrounded by the three large kingdoms of Gujarāt, Mālwa, and the Dakan contrived to maintain some measure of independence and outlived all its powerful neighbours is not unworthy of study, and a comparison of the authorities now available may enable us to reconstruct it with some degree of accuracy.

Firishṭa,¹ our first authority, attributes the foundation of the state to Malik Rāja, son of Khānjahān Fārūqī, whose forbears, he says, had served 'Alā-al-dīn Khaljī and Muḥammad bin Tughlaq of Dihlī, and who had himself held high office under the latter monarch. (On the death of Khānjahān his son Malik Rāja, as often happens in a country in which nobility is not hereditary, found no means of advancement and was content to serve as a trooper in the bodyguard of Firūz Shāh, the successor of Muḥammad bin Tughlaq, in which humble capacity he still found means to indulge in his favourite pursuit the chase. On one occasion Firūz, during his disastrous retreat from Sind to Gujarāt across the Rann of Kachchh, while hunting wandered far from his camp and was resting, weary and hungry, under a tree when he saw a solitary sportsman with a few hounds. He asked him whether he had any food with him and the hunter produced such coarse food as he usually carried and placed it before the emperor, who, being struck by his host's superior manners and address, asked him who he was, and was astonished to learn that the son of so important an *amīr*, with whom he had been well acquainted, was serving him in so humble a capacity. Firūz, on his return to Dihlī, appointed Malik Rāja to the command of 2,000 horse and conferred on him, for their maintenance, a small fief on the borders of Baglāna, in the district afterwards known as Khândesh. Here a victory over Bahārjī, the Rāhtor rāja of Baglāna, compelled that ruler to acknowledge the suzerainty of Firūz and enabled Malik Rāja to send to Dihlī fifteen elephants. This service was rewarded by promotion to the command of 3,000 horse and by the government of the whole province of Khândesh. Malik Rāja was able, in his remote province, to maintain a force of 12,000 horse and, as the province could not support this force, he augmented his revenue by raids into Gondwāna and the territories of various petty rajas. Towards the end of the reign of Firūz, when the authority of Dihlī grew ever feebler, Malik Rāja anticipated his neighbours in Gujarāt and Mālwa, and in 1382 ceased to remit tribute and began to conduct himself as an independent monarch.

Such is Firishṭa's account of the foundation of the state and the origin of its ruler, but the title of Khānjahān is not to be found in the lists of the *amīrs* of 'Ala-al-dīn Khaljī and Muḥammad bin Tughlaq given by Ziyā-al-dīn Baranī; and 'Abdallāh Muḥammad, author

of the *Zafar-al-Wālih*, gives a different and more probable account. According to him Rāja Ahmad, as he styles the first ruler of *Khândesh*, was the son of *Khvāja Jahān*, minister of 'Alā-al-dīn Bahman Shāh,² the founder of the Bahmanī dynasty of the Dakan. In his history of this dynasty Firishta mentions no *amīr* under this title, and says that Saif-al-dīn Ghūrī was *vazīr* throughout the reign of Bahman, but the *Burhān-i-mā'āsir* describes *Khvāja Jahān* as one 'Ain-al-dīn, an *amīr* in the service of Muḥammad bin Tughlaq, who, with his son Muḥammad, deserted his old master and joined 'Alā-al-dīn Ḥasan. When 'Alā-al-dīn Ḥasan ascended the throne of the Dakan as Bahman Shāh he conferred the title of *Khvāja Jahān* on the father and that of *Shīr Khān* on the son and rewarded the former with the government of Gulbarga, the capital of the new kingdom. This *Khvāja Jahān* is certainly not identical with Saif-al-dīn Ghūrī, who is mentioned by Firishta³ as holding the government of Gulbarga in addition to the post of prime minister, but we may assume that he was an important *amīr* at the court of Bahman Shah and it is probable that he held the Government of the city of Gulbarga while Saif-al-dīn held that of the whole province.

'Abdallāh Muḥammad goes on to say that on the accession of Muḥammad I Bahmanī, in 1358, *Khvāja Jahān* retained the post of *vazīr* until his death, and was succeeded therein by his son Ahmad; not Muḥammad, as in the *Burhān-i-Ma'āsir*. This is further evidence that he was not identical with Saif-al-dīn Ghūrī who, after an interval passed in retirement, was reappointed *vazīr*, and died in harness at the age of 107 on April 21st, 1397, one day after the death of his master Muḥammad II Bahmanī, whom Firishta wrongly styles Maḥmūd. It even seems doubtful whether Ahmad can be identified with Muḥammad, *Khvāja Jahān*'s son, though the two names may be confounded. It is more likely that Ahmad was a younger son of *Khvāja Jahān*, not mentioned in the *Burhān-i-Ma'āsir*. Ahmad, according to Abdullāh Muḥammad, disagreed with Muḥammad I Bahmanī and set out for Daulatābād where was the saint Zain-al-dīn, whom he approached as a disciple. The saint welcomed him as a disciple and said 'Well done Rāja Ahmad!' Rāja meaning Sultān, so that Ahmad took it as a good omen. This account of Ahmad's disaffection and of his interview with the saint Zain-al-dīn of Daulatābād enables us to trace his career. Bahman Shāh had a nephew, Bahrām Khān Māzandarānī, the son of his sister, whom he married to one of his own daughters and always addressed as "son", and whom he appointed to Daulatābād, one of the four great provincial governments of the kingdom. Bahrām resented the accession of his brother-in-law, Muḥammad I, and seems to have expected that he would inherit, on the death of his uncle and father-in-law, at least a share of the kingdom, if not the throne itself, for in 1363, while Fīrūz Shāh of Dihlī was in Gujarāt, to which province he had retreated on the failure of his first expedition into Sind, Bahrām sent a mission to him from Daulatābād,⁴ and invited him to make an attempt to recover the Dakan, promising him his assistance. It was impossible for Fīrūz to abandon his enterprise against Sind, in which was involved the imperial prestige, but the envoys were encouraged to believe that after Sind had been reduced to obedience an expedition to Daulatābād would be undertaken.

In 1365-66 Bahrām Khān, having won over to his cause many of the *amīrs* of the neighbouring province of Berar and secured his financial position by retaining for his own

² This is the correct title of this king, called by Firishta and European authors who follow him Atā-al-dīn Ḥasan Kāngū Bahmanī. See JASB., Vol. LXXIII, part 1, extra No. 1904; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, ii, 385; and *Zafar-al-Wālih*, i, 159.

³ i, 532.

⁴ *Tārīkh Fīrūz Shāhī*, by Shams-i-Siraj 'Afīf', p. 224.

use several years' revenue from Berar as well as from his own province,⁵ rose in rebellion, and at the same time sent another mission⁶ to Fīrūz, who was now at Dihli, whither he had returned after bringing to a successful conclusion his expedition to Sind. This expedition had, however, exhausted his military ardour, and he was loth to undertake a campaign in the south, where the power of the Bahmanids was now firmly established. He therefore replied tauntingly to the envoys that they had been among those who had rebelled against their sovereign, Muḥammad bin Tughlaq, and that if the course of events was not to their liking they had only themselves to blame.

It is clear that Rāja Ahmad was a partisan of Bahram. When he left his king's court he turned towards Daulatabad and sought the saint Zain-al-dīn who, as is evident from Firishṭa's account⁷ of this rebellion, supported Bahram against his cousin and brother-in-law, gave the rebels sanctuary, and behaved towards Muḥammad I, after his success as only one whose personal safety was secured by a superstitious veneration for his sanctity would have ventured to behave. With the progress of the rebellion we have no further concern. The rebels were defeated and banished to Gujarāt, but of Rāja Ahmad we are told that he entered the service of Fīrūz, so that he seems to have been a member of one of the two missions sent to the imperial court, either of that sent to Gujarāt in 1363 or, more probably, of that sent to Dihli in 1365-66. Abdallāh Muḥammad repeats the story of the service rendered to Fīrūz when he was hungry and weary in the hunting-field and says that he asked Rāja Ahmad to choose his reward, and that he asked for and received a grant of the village of Thalner, known as Karvand. Abdullāh Muḥammad gives no further details of his history, beyond saying that he established his independence in 1382, and Firishṭa's brief record of his progress until this year may be accepted as correct.

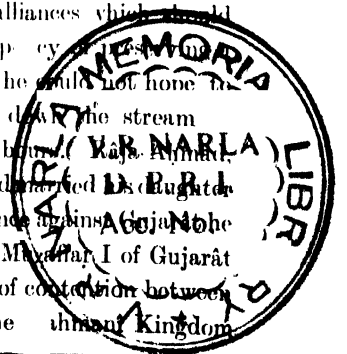
Rāja Ahmad perhaps chose Thalner as an obscure corner whence he might safely harass his enemies, the Bahmanids, secure of assistance, in the last resort, from the Imperial power of Dihli; but that power began to decline from the day of his investiture with his small fief, and the senile incompetence of Fīrūz and the disorders due to the wrangles and feebleness of his successors were but the prelude to the final crash, the invasion of India by Taimūr, which dissolved the frail bonds which bound together the provinces, until the Sayyids, who succeeded the Tughlaq dynasty, could call little but the city of Dihli their own.

The example of Rāja Ahmad in Khandesh was soon followed by his more powerful neighbours, Dilāvar Khan Ghūri in Mālwa and Muzaḥḥar I in Gujarāt, and Ahmad, instead of raiding the powerful kingdom of the Dakan, was forced to seek alliances which would enable him to maintain a measure of independence, for though the policy of the balance of power might protect his small state from utter extinction he could not hope to preserve his importance if he allowed the bark of his policy to drift down the stream of events with no other guidance than the fluctuating policy of his neighbours. Rāja Ahmad, or Malik Rāja as he is styled by Firishṭa, first turned towards Mālwa, and entered his daughter to Hūshang, son and eventually successor of Dilāvar Khān, whose assistance against Gujarat he thus purchased. With Dilāvar's assistance he expelled the officers of Muzaḥḥar I of Gujarāt from the town and district of Nandurbār, which were long a bone of contention between Gujarāt and Khandesh just as were the Dūāb of Raichūr between the Bahmani Kingdom

⁵ Firishṭa, i, 557.

⁶ Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī, by Shams-i-Sirāj 'Affī, p. 261.

⁷ Firishṭa, i, 560.



and Vijayanagar and, at a later date, Sholâpûr between Bijâpûr and Ahmadnagar and Pâthri between Ahmadnagar and Berar. Râja Ahmad probably believed that he could commit this act of aggression with impunity, for Muẓaffar was then engaged in warfare, but he would not submit tamely to this insult and, suspending his operations against the Hindûs, marched at once to Nandurbâr, expelled Râja Ahmad, and besieged him in his own capital of Thalner. Muẓaffar, however, had yet to establish his authority in his own kingdom, where the continuance of his rule was threatened by turbulent Râjputs, and asked but to live in peace with his Muḥammadan neighbours, so that Ahmad found no difficulty in obtaining terms and Muẓaffar withdrew after obtaining from Ahmad satisfactory assurances that the district of Nandurbâr would not again be molested.

Râja Ahmad died on April 29, 1399, and was buried at Thalner. The distinctive epithet of Fârûqî applied to his dynasty is derived from his claim to descent from 'Umar, the second orthodox *Khalîfah* of the Muslims, who was entitled *al-Fârûq*, 'the Discriminator (between truth and error).' Ahmad's descent from 'Umar is thus given by Firishta :—Malik Râja (Ahmad), son of Khânjahân (Khvâja Jahân), son of 'Alî Khân, son of 'Uthmân Khân, son of Sham'un, son of Ash'ath Shâh, son of Sikandar Shâh, son of Talhah Shâh, son of Dâniyâl Shâh, son of Ash'ath Shâh, son of Urmiyâ Shâh, son of Ibrâhîm Shâh Balkhî, son of Adham Shâh, son of Maḥmûd Shâh, son of Ahmad Shâh, son of Muḥammad Shâh, son of Aẓam Shâh, son of Asghar, son of Muḥammad Ahmad, son of Muḥammad, son of 'Abdallâh, son of 'Umar the Discriminator.

Râja Ahmad left two sons Naṣîr (not Nâṣîr, as he is called in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*) entitled Jahângîr Khân, who succeeded him, and Ḥasan, entitled Malik Iftikḥâr. According to Firishta Râja Ahmad had intended to divide his small dominions permanently between his two sons, leaving Naṣîr ruler of the greater part of the state, but establishing Ḥasan as permanent and independent governor of the town and district of Thalner. Naṣîr established his authority throughout the eastern districts of Khândesh, which appear to have been neglected by his father, captured the hill fortress of Asîrgarh by stratagem from the pastoral chieftain called by Firishta Âsâ Ahîr, from whom it took its name, and by the command of Zain-al-dîn, the spiritual guide of his family, who came from Daulatâbâd to visit him, founded the city of Burhânpûr which, in accordance with Zain-al-dîn's injunction, he named after the great saint Burhân-al-dîn, who is buried in the hills above Daulatâbâd. On the southern bank of the Tâptî, which Zain-al-dîn refused to cross, Naṣîr founded, on the spot where the saint lodged, a mosque and a village, which he named Zainâbâd.

Having thus established himself in eastern Khândesh Naṣîr resolved, by expelling his brother Ḥasan from Thalner, to extend his authority over the whole state, and to this end sought aid of his brother-in-law, Hûshang Shâh, who had succeeded his father on the throne of Mâlwa. Hûshang sent his son Ghaznî Khân to the assistance of Naṣîr, and in 1417 Thalner was captured and Ḥasan was imprisoned by his brother. Ḥasan had sought aid of Ahmad I of Gujarât, but assistance had not reached him in time and Naṣîr, partly with the object of forestalling the interference of Gujarât in the domestic affairs of Khândesh and partly, doubtless, with that of repairing his father's discomfiture, attacked Nandurbâr. On the arrival of reinforcements sent by Ahmad of Gujarât Naṣîr fled to Thalner and Ghaznî Khân to Mândû, and Malik Maḥmûd, an *amîr* of Gujarât, besieged Naṣîr in Thalner

and the latter was obliged to purchase peace by paying tribute and swearing fealty to Ahmad Shâh, and in return received from him the title of Khân and some of the insignia of royalty. It was also agreed that Hasan, Naşîr's brother, should remain at Ahmad's court as his brother's representative, or, in other words, as a hostage. Hasan seems to have been by no means loth to assent to this arrangement, and made his home in Gujarât, where he was safer than if he had remained within his brother's reach.

From this treaty we may date the estrangement between Khândesh and Mâlwa, for Naşîr undoubtedly resented Glazni Khân's pusillanimous desertion of him, which had left him no choice but to humble himself before Ahmad of Gujarât. The residence of Hasan of Khândesh in Gujarât sowed the seed of a close alliance between the two states, as will be seen hereafter, but Naşîr was not prepared at once to throw himself into the arms of Ahmad Shâh of Gujarât, and was soon enabled to form another alliance. The old animosity against the Bahmanids had by now been forgotten, and in 1429 Ahmad Shâh Bahmanî, who had recently been at war with Hûshang Shâh of Mâlwa and, although he had inflicted a crushing defeat upon him, desired still further to weaken his adversary and to extend his own influence in the state on the northern border of his kingdom, proposed to Naşîr an alliance between his eldest son, 'Alâ-*al*-dîn Ahmad, and Naşîr's daughter, Âghâ Zainab. The alliance suited both parties, for it provided Naşîr with a powerful ally both against Ahmad of Gujarât, by whom he had recently been humiliated and against Hûshang of Mâlwa, from whom he was estranged, and Ahmad Shâh Bahmanî with a useful ally against Hûshang.

The alliance was almost immediately tested. In the following year Kanha, Râja of Jhâllâwâr, fled from the wrath of Ahmad of Gujarât and attempted to purchase the protection of Naşîr Khân by the gift of some elephants, but was told that the ruler of Khândesh could not venture to face alone the wrath of the Sultân of Gujarât. Naşîr Khân furnished him, however, with a letter of recommendation to Ahmad Shâh Bahmanî, who sent a force to his aid, and the troops of the Dakan and Khândesh attacked, nominally in the interest of the fugitive râja, Nandurbâr, the frontier district of Gujarât. They suffered a defeat, and a stronger force sent by Ahmad Bahmanî under the command of his son, 'Alâ-*al*-dîn Ahmad, the son-in-law of Naşîr Khân, had no better fortune. The Dakanis withdrew to their own country, leaving Khândesh at the mercy of the justly incensed Gujarâtis, who overran it and forced Naşîr Khân to take refuge in the hill country until their thirst for plunder and revenge was sated, when he returned to Burhânpûr.

The match between 'Alâ-*al*-dîn Ahmad and Âghâ Zainab was not happy. 'Alâ-*al*-dîn Ahmad, who succeeded his father on the throne of the Dakan on Feb. 27, 1435, led an expedition two years later into the Konkan and, having defeated the Râja of Sangameshwar and reduced him to the condition of a vassal, married his beautiful daughter, who received the name of Zibâ Chihra ('beautiful face'). Âghâ Zainab who, as the principal queen, had the title of Malika-yi Jahân, was slighted for the younger and more beautiful Hindu princess, and in her jealous wrath wrote to her father, Naşîr Khân, complaining of her husband's neglect. Naşîr Khân, after obtaining the consent of Ahmad Shâh of Gujarât, the necessity for which indicates the change in the relations between the two states, avenged his daughter's wrongs by invading Berar, where many of the *amirs* welcomed him owing to his descent from 'Umar, and caused the *Khutbah* to be recited in his name. 'Abd-al-Qâdir Khânjahân, the loyal governor of Berar, shut himself up in Narnâla and appealed for assistance to his king, 'Alâ-*al*-dîn Ahmad. A force of the best troops of the Dakan under the

command of Khalaf Hasan Baṣrī, Malik-al-Tujjār, was sent into Berar and found Naṣīr Khān awaiting it at Rohankhed. Naṣīr Khān was utterly defeated and fled to his hill fortress of Laling, whither Malik-al-Tujjār followed him, after burning and destroying all the public buildings in Burhānpūr and laying waste the fertile plains of Khāndesh. An attempt to surprise Laling failed but Naṣīr Khān, who attacked the Dakanis with 12,000 horse and a large force of foot, suffered a second severe defeat, which so preyed upon his mind that it is said to have contributed to his death, which occurred on Sept. 20. or, according to another account, Oct. 1, 1437. He was succeeded by his son, 'Ādil Khān I. after whose accession Malik-al-Tujjār, hearing that a force was advancing from Nandurbār to relieve Laling, retired to the Dakan with his plunder, which included seventy elephants and many guns.

'Ādil Khān reigned without incident until 1441, when he died, either on April 30 or on May 4, and was succeeded by his son Mubārak Khān, who likewise reigned without incident until his death on June 5, 1457, when he was succeeded by his son Malik 'Ainā, who assumed the title of 'Ādil Khān II.

'Ādil Khān II was one of the most energetic and most powerful rulers of Khāndesh. He established his authority over the rājās whose territory was included in or marched with his own, including the rājās of Gondwāna, and compelled them to pay him tribute, he suppressed the depredations of the Kolis and Bhils thus making the roads throughout his dominions safe for travellers, he strengthened and extended the defences of Asīrgarh, he fortified Burhānpūr by building a citadel on the Tāptī, and he carried his arms as far as Jhārkhand, now known as Chhūtiya Nāgpūr, from which exploit he was known as Jhārkhandī Sultān. The author of the *Zafar-al-Wāliḥ* evidently did not understand this title for he erroneously attributes one bearing a slight resemblance to it to Mubārak Khān, 'Ādil Khān's father and predecessor, who, he says, was known as *Chaukanda*, a word without meaning but bearing some resemblance to a Hindī word meaning "square," the applicability of which is not clear. Firishta's account of the origin and application of the nickname is undoubtedly correct.

The alliance with Mālwa had terminated with Ghazni Khān's desertion of Naṣīr Khān in 1417, that with the Dakan had ended in disaster and humiliation, and since Malik-al-Tujjār's invasion of Khāndesh the Fārûqis had learnt to regard the king of Gujarāt as their natural protector, had recognized his suzerainty, paid him tribute, and maintained an agent at his court. 'Ādil Khān II, flushed with his successes over Hindūs and aborigines, believed that the time had come when he could stand alone, and failed to remit tribute to Gujarāt and to appoint an agent to represent him there. Maḥmūd Baikarah, who had succeeded to the throne of Gujarāt in 1458, accordingly sent an army to reduce him to obedience and 'Ādil Khān, who was forced to seek refuge in Asīrgarh, obtained peace on the payment of all arrears of tribute and henceforward remained obedient to Maḥmūd of Gujarāt. The author of the *Zafar-al-Wāliḥ* says that this invasion of Khāndesh occurred in 1459-60, but from what we know of the history of Gujarāt Maḥmūd can hardly have had leisure to invade Khāndesh in that year and it is far more probable that 'Ādil Khān II. ventured to defy Gujarāt towards the end of his reign, when his successes had increased his power and inspired him with confidence, than at its beginning when he had no reason to believe that he could throw off his allegiance. Moreover from an event which occurred during his visit to Maḥmūd Shāh, his designation of a distant relative as his heir, he being then childless, it is probable that he was then advanced in years, for had he been a young man with a prospect of begetting

children he would not have been likely to imperil the rights of a son who might be born to him by naming a distant relative as his heir. It appears therefore that 1499-1500, the date given by Firishta⁹ for the invasion of Khândesh by Maḥmūd Baikarah, is correct. After his reconciliation with his suzerain 'Ādil Khân visited Gujarât and was kindly received, and the author of the *Zafar-al-Wālih* says that he associated much with Maḥmūd Baikarah and was on most intimate terms with him. He was childless and the heir-presumptive to the throne of Khândesh was his younger brother, Dâ'ūd Khân, a feeble and worthless prince. There was at the court of Maḥmūd Baikarah a child, 'Ālam Khân, who was directly descended in the male line from Ḥasan Khân, Malik Iftikhâr, the younger brother of Naṣir Khân who, after having been captured and imprisoned by his brother, had been sent to Gujarât, where he and his descendants had lived ever since, the objects of the special favour of the kings of that country. Ḥasan Khân married a relation, probably a sister, of his benefactor, Ahmad I of Gujarât and left a son, Ghazni Khân, who married Ahmad Shâh's daughter and left by her a son, Qaiṣar Khân, who married the daughter of the Sultan of Sind and left a son, Aḥsan Khân, who was married by Maḥmūd Baikarah to his daughter, the sister of Muzaḥfar II of Gujarât, and left a son, 'Ālam Khân, who was related to 'Ādil Khân II no more nearly than in the ninth degree, but was regarded almost as a member of the royal house of Gujarât. Firishta,¹⁰ in his heading to the reign of 'Ālam Khân, who eventually succeeded under the title of 'Ādil Khân III, makes him a son of Naṣir Khân, but this is absurd, for he was certainly a child about 1500 and Naṣir had died in 1437. If we supported 'Ālam Khân to be a posthumous son of Naṣir he would have been seventy-one years of age at the time of his accession in 1509, when he was certainly a young man. Moreover Firishta contradicts himself,¹¹ by correctly describing 'Ālam Khân as daughter's son to Maḥmūd Baikarah of Gujarât, who was fourteen years of age in 1458, so it is obvious that he cannot have been a son of Naṣir Khân.

One day towards the end of his reign 'Ādil Khân II, who was visiting Maḥmūd Baikarah, was sitting with him in the hall of the palace at Châmpânir, when the conversation turned on 'Ālam Khân, who was then in the room. Maḥmūd evidently wished that he should be well provided for, and 'Ādil Khân embraced and fondled the engaging child and at length promised Maḥmūd that he should succeed him on the throne of Khândesh.

Shortly after adopting his young cousin as his heir 'Ādil Khân II, died. Regarding the date of his death there are some discrepancies. Firishta gives it,¹² as Rabi-al-awwal 14, 897 (Jan. 15, 1492) but this date, which differs by more than ten years from that given by any other authority, may be at once discarded, for Firishta himself contradicts it twice, first in stating that 'Ādil Khân II, having succeeded on Rajab 12, 861,¹³ reigned for forty-six years, eight months, and twelve days,¹⁴ which period brings the date of his death to Rabi-al-awwal 24, 908 (Sep. 27, 1502), and secondly in stating that 'Ādil Khân's successor, Dâ'ūd Khân, died on Jamâdi-al-awwal 1, 914, after a reign of eight years, one month, and ten days, according to which statement the date of 'Ādil Khân's death would be Rabi-al-awwal 20, 906 (Oct. 14, 1500). The author of the *Zafar-al-Wālih*,¹⁵ gives the date as Rabi-al-awwal 15, 907 (Sep. 28, 1501) which divides almost equally the period between the two dates found by calculation from Firishta's statements regarding the duration of the two reigns and may be accepted as correct. Mr. Stanley Lane Poole, in his *Mohammadan Dynasties*,¹⁶ gives the date of 'Ādil Khân's death and Dâ'ūd's accession as 1503, for which

⁹ ii, 401¹⁰ ii, 552, 553.¹¹ ii, 552.¹² ii, 351.¹³ ii, 550.¹⁴ ii, 551.¹⁵ i, 54.¹⁶ p. 315.

his authority seems to be the *Useful Tables*,¹⁷ published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, but what the authority for those tables is I do not know. The *Muntakhab-al-Lubâb*, a work which, so far as its account of the dynasties of the Dakan goes, is admittedly a mere epitome of Firishta, gives the date as Sep. 27, 1501, so that it is clear that the date given in the Bombay text of Firishta is a misreading.

According to the *Burhân-i-Ma'âsir*, a most untrustworthy authority for the reigns of the earlier Nizâm Shâhî kings of Ahmadnagar, 'Âdil Khân II, who is described as 'Âdil Shâh, was succeeded on the throne of Khândesh, in accordance with his will, by his son "Maḥmūd Shâh Fârûqî," whose presumption in styling himself Shâh aroused the wrath of Maḥmūd Baikarah of Gujarât. A long and confused account of the invasion of Khândesh by Maḥmūd, of Ahmad Nizâm Shâh's expedition to assist "Maḥmūd Fârûqî," and of the defeat and discomfiture of Maḥmūd Baikarah follows. Another version of this story is given by Firishta in the only passage in which he quotes¹⁸ the *Burhân-i-Ma'âsir*, called by him the "*Waqâ'i-i-Nizâmshâhiyyah* which Sayyid 'Alî Samnânî was writing in the reign of Burhân Nizâm Shâh II, and which he never lived to finish," but in this version Maḥmūd Baikarah is represented as coming to attack and Ahmad Nizâm Shâh to support 'Âdil Klân II, and the mythical "Maḥmūd Shâh Fârûqî" is not mentioned. Firishta discredits the story, as well he may. Not only has Sayyid 'Alî been obliged to juggle with the chronology of the Fârûqî dynasty, but he has invented a Fârûqî ruler who never ascended the throne and fathered a son on the childless 'Âdil Klân. The motive for the invention of the story was doubtless a desire to conceal the discomfiture of Ahmad Nizâm Shâh, who was at this time attempting to wrest the fortress of Daulatâbâd from the brothers Sharaf-al-dîn and Wajih-al-dîn and beat a hasty and undignified retreat on hearing that Maḥmūd Baikarah was marching through Khândesh to the relief of the fortress.

On the death of 'Âdil Klân II, Maḥmūd Baikarah took no steps to obtain the throne for his *protégé* 'Âlam Khân, the adopted heir, and 'Âdil Khân's brother Dâ'ūd Klân would have succeeded peacefully had not a strong party among the *amîrs* of Khândesh been bitterly opposed to him and proclaimed instead of him his infant son Ghaznî Klân; but Ghaznî Khân's party was overcome and Dâ'ūd Klân retained the throne.

It is almost impossible to follow the events of Dâ'ūd's brief but troubled reign. According to Firishta Dâ'ūd entertained the design of annexing part of the Nizâm Shâhî dominions and to this end committed some acts of aggression. It seems impossible that so feeble a monarch should wantonly have provoked so powerful a neighbour, but there is no doubt that Ahmad Nizâm Shâh invaded Khândesh in this reign, though according to the *Burhân-i-Ma'âsir* it was not until after Dâ'ūd's death that he attempted to enthrone in Burhânpur a pretender, 'Âlam Khân Fârûqî, not to be confounded with the *protégé* of Maḥmūd Baikarah, who bore the same name. The silence of the author of the *Burhân-i-Ma'âsir* is easily

¹⁷ *Âin-i-Akbarî*, Colonel Jarrett's translation, ii, 227, n. 2.

¹⁸ ii, 189. Major J. S. King, in his preface to *The History of the Bahmanî Dynasty*, says, "Though the two authors (Firishta and the author of the *Burhân-i-Ma'âsir*) were contemporaries and probably met one another in Ahmadnagar neither makes any mention of the other," and adds, in a note referring to Firishta, "he never mentions the *Burhân-i-Ma'âsir* unless he alludes to it under some other title. Professional jealousy probably accounts for this. But the work quoted by Firishta as the *Waqâ'i-i-Nizâmshâhiyyah* is undoubtedly the *Burhân-i-Ma'âsir*, Major King is, however, quite right in saying that Firishta does not mention the *Burhân-i-Ma'âsir* in the long list of authorities cited at the beginning of his history.

explained; for Ahmad's invasion of Khandesh brought him no glory and he was ignominiously expelled from the country. From a comparison of the *Zafar-al-Wāliḥ* with Firishta it appears that Hisām-al-dīn, an *amir* of Khandesh who was one of Dā'ūd Khān's principal opponents, invited Ahmad Niām Shāh to aid him in overthrowing Dā'ūd. Ahmad invaded the country, bringing his *protégé*, 'Alam Khān, with him, and laid it waste. Dā'ūd, who probably dared not appeal to Mahmūd Baikarah of Gujarāt, lest he should bring another pretender into the land, applied for aid to Na'ir-al-dīn Shāh of Mālwa who, in 1504, sent a force under Iqbal Khān, one of his *amirs*, to aid him. Iqbal Khān expelled Ahmad Niām Shāh, but before leaving the country insisted that the *Khubāḥ* should be recited in Burhānpūr in the name of his master, Na'ir-al-dīn Shāh, with which humiliating demand Dā'ūd was forced to comply. 'Alam Khān had fled with his protector, Ahmad Niām Shāh, and for the remaining four years of his life Dā'ūd Khān reigned in peace, dying on Aug. 28, 1508.

After the death of Dā'ūd his son Ghaznī Khān was, according to Firishta, raised to the throne by Malik Hisām-al-dīn and the other *amirs*, but was poisoned by them after ten days. According to the *Zafar-al-Wāliḥ* Ghaznī Khān had been poisoned during the lifetime of his father, but the discrepancy is of little consequence, for Ghaznī Khān never actually reigned and almost immediately after the death of Dā'ūd Ahmad Niām Shāh reappeared in Khandesh with his *protégé*, 'Alam Khān.

The descent of this 'Alam Khān is not precisely known, but there is nowhere a hint that he was an impostor. According to Firishta he was "of the offspring of the Fāruqī Sultans"; the *Zafar-al-Wāliḥ* calls him "a relation of Dā'ūd"; and the author of the *Burhan-i-Ma'asir* says that he was "of the stock of the rulers of Asir." It is probable that he was far nearer in blood to Dā'ūd than was the other 'Alam Khān, who was protected by Mahmūd Baikarah. It will be convenient to distinguish the two pretenders as 'Alam Khān of Gujarāt and 'Alam Khān of Ahmadnagar.

'Alam Khān of Gujarāt now thought that it was time to assert his claim to the throne of Khandesh and his mother applied to her father, Mahmūd Baikarah, for assistance, which was readily given. In November or December, 1503, only three or four months after the death of Dā'ūd Khān, Mahmūd Baikarah set out from Chāmpānūr for Thalner, then held for Ahmad's *protégé*, styling himself 'Ālam Shāh.

The position in Khandesh was now as follows:--'Alam Khān of Ahmadnagar and Malik Hisām-al-dīn the Mughul, the leader of the Ahmadnagar party in Khandesh, were at Burhānpūr, where they were joined by Ahmad Niām Shāh of Ahmadnagar and 'Alā-al-dīn 'Imād Shāh of Berar, whom Hisām-al-dīn had summoned to his aid; Malik Lādan, the leader of the Gujarāt party in Khandesh, had shut himself up in Asīgarh, where he was besieged by the partisans of 'Alam Khān of Ahmadnagar; and Mahmūd Shāh Baikarah and his *protégé*, 'Alam Khān of Gujarāt, were advancing on Thalner. Thalner surrendered, and on hearing of its fall Ahmad Niām Shāh and 'Alā-al-dīn 'Imād Shāh fled for refuge to Gāwīlgaḥ, leaving 4,000 troops in Burhānpūr to support their candidate for the throne. Mahmūd then sent two of his *amirs*, Sayyid Āḥaf Khān and 'Aziz-al-Mulk against Hisām-al-dīn and 'Alam Khān of Ahmadnagar, and the troops of Ahmadnagar and Berar fled from Burhānpūr so that Hisām-al-dīn was obliged to provide for his own safety by sending the pretender off to the Dakan and making his submission to Mahmūd Baikarah. Malik Lādan had forestalled him, and there was now no obstacle in the path of 'Alam Khān of Gujarāt to the throne. On April 1, 1509, Mahmūd Baikarah held a court at Thalner and installed his *protégé* 'Alam Khān, who now took the title of 'Adil Khān III, as ruler of Khandesh, continuing on him;

as though he had been a mere officer of Gujarât, the title of A'zam-i-Humâyûn. Malik Lâdan received the title of Khânjahân and Malik Hisâm-al-dîn that of Shahryâr and Maḥmûd, after giving his nephew four elephants and 300,000 *tangas*, returned to Gujarât.

In the meantime Ahmad Nizâm Shâh had returned to the frontier of his own kingdom and ventured to send a letter to Maḥmûd Baikarah requesting him to grant to 'Ālam Khân, who had taken refuge at the court of Ahmadnagar, some small share in the dominions of his forefathers. To the letter, which Ahmad, who had revolted from his master, Maḥmûd Shâh Bahmani, had imprudently addressed as from one king to another, no written reply was vouchsafed, but the envoy who bore it had to endure an unpleasant interview with Maḥmûd, who wrathfully asked how one who was a rebellious slave had dared to address him as one king writing to another, instead of embodying his requests in the form of a humble petition, and closed his homily with a threat that such insolence, if repeated, would not go unpunished.

'Ādil Khân III, now established on the throne of Khândesh, still further cemented his alliance with Gujarât by marrying a daughter of Sultân Muẓaffar, who afterwards succeeded to the throne of Gujarât as Muẓaffar II. One of his first acts was to cause Malik Hisâm-al-dîn Shahryâr, who was again plotting with Ahmad Nizâm Shâh, to be assassinated. The dispatch of a large force from Gujarât averted a danger which threatened the state from the direction of Ahmadnagar, and the reign of 'Ādil Khân III. was not marked by any noteworthy event until his death, on Aug. 25, 1520, when he was succeeded by his son, Muḥammad I., who is generally known as Muhammad Shâh, from his having been summoned to the throne of Gujarât, which he never lived to occupy.

The history of Muhammad Shâh's reign is to a great extent that of Bahâdur Shâh of Gujarât, with whom he always acted in concert and by whom he was designated heir to the kingdom of Gujarât. In 1527 a quarrel arose between Burhân Nizâm Shâh I of Ahmadnagar and 'Alâ-al-dîn 'Imâd Shâh of Berar, which was composed for a time by Bahâdur Shâh of Gujarât, who took the king of Berar under his protection. In the following year Burhân and Amîr Barîd of Bidar invaded Berar, and Muḥammad Shâh, who regarded 'Alâ-al-dîn 'Imâd Shâh as a *protégé* of his uncle, Bahâdur Shâh, at once responded to his appeal for help and marched to his assistance. Burhân I and Amîr Barîd severely defeated 'Alâ-al-dîn and Muḥammad Shâh in the neighbourhood of Mâhûr and Muhammad fled to Asîrghâh, leaving all his artillery and elephants in the hands of the victors, and at once appealed to Bahâdur Shâh for assistance. Bahâdur Shâh, Muḥammad Shâh, and 'Alâ-al-dîn 'Imâd Shâh then marched to Ahmadnagar and Burhân I fled to the protection of his fortress capital, Daulatâbâd; but Bahâdur's intervention in a quarrel which was regarded as a purely domestic affair in the Dakan and his announcement that he had annexed Berar aroused the resentment and apprehensions of the other kings of the Dakan, and Ismâ'il 'Ādil Shâh of Bijâpûr and Sultân Qulî Quṭb Shâh of Golconda, as well as Amîr Barîd of Bidar, sent contingents to the aid of Burhân, whereupon Bahâdur, fearing lest his communications with his own country should be endangered by the rainy season, which was approaching, hastened to make peace. It was agreed that the fortress and district of Mâhûr should be restored to Alâ-al-dîn 'Imâd Shâh and that Burhân should return to Muhammad Shâh the elephants, guns, and other booty which he had taken from him the year before. Bahâdur's nephew was, of course, indemnified at once, and he and his uncle returned to their kingdoms, but Bahâdur considered that he had already done sufficient for Berar and failed to enforce the stipulation regarding the restoration of Mâhûr. The kings of the Dakan, who bitterly

resented 'Alâ-*al*-*din*'s appeal to the powerful king of Gujarât, were in no mood to see his wrongs righted, and Mâhûr remained in the possession of Burhân.

This companionship in arms increased the intimacy between Bahâdur and Muḥammad and Bahâdur not only permitted his sister's son, whose ancestors had been content with the title of *Khân*, to assume the royal title, but was accustomed to give him a seat beside him on his throne, and it was probably now that he openly acknowledged him as heir-presumptive to the throne of Gujarât.

In 1530 Bahâdur again visited Burhânpûr and seemed inclined, in response to an appeal from the King of Berar, to attack Aḥmadnagar once more, but Muḥammad, who had nothing to gain from a strife which would convert Aḥmadnagar into a permanent enemy of *Khândesh*, came forward as peacemaker, and his counsels prevailed. Early in 1531 Muḥammad accompanied Bahâdur on his expedition into Mâlwa, in which he captured Mândû on March 28, 1531, and subsequently, after reducing to obedience the Râjpûts who had acquired power in that country, in which operation he was much assisted by Muḥammad, annexed Mâlwa to Gujarât.

In 1534-35 Muḥammad assisted Bahâdur in his siege of Chitor, which ended in the capture of that fortress, and in the same year accompanied him in his flight from Humâyûn's army at Mandasor to Mândû. Bahâdur fled from Mândû to Châmpânîr, whither he was pursued by Humâyûn, and thence to Kâthiâwâḍ. Humâyûn's expedition into Mâlwa and Gujarât had much alarmed the kings of the Dakan, who were convinced that he intended at once to recover the Southern Kingdoms for Dihli, and Burhân I. of Aḥmadnagar, Ibrâhîm 'Adil Shâh I. of Bijâpûr, Sulṭân Qulî Quṭb Shâh of Golconda, and Daryâ 'Imâd Shâh of Berar formed an alliance against him, but their apprehensions were premature, for Humâyûn, who was harassed by the activity of Bahâdur's *amîrs* and disturbed by news of the progress made by the already formidable Shîr Shâh, was unable to maintain his position in Gujarât and retired to Mândû and thence, on Bahâdur Shâh's return from Diû to Châmpânîr, to Dihli.

Humâyûn, on retiring to Dihli, left some of his *amîrs* in Mâlwa to retain possession of the province, and Muḥammad Shâh of *Khândesh* was engaged, under the orders of Bahâdur Shâh, in expelling these intruders, when he received news that Bahâdur had been drowned on Feb. 13, 1537, at Diû, whither he had gone to treat with the Portuguese under Nuno da Cunha, and that the affairs of Gujarât were in great confusion owing to the return of the Mughul, Muḥammad Zamân Mirzâ, from Hindûstân and the Panjâb. Muḥammad Shâh was summoned by the *amîrs*, in accordance with his uncle's will, to ascend the throne of Gujarât, but before he could reach Châmpânîr he died, on May 4, 1537, and was buried in Burhânpûr.

On the death of Muḥammad Shâh an attempt was made to raise to the throne his young son Aḥmad, but the majority of the *amîrs* supported the cause of Muḥammad's brother Mubârak. Aḥmad died, or was probably put to death, and Mubârak ascended the throne, using the royal title which, in the case of Muḥammad, had been recognized by Bahâdur Shâh of Gujarât. The death of Muḥammad Shâh had left the throne of Gujarât vacant, and the *amîrs* of that country were obliged to seek their king in *Khândesh*, where Bahâdur, in order to secure an undisputed succession in Gujarât for his nephew, Muḥammad Shâh of

Khândesh, had imprisoned his younger brother, Latîf Khân. Latîf Khân was now dead, but had left a son, Maḥmūd, and a deputation from Gujarât, headed by the *amir* Ikhtiyâr Khân, waited on Mubârak Shâh and demanded the surrender of Maḥmūd. The demand was a disappointment to Mubârak, who had hoped that the choice of the *amirs* of Gujarât would fall on him, and he demurred to surrendering Maḥmūd but, on the *amirs* of Gujarât assembling their forces and assuming a threatening attitude, delivered him to Ikhtiyâr Khân, who carried him off to Gujarât and there enthroned him as Maḥmūd III. The history of Gujarât during the early part of Maḥmūd's reign is the history of contests between the leading *amirs* of the kingdom for the possession of the king's person and the regency which such possession involved and two *amirs* entitled 'Imâd-al-Mulk and Daryâ Khân, having slain Ikhtiyâr Khân, quarrelled with one another. 'Imâd-al-Mulk was worsted by his confederate in the contest for the possession of the young king and fled to Khândesh, where he took refuge with Mubârak Shâh. Daryâ Khân and Maḥmūd III pursued him and were met by Mubârak at Dânkri. Mubârak was defeated but the Gujarâtis refrained from following up their success and 'Imâd-al-Mulk fled to Mândû and took refuge with Qâdir Khân, one of the old *amirs* of the Khalji kings of Mâlwa who, on the expulsion and retirement of Humâyûn's officers from Mâlwa, had assumed the government of the country and entitled himself Qâdir Shâh. According to Firishta,¹⁹ Maḥmūd now, in fulfilment of a promise which he had made to Mubârak when they were fellow-prisoners in Asirgarh during the life-time of Bahâdur and Muḥammad, surrendered to Khândesh the town and district of Nandurbâr.

It was in Mubârak's reign that the army of Khândesh first measured swords with the troops of Akbar, and defeated them. In 1561 an imperial army under the command of Adham Khân, Akbar's foster-brother, conquered Mâlwa and expelled Bâz Bahâdur, the son and successor of Shujâ'at Khân, Shîr Shâh's viceroy of that province, who had assumed independence as the power of the short-lived Sûr dynasty of Dihlî declined. Bâz Bahâdur took refuge in Burhânpûr, and was followed thither in 1562 by the brutal Pîr Muḥammad Khân, Akbar's governor of Mâlwa, who committed the most terrible atrocities in Khândesh, plundering and laying waste the country and slaughtering its inhabitants without regard to age or sex. He captured Burhânpûr and ordered a general massacre of its inhabitants in which many pious and learned men perished. Mubârak and Bâz Bahâdur shut themselves up in Asirgarh and Tufâl Khân, who had usurped the government of Berar and imprisoned Daryâ Shâh, the last of the 'Imâd Shâhî dynasty, came to their assistance. The allies marched to attack Pîr Muḥammad who, anxious to save the plunder which he had collected, retired before them without fighting. On reaching the Narbada Pîr Muḥammad and his officers were attacked and defeated by their pursuers and fled in confusion across the river, in which Pîr Muḥammad was drowned. All historians agree in regarding his fate as God's judgment on the atrocities which he had committed in Mâlwa and, above all, in Khândesh. As Budâonî says, "the sighs of orphans, the weak, and the captives did their work with him." As a result of the defeat of Pîr Muḥammad Bâz Bahâdur temporarily regained possession of Mândû.

(To be continued)

VIVEKAPATRAMALA.

BY T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A.; TRIVANDRUM

(Continued from p. 100)

॥ श्री : ॥

॥ विवेकपत्रमाला^१ ॥

जयन्ति जगत्सितलं कवयतां प्रवाचां पुरो
 बलन्ति वसुधावलारिहृदये त एते बुधाः ।
 वसन्ति विदुषां शिरोनटनङ्गकं ये परं
 ह्यवापुरनपायतो विमलखण्डनं डिण्डिमम् ॥
 मूलाण्डवास्तव्यमहाजनानां कालान्तरेपि स्वकुलावगत्यै ।
 वेलां कुलाब्धेः सुविचक्रपत्रमालां सुहृत्कण्ठगतां सृजामि ॥
 अस्ति मन्दारकं नाम वृन्दारकपुरोपमम् ।
 मन्दाकिनीजलह्लेदमन्दादित्यं महापुरम् ॥
 सोमनाथमखिसोमपीथिनः सोमशेखरपदाब्जसेवकाः ।
 ऊपुरत्र बहुशास्त्रवल्गुकाः संप्रशयकुशलाश्विराय ते ॥
 चोलम्य राज्ञः किल काञ्चिमण्डले चिकीर्षतां बुद्धिरभृच्छिवालयां
 मन्दाकिनीतीरजुषो द्विजन्मनः निजाग्रहांषु निवासयिष्यतः ॥
 गङ्गाभङ्गात्पार्श्वतः प्राप्य भङ्ग मन्दाराख्यो मन्दकेशाभूतिः ।
 तस्मादिते ग्राममुन्मुच्य हीनं चालं प्राप्ता यात्रया प्राप्तगङ्गम् ॥
 स्नात्वा त्रिपथगां गङ्गां वृष्ट्वा विश्वेश्वरं शिवम् ।
 आनायिष्यामि तत्रत्यान्विदुषो ब्राह्मणानिति ॥
 चोलां भूमिपनिर्विषिष्य बहुशो विदुः गुणान्कृतान्
 सर्वानमिष्यितस्त्विदं वदकुतिनो नित्यक्रियातत्परात् ।
 श्रीते ब्रह्मणि निष्ठितान्निधिसुपरपृष्ट्यात्मपर्यन्तकं
 काञ्चिमण्डलमानिनाय सहसा सम्मान्य सम्मान्य(?) नितान् ।
 काश्यपा गौतमाश्चैव सावर्ण्याः क्षण्डिला अपि ।
 श्रीवत्साश्च भरद्वाजा गौतमा अपि सामगाः ॥
 सांक्रुत्या इति चेमेष्टौ गोत्रतः परिकीर्तिताः ।
 प्रासादवल्गुभो यज्वा भास्कराख्यकविस्तथा ॥
 राजनाथकविश्चैव सुप्रहण्यकविस्तथा ।
 जटाधरेशयज्वा च नीलकण्ठकविस्तथा ॥
 शिक्षितः सोमनाथाख्यो भल्लिकार्जुनभट्टकः ।
 आगत्य काञ्च्यग्रामवसन्निष्ठयात्र च विदग्धताम् ॥
 तुण्डीरमण्डलमहामणिमण्डपगत्य तत्प्रायमानवरतत्पागिरेश पश्चात् ।
 कौटिल्यहारकनदस्य च पूर्वाग चोलश्चकार रुचिरं पृथुमग्रहारम् ॥
 पञ्चाशदुत्तरचतुःशतनिष्कमूल्यं ग्रामं विभज्य दत्तधा दत्तवंशनादयम् ।
 भट्टाविमानपि च भागवतो विभाय भागावुभावापि च भागवतौ विवरे ॥
 सर्वेपि सर्वेरपि मान्यतायां स्वग्राममपुः हिल सर्वमान्यम् ।
 नम्यापि सर्वैरपि मान्यतायामद्यापि नान्यो भवतीति मन्ये ॥

^१ I am indebted to Mr. T. S. Kuppusvāmi Sastri of Tanjore for the text of the *Vivekapatramālā*, as also the extracts from the *Subhadrā-Dharmajaya Nāṭikam*, the *Bhāgavata-champu* and the *Sāmavaṭi, Yōgānanda-prahasanam*. He has also been kind enough to make several valuable suggestions.

राजनाथपुरे तत्र राजनाथाभिधं शिवम् ।
 राजनाथकविस्तुष्वै राजनाथः स संन्यधात् ॥
 किञ्चामी नृपतौ गते निजपुरं संचारयन्तः क्रतून्
 मङ्क्षुः प्राममुपेक्ष्य संन्यतधनाः पञ्चापि पञ्चाग्नयः ।
 क्लेशानीशपक्षार्चनाद्वगमयन् केशान्दधुः (?) कोषजान्
 पाशान्पाशाभृतौ विधूय सुखिरं कालं च सेऽका (?) गा)लयन् ॥
 नेत्तप्पाडीति नामाहमोमस्यापि गिरैरपि ।
 द्वाविडा औत्तरा यत्र त्वासते श्रीविद्योत्तमाः ॥
 एवं गते बहुतिथे नृपाविप्रकाले वंशेषु तेषु गमितेषु च पञ्चवेषु ।
 वेल्लुरायकुलभूमिपहायनानि आ (?) ह्या)विर्भूतुरश्विरेण सुशोभनानि ॥
 प्रासादवल्लभमखीन्द्रबुधस्य तत्र श्रीपुण्डरीकपुरनाथकसेवनायाः ।
 पुत्रो बभूव गुणसार्थकसारनामा श्रीमान्सभापतिरिति प्रतिभानयुक्तः ॥

पाण्ड्यश्वेरश्रीलराजश्च यस्य शिष्या आसञ्छाकराः किंकराश्च ।
 दङ्कावाद्यं हस्तिमल्लस्य शीर्षे दङ्कुराभ्यं हन्यते यस्य याने ॥
 दङ्कासभापतिरिति प्रथितः पृथिव्यां विद्याविनीतिविभैर्गुरुरास साक्षान् ।
 तस्यैव नत्ताजनि भास्करार्यः प्रसन्नकाव्यस्य च यः प्रणेता ।
 सर्वेषु शास्त्रेषु सहस्रशीर्षः स एव चाग्नीनिचिनोत्समस्तान् ॥
 तस्यैव वंशे तपनप्रकाशे स त्यागराजोऽवततार धीरः ।
 यः कामकोटीश्वरपीठिकायां विद्याजयस्तम्भमधस्त यज्वा ॥
 गुरुस्वयंभूविभुनामयज्वा श्रीमगुरुस्वामिमहामती च ।
 सुतावभूतां विमलोज्ज्वलाङ्गो श्रीत्यागराजार्थसुधीमणेर्हो ॥
 वक्षिणामूर्तिरयज्वा च भास्कराख्यश्च दीक्षितः ।
 तदा द्वौ गौतमावास्तां वंशे भास्करयज्वनः ॥
 विद्यापतिमखी चैव दिवाकरकविस्तथा ।
 त्रयोऽमी सूर्यभट्टश्च राजनाथकवेः कुले ॥
 गुरुमूर्तिकविश्चैव शिवसूर्यमखी तथा ।
 द्वावेतौ शाण्डिलो ख्यातो सुप्रह्लाण्यकवेः कुले ॥
 शिवसूर्यमखी चैव सुप्रह्लाण्यमखी तथा ।
 रामलिङ्गमखी चैव रामचन्द्रबुधस्तथा ॥
 जटाधरगुरोर्वेदयाश्चत्वारो लोकविभूताः ।
 श्रीमच्छंकरयज्वा च नीलकण्ठमखी बुधः ॥
 यज्ञनारायणो विद्वान्यज्जानन्तकविः परः ।
 इमे पञ्चभरद्वाजा नीलकण्ठकवेः कुले ॥
 राजनाथकविश्चैव श्रीविक्रमकविर्गुरुः ।
 द्वावेतौ सोमनाथस्य कुले विख्यातकीर्तिकौ ॥
 देवाराणाह्वयो यज्वा मल्लिकार्जुनसन्ततौ ।
 एकार्षिणतिरेषां तु कुलान्यासन्विभागतः ॥
 गुरुस्वयंभूपतिनामयज्वनः सभापतीति प्रथितस्तनूदितः ।
 तथा गुरुस्वामिसुतस्य सन्ततौ सुतावभूतां च यमो यमोज्ज्वलो ॥
 अभिरामाम्बिका कन्या सोमनाथश्च पुत्रकः ।
 तामिव कन्यां जप्ताह राजनाथस्तु गौतमः ॥
 सर्वासामपि नारीणामभिरामाम्बिका वरा ।
 सौन्दर्यशीलसौभाग्यगुणैरुत्तुङ्गतां गता ॥
 भन्वर्थनाम्ब्यामतिरागवत्यामपुष्पवत्यामपि भाग्यवशादिम् ।
 प्रसूय पुष्पं सकृदेव सापि त्रयोदशे जन्मत एव वर्षे ॥

द्युक्तीव विद्वन्मणिममर्गमे दधार लोकस्य विभूषणाय ।
 चतुस्सहस्रेषु चतुःशतेषु गतेषु वर्षेषु कलेर्जुगस्य ॥
 श्रीराजनायस्य कवेर्वधूटी प्राचीव जाजीकुसुमैः समर्चन ।
 स राजनायोऽधिजयौ (?) कुलास्वात् कटाभश्चन्द्रं तनयं प्रजज्ञे
 द्युमे शुद्धं सति जातमात्रे सपुत्रके क्षोणधराभिधाने ।
 सर्वा च भूमिर्मुदे सरस्यः प्रसेवुराशा भृङ्गकूलवाताः ॥
 राजनायः कविः प्राप्य तनयं विनयान्वितम् ।
 न वज्रे ब्रह्मवाहीव काममन्त्रमहर्निशम् ॥
 नार्थी बभूव केनापि यथा सर्वमहीपतिः ।
 भाविनं सार्वभौमं तं भावयन्करणैः सुतम् ॥
 विद्यारण्यस्योद्दयार्द्रवपुषा विचार्यविभाजिना
 विष्णुब्रह्मशिवालद्यान् रचयता श्रीबुक्कभूपात्मना ।
 देवेनापितमप्रहारमभज्जन्त्युरुसंतं स्वयं
 तत्पद्मानगता विभक्तसहजास्ते तप्त संसारिणः ॥
 उच्योतिदद्यात्स्वविदं च कंचन बुधं कर्णाटकब्राह्मणं
 पञ्चाङ्गस्य सुवाचनाय सहिता अस्थापयन्वृत्तिदाः ।
 तत्सोदर्यमभीक्ष्णमक्षरकृतं संख्याविदं गेहिनां
 संख्यानार्यमयं च सन्निधेरे ग्रामस्य भृ(?) हृ?) त्वा नवा ॥
 उभौ पञ्चाङ्गिणकावेकश्चालबुज्जकः ।
 एते महाजनास्सप्त तथा दद्यानिकेतनाः ॥
 औदुम्बरग्रामगताः शास्त्रवेदान्तचिन्तनैः ।
 सन्ध्यातिथिसमर्चाभिरुपासत महेश्वरम् ॥
 चोलप्रतिष्ठिते ग्रामे नवग्रामसमीरिते ।
 इत आक्रम्य वाचाभिः कर्षणैः पशुपोषणैः ॥
 बुक्कभूपाभ्यनुज्ञाता ऊर्ध्वेश निवेशनैः ।
 स राजनायः कविराजवर्यः क्षोणाद्रिनाथं तनयं स्फुरन्तम् ।
 वेशादिविद्याव्रतमज्जनाव निनाय तत्त्वगुरुप्रियत्वात् ॥
 पुत्रस्थोपयमं विचिन्त्य मनसा श्रीराजनायः कविः
 प्राप्यैवोपयमं स्वयं तु सहसा संप्राप्य शम्भोः पदम् ।
 पुनं भ्रातरि सोमनाथमखिनं (?) नि प्रवेद्य वेद्याखिलम्
 बालं भासिकुलाबलिं (?) ली) त्वनुज्ञगामैवाभिरामाभिका ॥
 श्रीसोमनाथस्त्वनुज्ञातनूजं तनूजवर्गाच्च निजादतीव ।
 पुपोष शय्यासनलपनांगसंवाहवत्त्राभरणार्हैस्तैः ॥
 एवं मातुलगेहपोषणशुषः क्षोभेन्द्र (?) पाद्वि) संज्ञावतो
 वेशादीतिवशाच्चोद्दय बयास्यासन्गुणानां निधेः ।
 सासृबाभवद्वच्च मातुलवधूर्निष्कारणक्रोधिनी
 जानीते न स जानु तत्कविवरः श्रीसोमनाथाभिधः ॥
 महाजनकृतागतां विहितमालयं शम्भवं
 शिवार्चकजनेन सं समुपगम्य क्षोणाचलः ।
 नवा...च्छिद्यं हृदि विचिन्त्य विद्यापार्ति
 स मातुलवधूरुधा शयनमेव मेने वरम् ॥
 भृङ्गजातमुज्ज्वलममालोच्य निजालये ।
 सोमनाथाभिधो बड्वा व्यचिनीत्सकलां महीम् ॥
 हृतीये दिवसे प्रातरपद्मस्त महीतटे ।
 साम्बूलसरक्तोष्ठं तं मिथि दुर्गतो यथा ॥

आलिङ्गपाङ्के समन्वि ? वेद्य शिरस्त्राघ्राय वै मुहुः ।
 पप्रच्छ किमिदं वस्तु ? ततेति नागिनी सुतम् ॥
 बहृच्छया नवमाममागत्यापी ? विज्ञमालयम् ।
 विद्यापतीशप्रमुखे सुत आलस्यबाधितः ॥
 अर्धेन्दुचूडः शरदिन्दुसुन्दरः स्फुरन्मर्णामूर्धफणीशकंकणः ।
 बालैर्मुनीन्द्रश्च चतुर्निरन्विता बुधो मा कश्चिदुपेत्य पूरुषः ॥
 सुतस्य मे राक्षनलीलबुद्धेर्वक्तस्य देशे विवृते स्वभावात् ।
 ताम्बूलसारं निश्वस्य संस्थं मुनिं च कारुण्यसमुद्र एषः ॥
 तेनैव रक्ता रसना मरीया तच्छोधनविह समागतोऽस्मि ॥
 उक्तवति स स्तोत्रतति चकार धृतस्य मूलं वसतः शिवस्य ।
 स तोषयामास नवाभिषिक्तं तं प्रौढदेवं नृगमिन्दुतुल्यम् ॥
 कवित्वशक्त्या च विचाररीत्या विवादसामर्थ्यवशेन तत्र ।
 स प्रौढदेवः कविगडसौ च स्नेहातुराविक्रमनः प्रसारौ ॥
 शरीरभेदं च रामीचिक्तीषू तुल्याम्बरसम्बलयावभूताम् ।
 सावर्ण्यकन्यामुपयय सम्यग्यज्ञात्रिकां नाम यजिष्ठाहर्षम् ॥
 यज्ञैः सच्चिभिर्बहुशक्षिणाकैरीजे महेशाशिमरुद्गणान्स्थान् ।
 तल्पप्रामस्य याम्यः यामौदुम्बरपुगात्पुः ।
 नवमामस्य वायव्ये राजाराममकल्पयत् ।
 प्रत्यहप्रार्त्ताशमात्रं तु तदर्थं दक्षिणां तरे ॥
 अनेककलपुष्पाढयनागवल्लीभुमण्डितम् ।
 नीलगिर्याख्यवणिजं तत्राध्यक्षं नृपो व्यधात् ॥
 अथ सप्ताद्विशेषे तु गतां व्यानं प्रकलिते ।
 इदमुद्यानमुद्दीक्ष्य गतीं जपार रुक्मिणी ॥
 उद्यानजायं नीलाद्रिधनिको गर्वितोऽभवत् ।
 आरामेः फलपुष्पभारविनमच्छायाप्रकूजच्छुक्तेः ।
 प्राकारेण पयोस्पर्द्धतिष्ठषा दोग्ध्रै ? शिवां मण्डलैः ।
 तल्पप्रामजुषः पेश्वरमसावाराधयागास त-
 च्छीशोणाद्रिकवीश्वरो नृपगुणैर्बभूवुः प्रियश्चाभवत् ॥
 जातु नीलगिरिः कोपादाकृण्य च गतां कुलम् ।
 कविग तमुगम्य कटकारमवोचत् ॥
 अभीक्ष्णमेता गावते राजाराममुपहृताः ।
 कृच्छ्रधारांकुगं (?) जग्ध्वान्मूलयानि लतातल्लम् ॥
 च प्रमथ्यागतानां वा बन्धोऽस्माभिर्विधास्यते ।
 तदुन्मोक्ता क्रमाद्व्याहक्षिणाशारतिः प्रभु ॥
 इदमुक्तवा गते तमिन्मता गावश्च तत्पदम् ।
 गतेऽपि कान्ते दीवस्य गा मुनीन् न वै वृणिक ।
 गीपावेदिनवृत्तान्तः प्रत्याख्यातश्च तन सः ॥
 प्रौढदेवाय तद्वाज निवेद्येदमवाचत् ।
 आगममप्यनं मह्यममहाराष्ट्रं विज ॥
 अन्यथा मन्त्रथा मां तन्मन्त्रगच्छुः टन्निवम् ।
 भुञ्जति नृनिर्जिता स्वयं ग्राह करंश्च म् ॥
 प्रपक्षालम्बितैषा म प्रमदावनभुः स्वयम् ।
 अन्यः भुवं प्रमथ्यामि सस्यागमसमाकुलाम् ॥
 भुञ्जानं तमवाधूय वैकटादिमुपायय ।
 दुरवापराजं जगज्जापदं हि जज्ञः पशं निमज्जापशकम् ।
 हि जेभ्यो विद्वत्वा निजेभ्यो वदित्वा अपम दिनाय्ये पुः दित्वायवम् ॥

वृषीक्षं समक्षं नृपस्त्विति मत्वा विवृणुर्नृपं त विवक्षुः स्वमर्थम् ।
 कवीशोऽयमीक्षप्रभावो नृपद्वारदेशे प्रपद्या (? व्या) वतस्थे निजं भोक्तमर्थम् ।
 तत्पठित्वा नृपायाद्वरसूयातरला द्विजाः ।
 दक्षिणात्यकविः कश्चिद्वार्धभोक्तमालिखत् ॥
 राज्यपर्यायवाच्यायां राजपरन्यां रतोऽस्मकः ।
 इति तत्कथयत्यर्थं श्रीमान्पद्मस्तु तत्प्रभुः ॥
 सुरचाणे ततः क्रुद्धे विचारयति मानसे ।
 लवंगी तनया तस्य तातमाह क्षुभां गिरम् ॥
 विद्वानर्थी च भूत्वा कः स्फुटमेवं राखिष्यति ।
 अन्यथैव भवेदर्थ आनेय इति वै कविः ॥
 ततः समाहूय सर्वां कवीशसम्मान्यवाचा कविरादसमर्थ (? क्ष)म् ।
 भोक्तः प्रपूर्याशु च पञ्चतां भोः समादिदेशेति कविं नृपाग्र्यः ॥
 अर्थो विचार्यतां विज्ञैरालंकारिकसम्मतः ।
 इत्युत्तवा स पपाठाशु भोक्तं सम्पूर्य चात्मनः ॥
 सुरचाण भवद्वाज्ये निद्रानुमहमागतः ।
 अनिद्रस्त्वन्यदेशेषु त्वदागमनशङ्कया ॥
 कविमल्लोऽनपायाख्यो राजसज्जिधिपूजकः ।
 डिण्डिमं वाद्यमाहत्य जयनूपुरभूषणैः ॥
 एतच्छ्लोकप्रसङ्गेन स कविं प्रत्यपद्यत ।
 कविमल्लः कवीशश्च वाचा पुनरुपस्थितौ ॥
 प्रतिज्ञां चक्रतुर्वृष्ट्वा वाद्यक्रमविवर्जने ।
 निमहे चात्मनः प्राप्ते सति राजबुधामतः ॥
 त्रयोविंशे दिने प्राप्ते सर्वशास्त्रविचारतः ।
 निगृहीतोऽनपायाख्यो गवितः कविमल्लकः ॥
 वाद्यं डिण्डिममस्य नूपुरवरं हस्तीन्द्रमुत्कुम्भकम् ।
 विद्वत्कण्ठगतां त्रितयं विमतानाधूय बालाश्रितः (?) ।
 सौवर्णे मणिरञ्जिते समभिषिच्यैनं सुभद्रा मने ।
 विद्याडिण्डिमशोणशैलकविरित्याख्यां विभुर्दत्तवान् ॥
 जातु तत्र निशाकाले चन्द्रशालास्थितो नृपः ।
 अर्धचन्द्रवर्णयस्त्रैनेमुद्यन्तं शशिलाञ्छनम् ॥
 प्राचीभागे सरागे धरणिविराहणिकान्तमुद्रे समुद्रे ।
 भिद्रालौ नोरजालं धृतमुद्रे कुमुदे कोकलोके सशोके ।
 आकाशे सावकाशे समसि शमभिते निर्विचारे च कोरं ।
 कन्दर्पेऽनल्पवर्षे विकिरति किरणान्शर्वरीसार्वभौमः ॥
 वर्णयामासुरन्येपि यथामति विभोः पुरः ।
 एष शोणीन्द्र (? पाद्वि) यज्ज्ञा तु इत्याशु भोक्तमापठत् ॥
 शृण्वत्सु च सभासत्सु राजा प्राह कवीश्वरम् ।
 सार्वभौमो न राजोयं द्विजराजो भवानिति ।
 सोयं डिण्डिमसार्वभौमकविरित्याख्यां वहन्भूतलं ।
 काव्यं रामपदांकितं चरितमप्याकल्पयन् रूपकम् ॥
 मन्थान्मन्त्रं चतुष्पथे विरचयन्प्राप्य प्रतिष्ठां विशुं (?) भोः)
 देवज्ञानमहीपतेर्निजमुदं प्रापास्तथा वाञ्छिताम् ॥
 आज्ञास्वीदीप्तसौ वृष्ट्वा सुवाणमहीभुजः ।
 प्रौढदेशे नृपः प्राहास्मदावनकादयपीम् ॥

अधामहारस्य तिसृस्तयासी

समेत्य सर्वैरपि बान्धवैः स्वैः ।

तदप्रवेशो कुटिलापगावाः

सभां वितन्वन्स बभाण सर्वान् ॥

पञ्च पश्यस्त्वयो मामाः सन्ति नः समुदायतः ।

अविभज्यैव भोज्याः स्थिरिति सौम्या मतिर्हि नः ॥

सम्पा (?) विवा) द्यतु कोवाच समदनीमो वयं समम् ।

मामं वा कण्टिकां वापि श्रोत्रियं मान्यमेव च ॥

इति श्रुत्वा वचः सर्वे साधून्कीः प्रष्टुवैरयन् ।

अथ तैः प्रमदोद्यानमाविवेश कवीश्वरः ॥

उदक्प्राक्प्रवर्णं देशमवाक्प्रत्यक्समुज्जतिम् ।

मामस्य सन्निवेशायामोक्तं शुभाशुभम् ।

शतं च सप्तैव पदानि भित्वा

चतुस्तमुद्रांश्च निखाय शङ्कुन् ।

कृषीवलानादिशस्त्रं कृष्टुं

ते लांगलैराचकृषुः समन्तात् ॥

सिरामुखे लांगलकर्षितामे

समुद्रभुवाङ्कुतलिङ्गमूर्तिः ।

स्वायंभुवो नाथ इति प्रसीत ।

श्रिदम्बरे यो वरदो वरेण्यः ॥

गाण्डीवदण्डाहतिपार्श्वदेशे

स्फुरत्यजलं हलकोटिप्रष्टिः ।

यस्यैव शम्भोः स्वयमुद्भवस्य

स नाम चक्रे सदसस्पतीति ॥

शतव्यायामतस्तस्मान्नैकृत्यां शिषी वैष्णवम् ।

प्राङ्मुखं कविराजश्च चकारायतनं कविः ॥

तत्पुरस्सन्निधिभ्रंषीश्चतुर्दशगृहात्मिकाः ।

एकावल्या विरचितास्तथा पञ्चासृगृहद्वयम् ॥

उभयभेणिका वीथी दक्षिणं पक्षमाश्रिता ।

निवेशनैर्द्वादशभिरन्वितं शुभवैदिकैः ॥

भट्टाशस्य (?) उत्तरघातं शूद्राणां सदनानि तु ।

कृषीवलानां दासानामभितः कल्पितानि हि ॥

ततः समाजे विदुषां मामत्रयनिवासिनाम्

मामस्य चक्रे नामानि पञ्च श्रोत्रिस्तृणानि च ॥

म्रीढदेवो दशै यस्मात् म्रीढदेवपुरं भवेत् ।

सार्वभौमः स्वयं कर्ता सार्वभौमपुरं ततः ॥

यत्र स्थितानां विदुषां सामान्यं डिण्डिमं यतः ।

डिण्डिमालयमित्यस्य नाम प्रोक्तं तृतीयकम् ॥

चोलेषु चरेषु च पाण्ड्यभूमौ

त्रिमण्डलीवृत्तिजुषां द्विजन्मनाम् ।

वासाय तेषामिह यत्प्रकल्प्यते

त्रिमण्डलं तत्कवयः प्रचक्षते ॥

मूला इतीह विद्वांसस्तेषामण्डं समाश्रयः ।

मूलाण्डमिति तन्नाम तस्माद्भवन्ति वै कृधाः

अत्यूरुपुच्छसिमेत्तपाडी

मामास्त्रयः सन्ति विपश्चितां ते ।

त्रेषां च तेषामिह वाससत्त्वात्

त्रिमण्डलं तेन भवेदपीदम् ॥

पुष्करवासिनां पूर्वशीधिका सजिधौ हरः ।
 औदुम्बरप्रामञ्जुषामुत्तरं पक्षमारिणम् ॥
 तल्पप्रामगतानां तु वक्षिणः पक्ष ईरितः ।
 पञ्चाद्वेदमह्यं दत्तं देवालयसमर्चिनोः ॥
 काश्यपा दशवेदमानो गौतमा नववेदिमनः ।
 सावर्ण्याः सप्तदशकाः शाण्डिलाः सप्तवेदिमनः ॥
 श्रीवत्साश्च त्रिवेदमानो भारद्वाजा दशालयाः ।
 सामगा गौतमाश्चैव अ(? इय)टालयकुटुम्बिनः ॥
 षड्वेदमानस्तु सांकृत्या इति सप्ततिसंख्यकाः ॥

॥ इति विवेकपत्रमाला ॥

प्राज्ञानामेव राज्ञां सवसि न सहते जल्पमल्पेतरंषा
 क्षुद्रेष्वाक्षेपमुद्रां न खलु गणयते डिण्डिमः सार्वभौमः ।
 भाङ्कुर्वेकैककुक्षिम्भरिषु भयभरभ्रान्तभोगीन्द्रसुभ्रु-
 भ्रूणभ्रंशी किमम्भःफणिषु पतगराद् सम्भ्रमी बम्भ्रमीति

॥ गुरुरामकविकृतसुभद्राधनञ्जयनाटकम् ॥

अस्ति किल काश्यपगोत्रस्य तत्रभवतो गुरुरामकवः कृतिः सुभद्राधनञ्जयं नाम नाटकम् । नूनं तद्वर्णी परिषदादेशः ।
 सूत्रधारः—भूयतां नावत् । अस्ति खलु तुण्डरिमण्डले मूलाण्डं नाम महानप्रहारः ।

तत्र केचन वसन्ति काश्यपाः
 श्रोत्रियाः धृतशिवाचनव्रताः ।
 यैरघोरशिवदशिकादिभिः
 प्रत्यपादि परनन्दमैश्वरम् ॥

अपि च—

सार्वभौमकविप्रख्या वश्यवाचा बहुभुक्ताः ।
 गुणोत्तरतया सर्वे गुरून्सम्भावयन्ति यान् ॥
 तेषामन्वयभूषणस्य तनुभूरेष स्वयम्भूगुरो-
 रौहिजः कवितानिरुद्धयशसः श्रीराजनाथस्य च ।
 एनामप्यकरोत्कृतिं श्रितगुणप्रामः स रामः कविः
 काव्यं कृष्णपरं व्यधाच्छिष्टवपरं चरूपप्रबन्धं च यः

॥ राजनाथकविकृतभागवतचम्पूः

अस्तु श्रिये श्रीसुहृद्व्युत्पन्ना-
 रैश्वर्यसिधौ पतिरञ्जनाद्रेः ।
 बलाय जेता बलिदानवस्त्र
 पुमर्थहेतोः पुरुषः पुराणः ॥
 प्रकाश्य पाणिश्रितमेणममे
 स्वाधीनयन्स्वान्तमृगं मुनीनाम् ।

आवर्जयेद्व्युत्तभूवलारे-
 रवार्यैर्भयैर्महार्यधन्वा ॥
 उच्चारभङ्ग्या युगपच्छ्रुतीना-
 मुपात्तसाफल्यचतुर्मुखीकः ।
 आयुष्कलामच्युतरायमौले-
 स्सकल्पमाकल्पयताद्विधाता ॥
 धम्मिल्लघौवालधरा विराज-
 द्दपांगमीनाधरविदुमाप्ता ॥
 धन्या पितृच्छायतयाद्धिकन्या
 तन्यादवन्यां श्रियमच्युतेन्दोः ।
 पुष्यात्पुवन्ध्री पुरशासनस्य
 पुङ्खानुपुङ्खां श्रियमच्युतेन्दोः ।
 कलानिधानं दधतीं कबर्या
 संयोजयन्तीव सदा रजन्या ॥
 निशायाज्जिर्मलसुक्तिपूरं
 नेतुं प्रणम्यान्घटयन्त्वमेव ।
 पाणी वहन्ती स्फटिकाक्षमालां
 वाणी पुराणी वक्षतिनी स्यात् ॥
 सुवर्णरूपः शुभनायकाङ्क-
 रौड्डवलयवर्द्धनिमग्नवानैः ।
 परिष्कृताविक्षितिपान्प्रबन्धं
 प्राचेतसाद्यान्प्रणुमः कवीन्द्रान् ॥
 कथं नु वप्या भुवि कालिदास-
 मयूरमाघादिमहाकवीन्द्राः ।
 पुरातनीं पुरुषभूमिकां य-
 द्वेषेण धृत्वा विननर्त वाणी ॥
 कर्णो नयन्तां कवितां कवीन्द्रा-
 श्रमस्त्रियां कामपि याति सयम् ।
 पयोधिशुक्तौ पतितं च पाथः
 प्रयानि मुक्ताफलतां न किं वा ॥
 व्यासोक्तिपूराद्वसुदेवसूनोः
 कथां गृहीत्वा कथयामि किञ्चित् ।
 सन्ति स्रवन्त्यां भुवि तत्पयोभिः
 कुल्यापभोगाय कुनो न भूयात् ॥
 वंशावलीमच्युतभूवलारे-
 र्वक्ष्यामि वर्धिष्णुवदान्यलोकाम् ।
 ममोक्तिरेषा महतः स्तवेन
 पवित्रिता स्यादिति पार्थिवेन्दोः ॥

भास्ति खलु कुवलयानोदहेतुः, अम्बरपरिषदाद्युष्यावलम्बनं, अवतंसमणिरम्बिकापतेः, अभिष्टुतिनिशानमम्बुनिधा-
 नस्य, सहकृत्वा, अम्बररिपुसाम्राज्याश्रयः, मानसशुक्तिमुक्ताफलं मधुनिष्ठस्य सुरतरुम्भासहोदरः सुधाकरो नाम ॥

परपुरुषद्वारसोदरत्वं प्रथमं
 प्राप्य निजान्वयोद्भवानाम् ।

परदारसहोदरव्रतं यः

परमध्यापयतीवपार्थिवानाम् ॥

सरोरुहे सामजखेलनानि

समन्ततश्चक्रयुगेपि भेदम् ।

गानं सुरेभ्यस्तमसि प्रयुङ्क्ते

दण्डं च यो दण्डितराजभावः ॥

ततो ब्रुध इति श्रुतोऽजनि पूरुरवा जातवा-

नतोऽभवदपाकृतप्रतिनृपायुरायुस्तत ।

अतः स नदृषोऽभवत्तदुदितो यथातिर्जिता-

भियातिरुदभूदतो धरणिधूर्वहस्तुर्वसुः ॥

महितगुणमहितसमवाये महति तद्वन्ववाये नामान्तराणीव नाभागस्य, मातृका इव मान्धातुः, पुनरवतारा इव
पूरुरवसः, द्विरुक्तय इव दुन्दुमारस्य, निर्दशनानीव निभेः, अजायन्त कतिचिन्नृचाना राजानः ।

रत्नानि सन्ति रञ्जिताभ्युदयानि सिन्ध्याः

ख्यातिं परामयति कौस्तुभरत्नभेकम् ।

तेजोविजृम्भणवर्णकृततिग्मधामा

तेषु प्रतीतमहिमाजनि तिम्रभूयः ॥

पतिदेवतदेवकीतपस्या-

परिपाको मनुर्नातिपारदृश्वा ।

उद्धः परिणीरिवौषधीना-

सुदभूदीश्वरभुवलारिः ॥

दुर्गेशताविभवधूर्वहशरहार्य-

धाम्नोऽग्निराज्जियतमीश्वरयोर्विशेषः ।

आर्पाडितद्विजपतिः प्रथमो द्विजाना-

मन्याजपालनकलाभिरतो द्वितीयः ॥

अपास्तस्वेदानवतीधुरीणान्

फणाधरन्द्मप्रमुखान्विधातुम् ।

अजायतामुष्य स बुक्कमायां

नयोपदेष्टा नरसक्षितःशः ॥

यस्य खलु हृदयगङ्गुणसम्पदः, साम्परायिकप्रस्थानमेव सम्मुखापतद्विजगवाभ्युत्थानं, पटुतरगुणारोपणमेव
परिपन्थिकुलपौरुषावरोपणं, कोदण्डरभसकुण्डलीकरणमेव कुनृपतिमदकुण्डलीकरणम् ।

यस्यासिना रिपुनृपैणविलोचनाना-

मक्षयञ्जालादपहतं नवमञ्जनं यत् ।

आद्यैश्च भूपतिभिरादरणीयकीर्ति-

निक्षेपदर्शननिदानमभूत्तदेव ॥

अस्मादच्युतभुवलारिरुदभूदव्याजबन्धुः सता-

मन्तेवासिपदे तरुन्निविषतामौदार्यतः स्थापयन् ।

इन्धे पूर्वनृपानपञ्चपयितुं यस्य प्रशस्यं यशो

यस्मिन्निति दया वृषाचलपतेरेकातपञ्चभियम् ॥

यस्य खलु सुप्रवितपात्रसंविधानेषु बोद्धव्यमहाहानेषु घटीयन्त्रवर्गनिबन्धनैर्ध्वंसलिलिपात्राणां विधानेषु
सासनन्ततोऽखिलभुवनकेसारास्तरिधन्त अशःकलमसन्ततयः ।

यस्याशास्त्रप्रवृत्तैर्भुजविजयरमाचारवेष्या कृपाण्या
राजन्यैर्जन्यभूमौ रभसविषलितैरान्ध्रितं ज्यैष विम्बम् ।

व्योमाकारे कटाहे विमलतरयश्चः पूरपूणेऽवसीर्णे
मार्ताण्डो नूनमह्नां मणिमयघटिकामानपात्री भवेत्किम् ॥

पीत्वा शानपद्यांसि यस्य जलदस्तस्तेककटं त्वं
अविष्ट्वा मरुतो वशेन गमितं नाक्रौकसां नैषिकी ।

व्याकीर्णे दिवि तत्करीषशकलं सम्प्राप्य च स्वर्धुमा
विख्यातिं त इमे भजन्ति नियतं विश्रापनभ्रयसीम् ॥

कथापनकविबुधगायकवैहासिकवन्धुनन्दारकानवद्यविद्यापरीक्षणविनोदकल्पितकालक्षेपः सततवन्दनागतसाम-
न्तिकुरुम्बकराम्भुजगुलीमुकुलीकरणलक्षणीयराजभावः प्रेक्ष्यमुखप्रेषितवनाद्युज्जवाजिवारणादिविविधोपराबलोकन-
मात्रकृतार्थितपरपार्थिवगणो महत्तरमणिमयैकातपन्नमण्डलीप्रवर्तितावर्तसम्मिलत्साम्राज्यकलशाम्बुधिफेनकलिकाबना-
नाभ्यां सकलभुवनसञ्चरणसन्दीहल(?)यद्योमरालिपक्षपालिकासमरसाभ्यां धवलचामराभ्यामुपवीज्यमानो, विनय इव
विमहशान्, विस्मय इव विलोचनगोचरः, सशर(?)इव सचेतनः, राक्षारिव शमणीयकस्य, समाहार इव समुपाना-
मुद्भवखनिरिवैवाम्बिकामोक्षसम्पदां नयनोपहारो नरसमहीनायकस्य, विश्रमस्थानमिव विश्वम्भरायाः, निदर्शनमिव
नीतिवादीनाम्, आधार इवौषधस्य, रजनिकरकुलप्रसीपः, स राजराजपरमेश्वरो राजनायकविनिर्दमवासीम् ॥—

स्वाधु शौरिकथालापसुधापूरप्रणालिका ।
कृतिः कृतिजनमाद्या भवता क्रियतामिति ॥

सौऽयं कविस्तदनु शोणगिरीन्प्रसूनु-
राज्ञागिरं नरपतेरवतंसथित्वा ।

अम्पूप्रबन्धमजहत्सरसोत्किबन्धं
वक्तुं समारभत वाग्बिभवाजुकूलम् ॥

विस्तारिणी व्यासमुखोत्किपूरा-
स्कथां गृहीत्वा कथयामि पुण्याम् ।

अम्भो नयन्ती पृथगापगानां
कुल्योपभोगाय कुतो न भूयात्

॥ सोमवल्ली योगानन्दं नाम प्रहसनम् ॥

अस्मि खलु परेन्द्राग्रहारनायकमणेः^१ सामवेदसागरसांख्यानिकस्य अटभाषाकवितासाम्राज्याभिषिक्तस्य बल्लाल-
कविकुलगर्वपर्वतपतेः नागण्यकविनागकेसरिणः श्रीमत्ः कविप्रभोः पौत्रः पुत्रः श्रीराजनाथदेशिकस्य
ब्रह्माण्डभाण्डविषण्डमण्डलितविजयबडिण्डिमखण्डिण्डिमः श्रीकण्ठाग्रमण्डिण्डिमण्डमणेः श्रीडिण्डिमप्रभोर्हीहिषः
श्रीमद्विरामनाथिकास्तनन्धयः सभापतिमहार्कभागिनेयः श्रीडिण्डिमकाविसार्वभौम इति प्रथितविरुद्धानां सरस्वती-
प्रसाहलब्धकवितासनाथः श्रीमानरुणगिरिनाथः । तेन कृतेन सोमवल्लीयोगानन्दनाम्ना प्रहसनेन सभाभिद्योगमनुतिष्ठामि ।

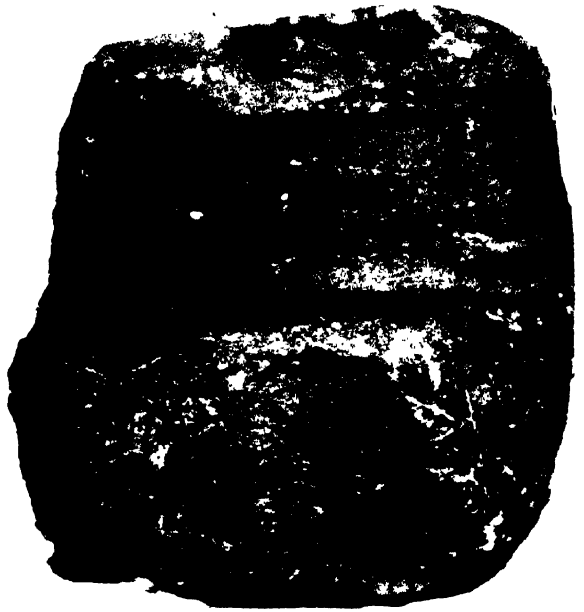
^१ 'नरेन्द्राग्रहार' इति पाठान्तरम् । 'मनुगण्डाग्रहार' इति च ।

^२ बल्लालरायकटककविकुलगर्वतनाम्नः कविनागकेसरिणः

श्रीकविप्रभोः पौत्रः पुत्रः श्रीराजनाथदेशिकस्य ' इति पुस्तकान्तरे पाठः ।

^३ सभापतिमहार्कभाग्य' इति पाठान्तरम् ।

PLATE I.



POLISHED HAMMERSTONE FROM SINGHBIUM.

ON A PECULIAR POLISHED HAMMERSTONE FROM SINGHBHUM, CHOTA NAGPUR, INDIA.

BY H. C. DAS-GUPTA, M.A., F.G.S.; CALCUTTA.

THE implement to be described here is included among a number of stone implements presented to the Geological Department of the Presidency College, Calcutta, by Mr. Subodha Krishna Biswas, M.Sc., who came across them in the course of his professional work as a geologist in the district of Singhbhum. According to Mr. Biswas the specimens were obtained from two different localities: one of them, Nadup or Ladup, is about 5 miles south of Kalimati Railway Station (Lat. $22^{\circ}46'$, Long. $86^{\circ}17'$) and the other is about a mile and a half east of the workings of the Cape Copper Company at Matigara (Lat. $22^{\circ}38'$, Long. $86^{\circ}26'$). Both these localities are in Dhalbhum and are mostly inhabited by the Kols and the Santhals, while the implements were all found among the débris at the mouths of ancient copper mines. The rocks which were utilised in preparing the specimens are hornblende-schist, a rock which is very common in the area, though according to Mr. Biswas in the exact localities where the specimens were obtained the strata are phyllitic and quartzitic showing that the rocks used for the manufacture of the implements must have been brought there by persons, the remnants of whose handicraft they are.

A number of implements from Chota Nagpur has been described by a number of workers including the late Dr. Wood-Mason¹ and the Rev. P.O. Boddington.² But the specimen under notice is of an unusual type and accordingly a short description of it is desirable.

The implement, as the accompanying Plate I. shows, is broken and has a thickened head followed by a portion which is flat. A specimen somewhat similar to this has been described by Mr. Rivett-Carnac³ from Banda in the United Provinces, and there is a plaster cast of it exhibited in the Archæological collections of the Indian Museum, Calcutta. These two specimens, however, differ from each other markedly both in the shape of the head and of the remaining portion—the latter being quite cylindrical in the Banda specimen while, as already mentioned, it is quite flat in the specimen from Singhbhum. There is also a marked difference in the nature of the head which in the Banda specimen has a portion—about one-fifth—protruding beyond the cylindrical part while no such protuberance is present in the Singhbhum specimen. In the latter, however, the boundary between the head and the flat portion is very marked, though it is not equally well pronounced on both faces, while any such marked boundary is altogether wanting in the Banda hammer. The head shows evidence of wear resulting in three well-marked concavities. The flat portion is only partially present and there is no indication regarding its real length.

It is rather difficult to say definitely anything about the use to which this peculiar implement was put. But in consideration of the fact that it was found among the débris at the mouth of old pits dug for copper-ores, it may be supposed that it was used as a hammer to break the cupriferous rocks—the precise way in which the hammer was used being, however, doubtful—e.g., whether it was a double-headed hammer with a handle attached to it, or a single-headed hammer, the flat part preserved being used as a handle. The sharp boundary between the flat part and the head would lead one to suspect that it was double-headed, but then the somewhat large size of the flat part is rather difficult to account for; while, if the flat part is supposed to be used as a handle, it may be argued

¹ *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. LVII, 1888, pp. 387-396.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. LXX, 1901, Part III, pp. 17-22; and Vol. LXXIII, Part III, pp. 27-31.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. LII., 1883, Part I, p. 226.

that a cylindrical pattern would have served the purpose better. Mr. Rivett-Carnac believes that the Banda implement might have been used as a pivot.

The specimen was obtained from the second of the two localities above referred to, and the collection also includes one pounder and two stone arrow-heads.

It may be mentioned here that at a meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal Sir Thomas Holland exhibited some grooved stones and ground pebbles found in Singhbhum and used by a past and unknown generation of gold miners.⁴

TRIMURTIS IN BUNDELKHAND.

BY RAI BAHADUR HIRALAL, B.A., M.R.A.S.; DAMOH.

A perusal of Mr. Natesa Aiyar's article on the Trimûrti image in the Peshâwar Museum contributed to Sir John Marshall's Annual¹ for 1913-14 (which has just appeared) has suggested this supplementary note. In the Deputy Commissioner's bungalow at Damoh, which I am just occupying, there is an image of a Trimûrti, which is somewhat peculiar and confirms Rao Sahib Krishna Shâstri's remark quoted by Mr. Aiyar that "Brahmâ, Vishnu and Siva being all directly or indirectly recognised to be identical with the sun, there is every possibility of the Trimûrti figures representing the sun-god." The photo of the Bangaon² Trimûrti, which is reproduced in the accompanying Plate II, actually represents the sun with all his emblems and accompaniments. In front of the standing figure, there is the broken image of Chhâyâ (Sun's wife) below which sits the *Sârathi* or chariot-driver holding the reins of seven horses, of whom only three can be seen, the rest being broken. There are three side figures, the bull-faced Mahâdeva in a sitting posture, surmounted by Vishnu standing with feminine³ grace and holding the *Gadâ* (mace) in his hand, while on the opposite side stands the bearded Brahmâ, all these three combining into the main figure of the sun described before. At the top there are figures of two females shooting with a bow and arrow, apparently the other wives of the sun, who along with *Chhâyâ*, form the three Saktis, or counterparts of the Hindu Triad.

This is, moreover, a unique representation of sun worship by one of those six classes of adorers, who regard the sun in the triple form to which reference is made by Sir R. G. Bhândârkar in his "*Vaishnavism, Saivism and minor religious systems*." Speaking on the sect of Sauras he remarks in § 115, p. 152, that "some worship the orb of the sun who has just arisen as Brahmadeva, the creator, others the sun on the meridian as Îsvara, the destroyer. He is also regarded as the originator. Some regard the setting sun as Vishnu, the protector, and considering him as the cause of the creation and destruction also and as the highest entity worship him. *There are some who resort to all the three suns as a triple form.*" The Bangaon statue would be easily recognised as one in which the suns are conceived in a triple form.

A minute scrutiny of the image would show that the sun-god wears top-boots up to his knees, terminating into a curl at the foot end in a Pesauri or Peshâwar fashion. This is another interesting point, confirming the identity of the image with sun worship incorporated from foreign sources. Again quoting from Sir R. M. Krishna, that learned savant remarks in para 116 of his book as follows:—"The form of the idol of the sun worshipped in such temples is described by Varâhamihira (*Bṛihat Samhitâ*, Chap. 58), but the features mentioned by him which have a significance for our present purpose are that

⁴ *Proc. As. Soc. Beng.* 1903. p. 302.

¹ See pp. 276-280.

² Is 13 miles north of Damoh. The image lying in the Deputy Commissioner's compound was brought from that place about 4 years ago.

³ Compare Mr. Aiyar's remarks in his footnote No. 2 on page 278 of the *Archæological Report for 1913-14*, where he says:—"It must be borne in mind that Vishnu being regarded as the preserver performs the rôle of the mother of creation. Hence we find that in certain Purâṇas Vishnu is described as the Sakti or female counterpart of Siva. It is no wonder, therefore, that in the figures under consideration the portion allotted for Vishnu is carved with feminine grace."



PHOTO OF TRIMURTI FOUND IN BANGAON 13 MILES FROM DAMOH.

THE FARUQI DYNASTY OF KHANDESH.

BY LT.-COLONEL T. W. HAIG, C.M.G.

(Continued from p. 124.)

IN the summer of 1564 Akbar himself marched to Mândû from Âgra and his *amîrs* captured the fortresses held by officers who had not yet submitted. Among the places so captured was Bijâgarh, which was held by 'Izzat Khân for Mubârak Shâh. The fortress was surrendered conditionally, and it was agreed that Mubârak should give a daughter in marriage to Akbar, should give her in dowry the districts of Bijâgarh and Handiya and should henceforth cause the *Khutbah* to be recited in his dominions in the name of Akbar. Mubârak's daughter was conducted to the imperial court by Akbar's eunuch, I'timâd Khân. The treaty with Akbar made no alteration in the status to which the rulers of Khândesh had long been accustomed. They had for many years been subject to the suzerainty of Gujarât and though it appears that the feeble Maḥmûd III had not ventured to assert this suzerainty they now merely exchanged their former allegiance to Gujarât for allegiance to the emperor. It does not appear that Akbar intended to regulate the succession to the throne or to interfere in any way in the internal affairs of Khândesh except in so far as those affairs affected the foreign policy of the state, but he certainly assumed control of its foreign policy and expected the assistance of a contingent of troops whenever the imperial army was engaged in operations in the neighbourhood of Khândesh.

Mubârak died on December 19, 1566, and was succeeded by his son Muḥammad Shâh II., a wild and generous prince, who left all power in the state in the hands of his minister, Sayyid Zain-ul-dîn.

Meanwhile the affairs of Gujarât had fallen into great confusion. Maḥmûd III had been murdered in 1554 and left no male issue. The leading *amîrs* raised to the throne a young man named Razî-al-Mulk, who was said to be a descendant of Ahmad I and who succeeded under the title of Ahmad II and was assassinated in 1560. There appeared to be no male heir of the royal house left, for Maḥmûd III, who dreaded a disputed succession, had been in the habit of ensuring that no woman of his harem ever gave birth to a living child, but the minister, I'timâd Khân, produced a child named Nanhû, and by swearing that the boy was the son of Maḥmûd III by a maidservant of the harem whom he had saved from Maḥmûd's barbarous and unnatural treatment, induced the *amîrs* to acknowledge him, and he was raised to the throne under the title of Muzaḥfar III. In 1567 I'timâd Khân, in order to rid himself of the importunity of Changîz Khân, another leading *amîr*, who was demanding additional fiefs with a view to extending his power, contrived to embroil Changîz with Muḥammad II by sending him to recover Nandurbâr, which had always belonged to Gujarât until it was surrendered by Maḥmûd III in fulfilment of his promise, to Mubârak II of Khândesh. Changîz Khân marched to Nandurbâr, occupied it, and emboldened by his success, advanced to Thalner. Muḥammad II induced Tufâl Khân of Berar to assist him in repelling the invader and the allies marched to Thalner. Changîz Khân, being too weak to withstand them, entrenched himself and, when he perceived that the enemy was resolved to bring him to battle, lost heart and fled. Muḥammad and Tufâl pursued him, taking much plunder, and reoccupied Nandurbâr.

In 1568 Changîz Khân defeated the minister I'timâd Khân and expelled him from Gujarât, and the wretched king, Muzaḥfar III became a mere tool in the hands of any one

of the *amîrs* who could for the time obtain possession of his person. The genuineness of his descent from the royal house had always been suspected and was now openly impugned and Muḥammad II of Khândesh deemed the occasion opportune for asserting his claim to the throne, which was undoubtedly superior to that of Muẓaffar, and invaded Gujarât with an army of 30,000 horse. He advanced to the neighbourhood of Aḥmadâbâd but the *amîrs* of Gujarât assembled an army of seven or eight thousand horse, utterly defeated him, and compelled him to retire to Asîrgarh. Shortly afterwards Khândesh was overrun and plundered by the princes known as the *Mîrzâs*, distant cousins of Akbar, who had recently sought a refuge, whence they might trouble Akbar, in Gujarât, but had quarrelled with Changîz Khân and fled from the country. Muḥammad II assembled his army with the intention of punishing them, but before he could take the field they had fled and passed beyond the confines of his kingdom.

In 1574 Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh I of Aḥmadnagar conquered and annexed the kingdom of Berar, carrying off from the fortress of Narnâla, where they had been confined, all the members of the 'Imâd Shâhî family. He then marched against Bidar.

The annexation of Berar by Aḥmadnagar, which threatened to upset the balance of power in the Dakan, was most distasteful both to 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh I of Bijâpûr and to Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh of Golconda, and the latter sent a secret mission to Muḥammad II of Khândesh urging him to attempt the recovery of Berar from Aḥmadnagar, and promising help. A pretender to the throne of Berar, representing himself to be the son of Daryâ, the last of the 'Imâd Shâhî dynasty, appeared at the same time in Khândesh and sought Muḥammad's aid. It appears to have been the ambition of Muḥammad's minister, Sayyid Zain-al-dîn, that committed Khândesh to the support of the pretender's claim, and Muḥammad, according to Firishtâ,²⁰ placed at his disposal a force of 6,000 horse which, when it entered Berar, was reinforced by seven or eight thousand of the adherents of the 'Imâd Shâhî dynasty; but according to the *Burhân-i-Ma'âsîr*, the author of which would be likely to magnify the difficulties with which Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh had to contend, Muḥammad II. sent into Berar, an army of nearly 20,000 horse, under the command of Sayyid Zain-al-dîn, having received encouragement and material assistance from 'Alî 'Âdil Shâh as well as from Ibrâhîm Quṭb Shâh. Berar had not settled down quietly under its conquerors and even one *amîr* of Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh had rebelled. On hearing of the approach of the invaders the *amîr* appointed by Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh to defend his conquest assembled at Elichpûr, the capital to concert measures of defence with Khurshîd Khân, their leader. It was decided that the army of occupation was not strong enough to withstand the invaders and Khurshîd Khân withdrew to Gâwîlgarh, where he was besieged by the army of Khândesh. The rest of the Aḥmadnagar *amîrs* withdrew from Gâwîlgarh and attacked another force of the invaders, which was besieging Narnâla, but were defeated and fled southwards to join Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh, who was preparing, at Ūdgîr, to invade the small kingdom of Bidar. They were overtaken by the army of Khândesh and again suffered a severe defeat, apparently on the banks of the Pengunga, in which river many were drowned. A remnant of the fugitives reached Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh's camp at Ūdgîr in sorry plight, and Murtaẓâ at once perceived that the expedition against Bidar must be abandoned if he wished to recover and retain Berar, and marched northwards with his whole army, sending ahead an advanced guard of picked troops under the command of Sayyid Murtaẓâ Sabzavâfî. The army of Aḥmadnagar

reached Bâlpûr and on its approach the army of *Khândesh* fled to Burhânpûr, and as the invaders continued their march northward Muḥammad II left Burhânpûr and took refuge in Asîrgarh. Murtaẓâ I captured and sacked Burhânpûr and then marched towards Asîrgarh sending Changîz Khân in command of his advanced guard. A force of seven or eight thousand horse which was sent by Muḥammad II against Changîz Khân was defeated and the whole army of Almadnagar advanced against Asîrgarh. The main body of Muḥammad's army was encamped about the fortress, but fled on the approach of the invaders, leaving its camp and baggage behind, and was pursued as far as the borders of Akbar's dominions. The army of Almadnagar then formed the siege of Asîrgarh. The siege was likely to be protracted and as Muḥammad II was most anxious to come to terms negotiations were opened which terminated in a treaty under which the army of Almadnagar agreed to evacuate *Khândesh* on payment of an indemnity of 900,000 *muẓaffarîs*.²¹

Muḥammad II did not long survive his disastrous attempt to add Berar to his dominions, and died in 1576, leaving a young son, Ḥasan Khân and a uterine brother, Râja 'Alî Khân, to dispute the succession. Firishta says²² that Râja 'Alî Khân was at Akbar's court at Âgra at the time of his brother's death, and Ḥasan Khân was enthroned but was deposed in favour of Râja 'Alî Khân on the latter's return from Âgra, but the *Zafar al Wâlih* gives a detailed account of the events immediately following Muḥammad's death. It seems that Râja 'Alî Khân was present at his brother's deathbed, and Lâd Muḥammad, the paymaster general, who entered while the question of the succession was under discussion, insisted on the enthronement of Ḥasan Khân, in the hope of profiting by a share in the guardianship of a minor sovereign. The other *amîrs* readily acknowledged the boy but Râja 'Alî Khân obtained the consent of Sayyid Zain-al-din, the *vazîr*, to an arrangement under which he became his nephew's guardian and king in all but name. This arrangement remained in force until an extensive plot for the assassination of Râja 'Alî Khân was discovered. Its author was 'Alî Khân, the maternal uncle of Ḥasan, and the leading conspirators were Ḥasan's mother, Raiḥân, governor of Burhânpûr, and Khânjahân. The plot was discovered by means of an injudicious attempt by 'Alî Khân to gain over 'Arab Khân al-Yâfi'i, who was a devoted adherent of Râja 'Alî Khân and disclosed the plot to his master. The conspirators were put to death, except Ḥasan's mother, who was generously pardoned, and Ḥasan was deposed, so that Râja 'Alî Khân became king in name, as well as in fact. According to Firishta²² Râja 'Alî Khân, seeing that Akbar had obtained possession, not only of Hindûstân and Bengal, but also of Mâlwa and Gujarât, refrained from exciting his wrath by assuming or using the title of Shâh and always regarded himself as his vassal, while maintaining, on the other hand, the most friendly relations with the independent kings of the Dakan. This statement is not correct, at any rate of the early days of Râja 'Alî Khân's reign. According to the *Zafar-al-Wâlih* Râja 'Alî Khân assumed the title of 'Âdil Shâh IV, by which he is always described in that work, and he seems at first to have cherished the idea that the kings of the Dakan, by maintaining an unbroken and united front, might be able to check the extension of the Mughul empire beyond the Narbada, or at all events beyond the northern frontier of Berar, but he was a wise monarch, and must soon have realized that it was impossible to unite the quarrelsome rulers of Almadnagar,

²¹ Firishta says a million, but on this point the *Burhân-i-Ma'âsir* is probably the better authority. It may be that the additional hundred thousand was a gift to the minister who arranged the treaty. This was usual in the Dakan.

²² ii, 562.

Bidar, Bijâpûr, and Golconda, even in a cause in which their common interest was indissolubly bound up.

It is true that neither in Firishta nor in any history written in Northern India is Râja 'Alî Khân ever referred to by the title of Shâh, but it is extremely doubtful whether the kings of the South often used this title in their correspondence with the imperial court, and it is quite clear that Râja 'Alî Khân never so used it. The title of Râja, which he always used and by which he is known even in imperial chronicles, was probably adopted by him, in imitation of the founder of his dynasty, as a word which etymologically bore the same meaning as Shâh and at the same time could not be objected to by an emperor who numbered among his vassals many territorial rulers bearing the same title. But it also seems certain that the more exalted title of 'Âdil Shâh was employed, not only within the limits of Khândesh but also in Râja 'Alî's correspondence with the kings of the South. It will, however, be more convenient to refer to him as Râja 'Alî, both because that is the title under which he is more generally known, and because his title of 'Âdil Shâh is apt to be confounded with the titles of the 'Âdil Shâhi Kings of Bijâpûr.

For some reason which is not quite clear Râja 'Alî Khân made Lâd Muḥammad, who had been the first to advocate the acknowledgement of Ḥasan Khân as king, his minister, and gave him the title of Âṣaf Khân.

The first recorded act of Râja 'Alî Khân's name does not display him in the light of a royal tributary of Akbar. Both Muḥarak II and Muḥammad II had paid tribute to Akbar and in 1579²³ Shâh Budâgh Khân, governor of Mâlwa, sent his son 'Abd-al-Maṭlab Khân to demand payment of the tribute according to custom. Râja 'Alî Khân replied to 'Abd-al-Maṭlab's demand that he collected his revenue for his army and was accountable to his army for it. 'Abd-al-Maṭlab was returning to Mâlwa with this answer when Râja 'Alî Khân's army, which was following him, came up with him on the bank of the Narbada. His mission was not strong enough to cope with an army, but 'Abd-al-Maṭlab Khân, who was a notorious coward, fled across the Narbada without waiting to ascertain what the intentions of the leaders of the army were. He himself was nearly drowned, and his elephant, his banners, and his kettle-drums were carried back as trophies to Asirgarh. This episode is not mentioned in any of the histories of Akbar's reign, but the author of the *Zafar-al-Wâlih* tells us that Shâh Budâgh Khân was highly displeased with his son for his conduct on this occasion, which certainly did not tend to advance the imperial prestige.

In 1584 an event occurred which tended to turn Akbar's eyes towards the Dakan. The insolence and absolute predominance in Aḥmadnagar of the minister, Ṣalâbat Khân, who had a monopoly of access to his feeble-minded master, Murtazâ Nizâm Shâh I which enabled him to issue such orders as he pleased, had long disgusted many *amîrs* in the state, and none more than Sayyid Murtaẓâ Sabzavâri, governor of Berar, and his principal lieutenant, Khudâvand Khân. Their resentment against Ṣalâbat Khân reached such a pitch that they assembled the army of Berar and marched on Aḥmadnagar with the avowed object of overthrowing the minister and releasing the king from his bondage to him. On December 9, 1584, they were attacked at the pass of Jeûr, two leagues from Aḥmadnagar, by the royal army, and utterly defeated. They fled through Berar, and the small force which was detailed to pursue them allowed them no opportunity of repairing their defeat. They therefore crossed into Khândesh with the object of invoking the aid of Akbar in their quarrel with the constituted authority in Aḥmadnagar and in the belief that Râja 'Alî Khân would

²³ *Zafar al Wâlihi bi Muẓaffar wa Âlih*, i, 67.

observe towards them at least a benevolent neutrality ; but the policy of inviting imperial interference in the domestic affairs of the Dakan was very far from commending itself to him and when his attempt to divert them from their purpose failed he sent against them a force which pursued them as far as the Narbada, the frontier of his kingdom, and took from them such elephants, horses, and baggage, as they had been able to save in their flight.

The two *amîrs* reached the court of Akbar, who appointed each of them to the command of 1,000 horse and sent a message to Râja 'Alî Khân commanding him to restore the plunder he had taken from them, which order was promptly obeyed. At this time Akbar received another fugitive whose presence reminded him that there was work to be done in the Dakan. This was Burhân-al-dîn, the younger brother of Murtaẓâ Nizâm Shâh, who was no longer safe in his brother's dominions and fled to Agra by way of the Konkan and Gujarât. In August, 1585, Akbar, who was obliged by the death of his brother, Muḥammad Ḥakîm Mîrzâ, at Kâbul, to march towards the Panjâb, appointed his foster-brother, Mîrzâ 'Azîz Kûka, Khân-i-A'ẓam, governor of Mâlwa. With Khân-i-A'ẓam's arrival in Mâlwa began, Râja 'Alî Khân's troubles. His true sympathies were with the independent kings of the Dakan, but his own kingdom formed the outpost of imperial aggression against theirs, he could not trust them to join whole-heartedly with him in any resistance to that aggression and it was impossible for him alone to stem its tide.

Khân-i-A'ẓam, having made Handiya his headquarters, demanded of Râja 'Alî Khân, early in 1586, passage through Khândesh for the army with which he proposed to invade the Ahmadnagar kingdom. Râja 'Alî Khân replied that the passage of so large a force would devastate his small kingdom and suggested that the best line for an army advancing from Mâlwa to invade Ahmadnagar lay through Kherla, in north-eastern Berar, and, on the rejection of this proposal by Khân-i-A'ẓam, appealed for help to Ahmadnagar. Šalâbat Khân, the regent of Ahmadnagar, largely reinforced the army of Berar, which had its headquarters at Elichpûr, and placed it at the disposal of Râja 'Alî Khân. In the meantime the imperial *amîrs*, of whom many disapproved of Khân-i-A'ẓam's enterprise, were quarrelling among themselves, and Mir Fathallâh Shîrâzî, whose duty it was to keep the peace between them, was much harassed. Khân-i-A'ẓam could ill spare Mir Fathallâh, whose services in the turbulent camp were invaluable, but the unexpected opposition of Râja 'Alî Khân called for the intervention of his ablest negotiator, and Mir Fathallâh was sent to Asîrghâh. In Râja 'Alî Khân, whose object it was to prevent the invasion of the Dakan without appearing to oppose the imperial policy, Mir Fathallâh met his match. Râja 'Alî Khân secretly invited the army of Berar to invade his kingdom, in order that it might appear that in opposing the designs of Khân-i-A'ẓam he was acting under compulsion. As the army advanced he sent his minister, Âşaf Khân, to Mir Fathallâh to warn him that he stood in great danger and to conduct him on his way back to Handiya. Fathallâh had no choice but to retire and when Âşaf Khân left him his retirement speedily became a flight. On his arrival in Handiya Khân-i-A'ẓam so rated him for his failure that he refused any longer to serve under him and withdrew with his contingent into Gujarât. Khân-i-A'ẓam whose force was dwindling away, was now goaded into action. He invaded Berar and attempted an attack on Kherla, which was disastrous to the horses of his cavalry, but he plundered some of the northern districts of Berar and on March 20, 1586, sacked Elichpûr, which had been left defenceless by the advance of the army of Berar into Khândesh. In the meantime the army of Berar, under the command of Mîrzâ Muḥammad Taqî, having been royally entertained by Râja 'Alî Khân, had advanced, together with the army of Khândesh, towards

Handiya, and, on learning that Khân-i-A'zam was plundering in Berar, attacked and burnt that town and at once turned southwards in pursuit of the imperial troops, whom they largely outnumbered. The imperial troops plundered Bâlapûr and the *amîrs* of the Dakanî army pressed on so rapidly in pursuit that only a few of their troops could keep pace with them. An indecisive action was fought at Chândûr, but Khân-i-A'zam would not stay his flight towards Nandurbâr, for which town he was making in the hope of being able to persuade his brother-in-law, the Khân-i-Jânân, who was then Governor of Gujarât, to join him in invading the northern districts of the Dakan. His flight was so rapid that he was even obliged to maim some of his elephants to prevent their falling uninjured into the hands of the enemy. His troops reached Nandurbâr on April 10, 1586, and as the Khân-i-Jânân could not then join Khân-i-A'zam in his enterprise hostilities ceased and the armies of Berar and Klândesh retired.

The Dakan thus enjoyed a brief respite from foreign aggression, but the progress of events in Aḥmadnagar favoured Akbar's designs. On June 14, 1588, Murtagâ Nizâm Shâh I, the madman, was murdered by his son Husain Nizâm Shâh I, who succeeded him and was himself murdered a few months later, when the party in Aḥmadnagar who had embraced the heretical Mahdavi doctrines raised to the throne the boy Ismâ'il, son of Burhân-al-din, who had fled from Aḥmadnagar and taken refuge at Akbar's court.

Burhân, who had lately been employed by Akbar in the Bangash country, where he had done good service, was now the undoubted heir to the throne upon which a faction had placed his youthful son, and Akbar dispatched him to Mâlwa in order that he might attempt to secure it, at the same time sending instructions to Khân-i-A'zam and Râja 'Alî Khân to give him all the assistance in their power. Burhân refused, however, the help which Khân-i-A'zam offered him, on the ground that his people would resent his appearance in his country at the head of a foreign army; the true reason for the refusal being evidently the desire to avoid laying himself under an inconvenient obligation, and invaded Berar with only his own contingent of 1,000 horse and 300 musketeers. Leaving Elichpûr on his right he marched on Bâlapûr, but was defeated by the commandant of that post and fled back to Mâlwa.

On receiving the news of the failure of Burhân's first attempt to recover his throne Jamâl Khân the Mahdavi, who was now supreme in Aḥmadnagar, attempted to inveigle Burhân to Aḥmadnagar by means of a proposal that he should come himself and take possession of his kingdom, but Burhân was too wary thus to deliver himself into the hands of his adversary.

Burhân now perceived that he could not recover his kingdom without foreign aid, and sank his pride. Râja 'Alî Khân, in obedience to Akbar's orders, not only prepared his own army for the field but wrote to Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh II of Bijâpûr and his powerful minister, Dilâvar Khân the African, proposing that the army of Bijâpûr should invade Aḥmadnagar from the south simultaneously with its invasion from the north by Burhân and his allies. Dilâvar Khân gladly seized the opportunity of striking a blow at Aḥmadnagar and invaded the Nizâm Shâhî dominions from the south while Burhân and Râja 'Alî Khân invaded Berar. This double attack caused much dissension in Aḥmadnagar but Jamâl Khân ultimately decided first to turn southwards, and trusted to the army of Berar to check Burhân's advance. He defeated the army of Bijâpûr but almost in the moment of victory learnt that the army of Berar had gone over to Burhân, and he was obliged to turn northward without delay. He was pursued by the army of Bijâpûr, which had not been broken by its defeat, and now harassed him by cutting off his supplies. On reaching Aḥmadnagar

he learnt that Burhân and Râja 'Alî Khân had advanced as far as Rohankhed, a small town lying on the slopes of the plateau of southern Berar, and were there awaiting him with 7,000 horse and forty elephants. He pressed on to meet them, but defection and desertion had been rife in his army ever since he had taken the field, and of the 10,000 horse which he had led against the army of Bijâpûr no more than 3,000 remained to him. The battle of Rohankhed was fought on April 5, or, according to other accounts, on May 7, 1591.²⁴ From the first Jamâl Khân's army had no chance of victory. Iḡabashî Khân, one of his *amîrs*, deserted, with nearly 1,000 horse, to the enemy, his gunners refused to fire, and his cavalry was checked by a slough into which they rode. Jamâl Khân in desperation charged the enemy at the head of a small body of cavalry and received a musket ball in the forehead, which killed him on the spot; Khudâvand Khân, his principal lieutenant, was cut down while attempting to flee, and the young king, Ismâ'il Shâh, was captured at a short distance from the field.

All authorities agree in assigning the chief, if not the sole credit for this victory to Râja 'Alî Khân. Burhân had a small contingent of his own followers and adventurers from the imperial army, and he had been joined by the *amîrs* of Berar and other deserters from the army of Ismâ'il Nizâm Shâh and Jamâl Khân, but Râja 'Alî Khân's troops formed by far the greater part of the invading army and he probably supplied nearly all the elephants and artillery. During the battle, which lasted but for a short time, Burhân, by agreement with Râja 'Alî Khân, stood aside with instructions not to interfere unless the day should appear to be going against the army of Khândesh. The arrangement was creditable to the political acumen of Râja 'Alî Khân and Burhân, though it is probable that Akbar would have preferred a greater measure of activity on the part of Burhân, who would thus have been presented rather as Akbar's candidate for the throne than as a legitimate sovereign seeking his hereditary right. But for those who had the interests of the kingdoms of the Dakan at heart it was most undesirable that Burhân's appearance on the scene in his quest of a throne should be marked by an act of open hostility against his prospective subjects.

Râja 'Alî Khân, having congratulated Burhân on his road to the throne being now open, retired to Burhân-pûr, with Jamâl Khân's elephants and artillery as his reward, and Burhân marched on to Ahmadnagar, where he ascended the throne without opposition as Burhân Nizâm Shâh II.

The death of Burhân on April 13, 1595, and the subsequent disputes regarding the succession gave Akbar the pretext which he had long desired for direct interference in the affairs of the Dakan. He had been bitterly disappointed in Burhân II who, instead of proving to be the obedient vassal of his expectations, had asserted his independence and taken his own course, and the *Akbarnâma*, the official history of Akbar's reign, inveighs against his gross ingratitude. On his death his elder son, Ibrâhîm Nizâm Shâh, who was distasteful to a majority of the *amîrs* on account of his birth, his mother having been an African, was raised to the throne, and his younger son Ismâ'il, who had already occupied it for a short period before his father's accession, was blinded. Ibrâhîm was slain in a battle between his partisans and his enemies on Aug. 7, 1595, and Miyân Manjhû raised to the throne a youth named Ahmad, whom he represented to be the son of Muḡammad Khudâbanda, sixth son of Burhân Nizâm Shâh I (1509-1553), and imprisoned Bahâdur, son of Ibrâhîm Nizâm Shâh, in the fortress of Jond. The African *amîrs*, who had been partisans of Ibrâhîm and knew Ahmad to be supposititious, refused to acknowledge him and rallied to the support of the

²⁴ The *Akbarnâma* has April 5, and Firishṭa (ii, 2917) and the *Burhân-i-Ma'âsir* have May 7.

famous Chând Bibî, daughter of Husain Nizâm Shâh I and widow of 'Ali 'Âdil Shâh I of Bijâpûr, who had returned to Aḥmadnagar since her husband's death and now stood forth as the champion of the lawful heir, the infant Bahâdur Nizâm Shâh.

The African *amîrs* besieged Miyân Manjhû in Aḥmadnagar, and he betrayed the cause of the Dakan by appealing for assistance to Sultân Murâd, Akbar's second surviving son, who was now viceroy of Gujarât. Murâd's instructions from his father covered this contingency, which had been expected, and the prince marched towards the Dakan. At the same time the viceroy and *amîrs* of Mâlwa, at the head of whom was 'Abd-ul-Rahîm, Khânkhânân, in accordance with Akbar's orders, marched to the Dakan in concert with the prince.

The position of Râja 'Ali Khân was now one of great difficulty. Akbar's armies were about to undertake the enterprise which he had always dreaded and deprecated, and had once actively opposed, the subjection of the first of the independent kingdoms of the Dakan which lay in their way. During the life-time of Burhân Nizâm Shâh II the poet Faiẓî was sent as an envoy from the imperial court both to Aḥmadnagar and to Khândesh, and his mission, which had not been brilliantly successful in Aḥmadnagar, was believed to have secured the adhesion of Râja 'Ali Khân, whose sympathy with the kings of the Dakan and whose opposition to Khân-i-'Azam's filibustering expedition were well known, but it was deemed advisable to send at this time another envoy, who should not only assure himself of Râja 'Ali Khân's acquiescence in the invasion of Aḥmadnagar, but should convert him into an active ally. To this end he was to offer him the coveted district of Nandurbâr, which had for some time past formed part of the imperial province of Gujarât, and though the bribe, together with other considerations, secured its object, Râja 'Ali Khân did not acquiesce in the armed intervention of the empire in the domestic affairs of Aḥmadnagar until he had made an appeal for help to Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh II of Bijâpûr and had been disappointed. At length he was compelled to join the Mughuls and accompanied them with his army to Aḥmadnagar, taking part in the siege of that city, which was opened on December 26, 1595, and closed on March 23, 1596,²⁵ on which date was concluded the treaty under which Chând Bibî, regent of Aḥmadnagar, ceded the province of Berar to the emperor Akbar.

The besieged garrison of Aḥmadnagar had some hopes of assistance from Râja 'Ali Khân, on account of his known sympathies with the kingdoms of the Dakan, but they were ultimately disappointed. The author of the *Burhân-i-Ma'âgîr* writes, 'Traditions of the old friendship of Râja 'Ali Khân, ruler of Khândesh, still remained, and he maintained an uninterrupted intercourse with those within the fort, so that they were enabled, by his means, to introduce any supplies that they might require, and occasionally, when a body of gunners came from the other forts in the kingdom to reinforce those in Aḥmadnagar, they were able to enter the fortress by the connivance of Râja 'Ali Khân, and greatly strengthened the defence. When this matter became known to the prince (Sultân Murâd) he removed Râja 'Ali Khân from the position which he occupied and placed that section of the trenches under the command of Râja Jagannâth, who was one of the great Râjpût *amîrs*, and thus all ingress and egress were stopped. In the course of the siege, and while it was at its height, Râja 'Ali Khân, being instigated thereto by Akbar's *amîrs*, sent to Chând Bibî Sultân a letter, saying, "I purposely accompanied the Mughul army into this country with the object of preserving the honour of the Nizâm Shâhî dynasty. I know

²⁵ This is the date given in the *Burhân-i-Ma'âgîr*. According to the *Akbarnâma* terms were concluded and the imperial forces retired on March 2, 1596.

'well that this fortress will, in a short time, be captured by the Mughuls. See that you 'shun not the fight, but protect your honour, and surrender the fort at the last to the prince, 'who will give you in exchange for it any fort and any district in this country that you may 'choose. The honour of the Nizâm Shâhî house is, owing to the connection between us, the 'same to me as the honour of my own house, and it is for this reason that I, laying aside all 'fear of arrow or bullet, have come to the gate of the fort, and I will bring Chând Bibî 'Sultân to my own camp." When the defenders received this letter their dismay and confusion were greatly increased, and they were struck with terror, for they had relied much on 'Râja 'Ali Khân, and they now almost decided to surrender, but Afzal Khân did his best 'to pacify them and to calm their fears, and sent Râja 'Ali Khân a reply, saying, "I wonder 'at your intellect and policy in sending such a letter to Chând Bibî Sultân, and at your 'endeavouring to destroy this dynasty. It was you who went forth to greet the Mughul 'army, and it was you who brought them into this country, and the Sultâns of the Dakan 'will not forget this. Soon, by the grace of God, the Mughul army will have to retreat, 'and then Chând Bibî Sultân will be in communication, as before, with the Sultâns of 'the Dakan. It will then be for you to fear the vengeance of the heroes of the Dakan, and 'to tremble for your house and for your kingdom!" When this reply reached Râja 'Ali 'Khân he was overcome with shame for what he had written, and the Mughul *Amîrs* gave 'up all hope of taking the fortress.'

(To be continued.)

DEKKAN OF THE ŚĀTAVĀHANA PERIOD.

BY PROF. D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A.; CALCUTTA.

CHAPTER II.

POLITICAL HISTORY—(continued from page 78 above).

THE reign of Nahapâna, though it began gloriously, came to a disastrous end. He was defeated and killed in battle by Gautamîputra Śâtakarṇi of the Śâtavâhana dynasty. In Cave No. 3 at Nâsik has been cut a large inscription, which sets forth a long panegyric of this king. We shall soon give a somewhat detailed account of this record, but here we may notice only two epithets used in connection with Gautamîputra Śâtakarṇi and coming immediately one after the other. The first calls him the uprooter of the Kshaharâta race and the second the restorer of the glory of the Śâtavâhana family.¹ The first epithet, making allowance for the exaggeration which it obviously contains, indicates that he certainly killed, if not all the Kshaharâtas, at least those who ruled over Mahârâshtra, Gujarât and Central India. Otherwise there is no sense in his being represented to have re-established the glory of the Śâtavâhana dynasty to which he pertained. We know that the Śâtavâhanas had held Northern Mahârâshtra and some parts of Central India before these came under the sway of Nahapâna. It is true that these epithets alone do not necessarily prove that Gautamîputra Śâtakarṇi turned his arms against Nahapâna himself and killed him. But this can be easily inferred from certain facts revealed by the Jogaḷembhî hoard. The total number of coins from the lot examined by Rev. M. Scott was 13,250. Only one-third of this number consisted of Nahapâna's own coins, the remaining two-thirds being those of Nahapâna re-struck by Gautamîputra Śâtakarṇi.²

¹ *EL.*, VIII. 60, l. 6.

² *JBBRAS.*, XXII. 224.

It is worth noting that in this second class of coins, *i.e.* those re-struck by Śātakarṇi, there was not a single one belonging to any prince other than Nahapāna, as would certainly have been expected if any such ruler had really intervened between them, especially as these coins numbered upwards of 8,000. I think, the evidence supplied by this hoard is conclusive that Śātakarṇi destroyed Nahapāna.

The extent of Gautamīputra's territory may be inferred from the description given of him in the big Nāsik Cave inscription referred to above. Therein he is said to have been king of the following countries:—

1. *Asika*.—This country has been mentioned by Varāhamihira, but he does not tell us where exactly it was situated.

2. *Asaka*.—This evidently is Assaka, the Prākṛit form of the Sanskrit Āsmaka. This must be the country watered by the lower Godāvarī, consisting of the south-east parts of the Nizam's Dominions and the Godāvarī District of the Madras Presidency.³ Its capital Potana or Potali has been mentioned in the Pāli literature.⁴

3. *Mulaka*.—is the country with Pratishthāna or Paiṭhaṇ as its capital.

4. *Surathā*.—is Surashṭra, corresponding to modern Kāśhīwār.

5. *Kukura*.—probably modern Gujarāt.⁵

6. *Aparānta*.—The word literally means the Western End. Ptolemy, who was contemporaneous with Gautamīputra and Puṣumāvi divides Ariakes (Ἀπαρῆκη = Aparāntikā) into four sections, two on the seaboard and two situated inland.⁶ Of those on the sea-coast the northern corresponded to the Thānā and Kolāba Districts and the southern to the Ratnāgiri and North Kanara Districts. Of the inland parts the northern was very nearly coincident with the country watered by the upper Godāvarī, and the southern included the Kanarese-speaking districts of the Bombay Presidency. Both the northern sections belonged to the Sadinon (= Śātavāhanas).

7. *Anūpa*.—A district on the Upper Narmadā with Māhishamātī as capital.⁷ Māhishmātī has been identified with Mandhātā in the north-west corner of the Central Provinces.⁸

8. *Vidabha*.—is of course Vidarbha. It corresponds to the western portion of Berars and the valley-country west of it.⁹

9. *Ākarāvanti*.—Mālwā. I take this whole as one name. This is clearly indicated by the fact that in the Junāgaḍh inscription it is qualified by the word *Pūrvāpara*, which means both the eastern and western divisions of the Ākarāvanti country, and not the eastern

³ In the Sutta-nipāta (V. 977) the Assaka (Āsmaka) country has been associated with Mulaka, exactly as it has been done in this inscription. In the edition of the Sutta-nipāta by V. Fausboll the reading *Alaka*^o is wrongly adopted in the text (Vs. 977 and 1010-1), and the variant *Mulaka* noticed in the foot-notes. The Sutta-nipāta distinctly tells us that the capital of Mulaka was Patitthāna (Paiṭhaṇ) and that Assaka was situated immediately to its south along the river Godāvarī.

⁴ Jāt. III, 3 and 15.

⁵ Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar identifies it with that portion of Rājputānā which is called Kiu-cho-lo by Hiouen Tshang (Yuan Chwang) (*Trans. Inter. Or. Cong.*, 1874, 312-3; *EHD.*, 17, n. 4). According to Pandit Bhagwānlāl it denotes "probably part of East Rājputānā" (*B. G.*, I, i. 36 n. 7). But as in this and Rudradāman's Junāgaḍh inscription Kukura is associated with Aparānta, it seems to be part of Gujarāt.

⁶ Above XIII, 325-7 and 366-7.

⁷ *Trans. Inter. Or. Cong.*, 1874, 313.

⁸ *JRAS.*, 1910, 445-6.

⁹ Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa*, 335.

Âkara and the western Avanti country as has been taken by Pandit Bhagwânâl Indrajî.¹⁰ The latter proposal is against the Sanskrit idiom.¹¹ Avanti, of course, is another name for Ujjayinî (Ujjain), and Âkara, I think, is identical with the ancient midland town of Âgar, 40 miles NNE. of Ujjain from which the Bania caste Agarval derives its name.¹²

Gautamîputra is also styled 'lord' of the following mountain ranges:—

1. *Vijha* = Vindhya, here denoting the portion of the Vindhya range east of Bhopâl.
2. *Achhavata* = Rikshavat—"the Sâtpurâ Hills, and the hills extending through the middle of Berar and the south of Chutîâ Nâgpur nearly into West Bengal."¹³
3. *Parivata* = Pâriyâtra, the portion of the Vindhya range, west of Bhopâl.
4. *Sahya* = the Sahyâdris.
5. *Kaṇhagiri* = Kṛishṇagiri, doubtless the mountain on which Kaṇherî in the Thâṇâ district is situated and from which it derives its name. It is mentioned as Kaṇhasela = Kṛishṇasaila in inscriptions of Kaṇherî Caves.
6. *Macha*—not identified so far.
7. *Siriṭana* = Sṛistana, probably the same as Sṛî-saila or Sṛî-parvata, the name of a mountain on the river Kistnâ in the Karnul District.¹⁴
8. *Malaya*—the southern portion of the Western Ghâts.
9. *Mahinda* = Mahendra, the great range between the Mahânadî and Godâvarî in Eastern India—the Eastern Ghâts.
10. *Setagiri*—not yet identified.
11. *Chakora*.—The Mârkaṇḍeya Purâṇa mentions it along with Sṛî-parvata (Siriṭana). It may have been in the same locality.

The specification of the mountain ranges is apt to lead one to suppose that Gautamîputra was the lord of the whole Dakshinâpatha or Southern India. Their mention, however, need not mean that he was the lord of each whole range. If part of any range ran through his dominions, it would justify a panegyrist in calling him its lord. That Gautamîputra was not the master of the whole of Southern India is clearly proved by the fact that Ptolemy, while referring to his son Puṣumâvi who reigned conjointly with him, speaks not of one but of six kings as ruling over different parts of Dakshinâpatha, along with Puṣumâvi. Thus we have not only Polemaios (Puṣumâvi) reigning at Paithan but also Baleokuros at Hippokoura, Kerolothros (Keralaputra) at Karoura (Karûr), Pandion (Pândya) at Modoura (Maḍurâ) and so forth.¹⁵ The list of the countries, however gives us a better idea of the extent of Gautamîputra's territory. It shows that he held the whole of the country watered by the Godâvarî, Berar, Mâlwa, Kâṭhiâwâr, Gujarât and Northern Konkan.

The object of the large inscription alluded to above (Inscription No. 2) is to record the grant of Nasik Cave No. 3 to the Bhadrâyaniya sect of Buddhist monks by Gautamî,¹⁶

¹⁰ Above, vii. 259; BG., I. i. 36 and XVI. 631.

¹¹ See also the translation of this passage from the Junâgadh inscription by Kielhorn (EI., VIII. 47).

¹² BG., IX. i. 70.

¹³ Ibid. 290.

¹⁴ Pargiter, *Mârkaṇḍeya Purâṇa*, 340.

¹⁵ Above XIII. 366-8.

¹⁶ Bühler and M. Sonart take Balasiri to be the proper name of this Queen (ASWI., IV. 109; EI., VIII. 62). But this is highly improbable, because Balasiri does not sound to be a proper name, and seems to be as much an attributive as the other phrases following it. Nor is Gautamî a proper name. It only means that through her father she belonged to the Gotama gotra. Similar instances are Vâsishthî, Mâjhari and so forth. This reminds us of the usage still current in Râjputânâ where no Râjî is known by her proper name, but only by her clan name.

mother of Śātakarṇi and grand-mother of Puṣumāvi. The inscription, it is worthy of note, refers itself to the reign of Puṣumāvi and not Śātakarṇi, and is dated the 13th day of the second fortnight of summer of the 19th regnal year of the former. On the same day the village of Sudasana in the Govardhana district was granted for the maintenance of the Cave (Inscription No. 3) by the lord of Dhanakaṭa,¹⁷ who must be Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and the village of Pisājipadaka by Puṣumāvi for painting it (Inscription No. 2). In the 22nd year, however, in lieu of Sudasana the village of Samalipada in the same district was given, not by Śātakarṇi but by Puṣumāvi (Inscription No. 3). It seems that before this cave, i.e. Cave No. 3 at Nāsik, was excavated the Bhadrāyanīya mendicants were living in some of the caves already existing on the hill which in the inscriptions is called Tirāśmi. For the maintenance of these mendicants Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi¹⁸ granted a piece of land in the village of Aparakakhaṭi in the 18th year, i.e. one year previous to the excavation and presentation of the cave to the Bhadrāyanīyas (Inscription No. 4). But the village could not be inhabited and the field could not be tilled. Another piece of land was therefore given in the year 24 by Śātakarṇi who was here joined by his mother in the making of this gift (Inscription No. 5).

It is supposed by Bühler and Bhagwanlal Indraji that the dates of Inscriptions Nos. 4 and 5 in which Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi is mentioned as the donor must refer to his reign and those of Inscriptions Nos. 2 and 3 to the reign of Puṣumāvi who alone figures there as the grantee. It is, therefore, contended that Śātakarṇi and Puṣumāvi reigned separately, the latter after the former, even so far as Mahārāshṭra was concerned and that Śātakarṇi was dead when Cave No. 3 was granted to the Bhadrāyanīyas. Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, on the other hand, contends that all these dates pertain to the reign of Puṣumāvi and that he reigned conjointly with his father, the former over Mahārāshṭra and the latter over the hereditary Śātavāhana dominions. The latter view alone can be correct. For in Inscription No. 5 Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, who is the donor there along with his mother, issues a grant in favour of Buddhist monks, who, it is expressly stated, were staying in the cave which was the pious gift of theirs. This cave which was a pious gift of Śātakarṇi and his mother must doubtless be Cave No. 3 which, as we have seen above, was excavated and given over to the Bhadrāyanīyas. But then we have also seen that this cave was presented to these monks in the 19th regnal year, not of Śātakarṇi but of Puṣumāvi. Inscription No. 2 does not leave us in any doubt on this point. Evidently Śātakarṇi was living when the cave was granted to the Bhadrāyanīyas, otherwise how could he possibly make any grant to these monks while they were dwelling

¹⁷ The words *Ya amhe hi sava 19 gi pu 2 diva 13 Dhanakaṭasamanehi ya etha pavate . . . dato* have very much puzzled the antiquarians. Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji, Bühler and M. Senart take *Dhanakaṭasamanehi* to stand for *Dhanyakaṭa-śramaṇaiḥ*. I cannot understand how these Śramaṇas could have granted the village of Sudasana. Besides, the word *śramaṇa* nowhere occurs in cave inscriptions and in the sense of Buddhist mendicants. *Dhanakaṭasamanehi* must, therefore, be taken as equivalent to *Dhanakaṭa-sāminehi* and connected with *dato* as is done by Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar (*EHD.*, 18, n. 2). The letters *amhehi* preceding the date I split up into the two words *amhe hi* and *amhe* I take in the sense of 'we' and connect with *dadāma*.

¹⁸ M. Senart supposes that Nāsik Inscription No. 4 calls Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi 'lord of Benākāṭaka'. I however prefer to read *Benākāṭaka svāmi* with Bühler and Pandit Bhagwanlal, and take Benākāṭaka to be the place where the king's army was encamped. Similarly in Nāsik Inscription No. 3 I prefer to read *Navanarā svāmi* instead of *Navanara-svāmi* and suppose that Puṣumāvi issues his order from a locality called Navanara.

in the cave presented to them? Further, as Inscription No. 2 is dated in the reign of Puṣumāvi notwithstanding that his father Śātakarṇi was alive, the only possible conclusion is that the former was ruling over Mahārāshṭra and the latter over the old Andhra territory, and that consequently all the dates of the inscriptions just noted must refer to the reign of Puṣumāvi alone.¹⁹

Klaudios Ptolemaios, writing his geography of India shortly after A.D., 150 speaks of at least three kings ruling over different parts of Western India. Thus he tells us that Ozene was the capital of Tiasenes, Baithana of Siro Polemaios, and Hippokoura of Balokouros.²⁰ Ozene is, of course, Ujjain, and Baithana is Paiṭhaṇ on the Godāvarī, the ancient Pratishṭhāna, in Nizam's dominions. Hippokoura has not been definitively identified, some taking it to be Kolhāpur and others Hippargi in the Bijāpur district.²¹ Of the royal names Tiasenes obviously corresponds to Chasṭana, the founder of the second Kshatrapa dynasty, which we know wielded sway over Kāthiāwār, Gujarāt and Mālwa and which seems to have immediately succeeded Nahapāna's family. Siro Polemaios is Śri-Puṣumāvi, son of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, and Balokouros is Viḷivāyakura, name of a king whose coins have been found at Kolhāpur. These three princes have, therefore, been regarded as contemporaries of one another.

Diverse views have been expressed in regard to the relation in which Chasṭana stood with Nahapāna, on the one hand, and with Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, on the other. Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji to the last held that Chasṭana was a contemporary, though not a subordinate, of Nahapāna.²² According to Dr. Fleet Chasṭana was Nahapāna's co-regent or viceroy at Ujjain just as Bhūmaka was in Kāthiāwār.²³ Prof. Oldenberg and Dr. Burgess regard Chasṭana as the satrap of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, the Andhra conqueror of Nahapāna.²⁴ Prof. Rapson and Mr. V. A. Smith, however, consider that he was a satrap of the Kushana sovereigns who ruled over North India.²⁵ Now, Chasṭana's coins have been found in Kāthiāwār and Gujarāt and even as far north as Ajmer and Pushkar. His capital, as Ptolemy tells us, was Ujjain. It seems that if we exclude the Poona and Nāsik districts, his dominions were co-extensive with those of Nahapāna. It is not, therefore, probable that both Nahapāna and Chasṭana ruled simultaneously or that Chasṭana was a viceroy of Nahapāna. Again, his foreign title Kshatrapa and the use of the Kharoshthī alphabet on his coins clearly show that Chasṭana was a viceroy, not of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, but of some northern alien power. The view held by Prof. Rapson and Mr. Smith, *viz.* that he was a satrap of the Kushana family, is therefore, the only plausible one. It appears that after the destruction of the Kshaharāta family, the Kushana overlord appointed Chasṭana to be a satrap and dispatched him to save as much of Nahapāna's territory as was possible from the clutches of the Śātavāhanas. Chasṭana seems to have performed his task not unsatisfactorily, because, as the find spots of his coins show, the Poona and Nāsik districts were the only two provinces from Nahapāna's territory which he did not hold.

But it may be asked: how is it that Nāsik Inscription No. 2 makes Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi the lord not only of Ākarāvanti (Mālwa) but also of Surāshṭra (Kāthiāwār)—

¹⁹ For a full discussion of the subject, see my article in *JBBRAS.*, XXIII, 69 and ff.

²⁰ Above, XIII, 359 and 366.

²¹ *EHD.*, 44; *BG.*, I, i, 541

²² *BG.*, I, i, 32.

²³ *JRAS.*, 1913, 993 and n. 1.

²⁴ Above, X, 226; *ASWI.*, iv, 37, n. 4.

²⁵ *CIC.-AMk.*, Intro, cvi; *EHI.*, 210-11.

just those provinces which were under the sway of Chashtana? The answer is simple. The date of this inscription is the 19th regnal year of Puṣumāvi. What is its Christian equivalent? If we suppose, as is commonly held, that Nahapāna was killed in battle shortly after the year 46 (=A.D. 124) the last date we have for him, Puṣumāvi's nineteenth regnal year must correspond to *circa* A.D. 145. Now no less than six stone inscriptions have been discovered in Cutch, bearing the date 52 and referring themselves to the conjoint reign of Chashtana and his grandson Rudradāman.²⁶ It appears that in the year 52 (=A.D. 130) Chashtana was Mahākshatrapa and his grandson Rudradāman Kshatrapa, governing Kachchha and Surāshtra. It was therefore between A.D. 130 and 145 that Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi seems to have wrested Mālwa and Kāthiāwār either from Chashtana or Rudradāman, but most probably from the former. The story appears to be simply this. Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and his son Vāsishthīputra Puṣumāvi came from the south-east to regain the provinces lost to their family, overthrew Nahapāna *circa* A.D. 126, and re-established their power over the north-west part of Mahārāshtra. Not being content with this, they soon turned their arms against another dynasty of foreigners—the Kshatrapa dynasty that came immediately after Nahapāna and succeeded in wresting their dominions also about A.D. 145. This is also clear from a rock inscription of Rudradāman at Junāgaḍh in Kāthiāwār. In this record men of all castes are represented to have gone to Rudradāman and chosen him as their lord for protection.²⁷ If Rudradāman had succeeded Chashtana in the natural course of things, people of different castes would not have repaired to him and selected him as their protector. Evidently his family seems to have lost the kingdom and he to have regained it. This is also indicated by the boast of Rudradāman in the same inscription that the title of Mahākshatrapa he had won for himself and not inherited.²⁸ He was by no means slow to retrieve the glory of his family. For the same Junāgaḍh epigraph speaks of Rudradāman as the lord of Ākarāvanti, Surāshtra, Kukura and Aparānta—just those countries ruled over by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi according to Nāsik Inscription No. 2 as stated above. Now the date of the Junāgaḍh epigraph is (Śaka) 72 = A.D. 150, and the date of the Nāsik inscription, we have seen, is about A.D. 145. It must be, therefore, between 145 and 150 A.D. that Rudradāman succeeded in reconquering the provinces lost to his family. Again, it is worthy of note that Rudradāman is represented to have twice subdued Śātakarṇi, the lord of Dakṣiṇapatha, but not to have destroyed him in consequence of his relationship with him not being remote and to have acquired a good name on that account. It will be seen that this Śātakarṇi can be no other than Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi.

²⁶ I was the first to discover these inscriptions (*PRASI.-WC.*, 1905-06, 35); yet, curiously enough, my name has not been mentioned in *ASI.-AR.*, 1905-06, 166-7. A detailed summary of their contents has been published by me in *PRASI.-WC.*, 1914-15, 67. The date of these inscriptions is thus expressed: *Rājño Chāshtanasa Yśamotikaputrasa rājño Rudradāmasa Jayadāmaputrasa varshe dvi-pachāse* 56 2 *Phagūṇa-bahulasa dvitīyam* 15 2. At first I was inclined to supply *pautrasa* after *Yśamotikaputrasa*, and refer the date to the reign of Rudradāman (*JBRAS.*, XXIII. 68). Mr. R. C. Majumdar of the Calcutta University has kindly offered the suggestion that the date had better be referred to the conjoint reign of Chashtana and Rudradāman. I entirely accept this suggestion which is a very happy one. This at once does away with the necessity of supplying the word *pautrasa*—an addition which seems to be highly improbable when we have to make it not to one but to six records that were found in Cutch and which even though it is made does not render the passage entirely free from straining. It, therefore, seems that Jayadāman died and was succeeded to his Kshatrapa rank by his son Rudradāman during the life-time of Chashtana himself.

²⁷ *EL.*, VIII. 43, l. 9.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 44, l. 15.

Nāsik Inscription No. 5 tells us that he was alive at least up to the 24th regnal year of Puḷumāvi, which must correspond to A.D. 150—the date of the Junāgaḍh inscription. Now, in what relationship could this Śātakarṇi have stood with Rudradāman? In this connection one Kaṇherī inscription is invariably referred to. It records the grant of a minister of the queen of Vāsishṭhīputra Śātakarṇi. Her name is lost, but she is said to have been the daughter of a Mahākshatrpa called Rudra. Rudra may of course stand for Rudradāman, Rudrasimha or Rudrasena—all belonging to Chasṭana's family. But, according to Bühler, the form of the letters is of the time of Rudradāman. Vāsishṭhīputra Śātakarṇi was thus Rudradāman's son-in-law. The metronymic Vāsishṭhīputra clearly shows that the former was, like Puḷumāvi, a son of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi. Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi was, therefore, the father of Rudradāman's son-in-law. Śātakarṇi's connection with Rudradāman was thus by no means intimate and can be described as "not remote," as has been done in the Junāgaḍh inscription.²⁹

Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi was succeeded by his son Puḷumāvi. We have seen above that he was ruling conjointly with his father, the former over Mahārāshira and the latter over Andhra-deśa. After the death of Śātakarṇi, Puḷumāvi seems to have become ruler of Andhra-deśa also. For we have an inscription on the Amaravati *stūpa* in the Kistnā district which distinctly refers itself to his reign.³⁰ His coins also have been found in the Kistnā and Godāvari districts,³¹ showing clearly that he had succeeded to his ancestral kingdom. Puḷumāvi died about A.D. 158, and was succeeded by his brothers, Śiva-Śrī-Śātakarṇi and Śrī-Chandra-Sāti. Coins of these two last have been found, which, so far as the numismatic style is concerned, are closely connected with those of Puḷumāvi.³² Besides, they three have the common metronymic Vāsishṭhīputra. This shows that they must all be brothers. According to the Matsya Purāṇa, Puḷumāvi was succeeded by Śiva-Śrī, who can, therefore, be no other than Śiva-Śrī-Śātakarṇi of the coins. With this prince I identify Vāsishṭhīputra Śātakarṇi, son-in-law of Rudradāman, who, as I have remarked before, has been mentioned in a Kaṇherī cave inscription. Śiva-Śrī-Śātakarṇi must thus have been succeeded by Śrī-Chandra-Sāti. We do not know who came immediately after this last king. But of the two Śātavāhana princes who remain to be noticed, Śakasena was certainly earlier than Yajña-Śātakarṇi on palæographic grounds. The name of the first prince occurs in two records inscribed in a cave at Kaṇherī,³³ but seems to have been wrongly deciphered. Three years ago I had occasion to examine the inscriptions personally. I also took estampages of the portions which contained his name. And on a careful comparison I was convinced that the real name of the king was not Śakasena but Siri-Sāta. Commonsense also would lead us to doubt the correctness of the first reading. For the first line has been read as: *Sidhan raño Maḍhariputasa Svāmi-Sakasenasā*. Now, it is worthy of note that wherever we meet with a Śātavāhana name in an inscription, it is invariably prefixed with the honorific *Siri* (= *Śrī*). Thus we have Siri-Sātakarṇi, Siri-Puḷumāvi, Siri-Yajña-Śātakarṇi, and so forth. And the two Kaṇherī inscriptions just referred to alone become an exception, if we read *Sakasena*. Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji

²⁹ For a detailed consideration of this question see *JBBRAS.*, XXIII. 72-3.

³⁰ *Lüders' List*, No. 1248.

³¹ *CIC.-AMk.*, 20-3.

³² *Ibid*, Intro. xl.

³³ *ASWJ.*, V. 79 and 82.

was nearer to the truth when he proposed to read also *Sirisena*.³⁴ As a matter of fact there is absolutely no doubt as to the first two letters being *Siri*. And the next two almost certainly are *Sāta*—a reading which is fortified by the fact that we know a Śātavāhana prince of exactly this name from coins found in Western India.³⁵ The last Śātavāhana king whose name has been preserved is, as mentioned above, Gautamīputra Śrī-Yajña-Śātakarṇi. One inscription of his has been found in Chinna in the Kistnā district and three in Mahārāshṭra—two in a Kaṇherī and one in a Nāsik Cave.³⁶ This shows that both the Andhra-deśa and Mahārāshṭra continued to be under the Śātavāhanas up to this time. Nay, he seems to have extended his sway far beyond as is indicated by the find-spots of his coins. Some of these have been found not only in Gujarāt but also in Kāṭhiāwār and Eastern Mālwa. He, therefore, appears to have wrested these provinces from the Kshatrapa dynasty of Ujjain as Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi did sometime before him.

After Yajña Śātakarṇi Mahārāshṭra seems to have been lost to the Śātavāhana dynasty. This appears to have been caused by the irruption of the Ābhīras. In a cave at Nāsik we have got an inscription which refers itself to the reign of the Ābhīra king Īśvarasena, son of Śivadatta.³⁷ In Mālwa, Gujarāt and Kāṭhiāwār we find coins of a king called Īśvaradatta who, though he styles himself a Mahākshatrapa, was an intruder. He has been looked upon as an Ābhīra, and it is quite possible that the names of the Ābhīra king and his father referred to in the Nāsik inscription were really Īśvaradatta and Śivasena, and not Īśvarasena and Śivadatta. The father is not called a king, and if he had really been a ruler, the word *rājñah* would certainly have been conjoined with his name. The son alone, therefore, seems to have been a king and made himself so. And it seems to me that it was one and the same Ābhīra prince, viz. Īśvaradatta, who conquered not only Mālwa, Gujarāt and Kāṭhiāwār but also Mahārāshṭra. I have elsewhere shown³⁸ that Īśvaradatta is to be assigned to A.D. 188-90. This certainly places him immediately after Yajña Śātakarṇi.

Though the Śātavāhanas were deprived of Mahārāshṭra or Western Dekkan about the end of the second century A.D., they for sometime retained possession of Eastern Dekkan. We have thus coins of Śrī-Rudra-Śātakarṇi, Śrī-Kṛishṇa-Śātakarṇi and Śrī-Chandra (II) found in Central Provinces and Andhra-deśa only and not at all in Western India.³⁹ If we assign an average reign of 15 years to each one of these kings, the Śātavāhana power came to an end in the first half of the third century A.D. On the Jagayyapetta stūpa in the Kistna district, we have three inscriptions belonging to the reign of Śrī-Virapurushadatta of the Ikshvāku family. On palæographic grounds the records have been ascribed to the third century. It, therefore, seems that the extinction of the Śātavāhana rule was caused by a northern dynasty called Ikshvāku.

To be continued

³⁴ *JBBRAS*, XII. 407-9.

³⁶ *EL.*, I. 96; *ASWL.*, V. 75 and 79; *EL.*, VIII. 94.

³⁸ *ASI-AR.* 1913-14, p. 230.

³⁵ *CIC.-AMk.*, p. 1.

³⁷ *EL.*, VIII. 88.

³⁹ *CIC.-AMk.*, Intro., xlii, & ff.

⁴⁰ *ASSI.*, I. 110.

ON THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE KAUTĪLIYA.

BY HERMANN JACOBI ; BONN.

(*Translated* from the German by V. S. SUKTHANKAR, PH.D. ; POONA.*)

There can be no doubt that the Kautilya is one of the oldest monuments of the classical Sanskrit literature; for from the whole range of this literature upto the earliest times one can cite numerous instances of quotation and borrowing that go to prove the acquaintance with this work and the recognition of its authority.¹ But already **A. Hillebrandt**, to whom we owe the first really critical inquiry concerning the Kautilya, has expressed a doubt regarding its authorship; at p. 10 of his monograph cited in the footnote, he says: "We cannot assume that Kautilya himself is the sole author of the text in question. It only originates in his school, which quotes often the opinions of other teachers and opposes to them (after the manner of Sūtra works) expressly the view of Kautilya himself, at times expressing the latter in the form of direct maxims." In other words the opinion of **Hillebrandt** is that just as in the Sūtras the view of the alleged author is cited with his name, while in reality that particular work only arises in his school, so also the expressions *iti Kautilyah* or *neti Kautilyah*, which occur 72 times, reveal the fact that the Kautilya could not have been the work of Kautilya himself, but must have arisen in a school of his, the existence of which we are led to postulate. Now the editor of the text has already, in my opinion, conclusively refuted this argument in his Preface, p. XII: "But when certain occidental scholars judging (or rather misled²) by current usage, according to which no author when he sets forth his own view puts down alongside of it his name, hold the opinion that works which contain the names of Bādarāyana, Bodhāyana, etc., in formulæ like *iti Bādarāyanah*, *ity āha Bodhāyanah*, *iti Kautilya*, etc., are not composed by these persons, their view is based on the ignorance of the usage of the ancient Indian scholars. For, when an author, after refuting [833] the views of his opponents, wishes to express his own views, he must either speak of himself in the first person or specify his name. The use of the first person, which involves the bringing into prominence of one's own person, is opposed even to this day to the sentiment of Indian scholars; they rather would take pains to conceal their personality. Consequently those authors could not help giving their own names when they were stating their own views. For this reason it is not right to assert that our Arthaśāstra was written not by Kautilya himself but by some one from the circle of his pupils, notwithstanding the frequent repetition of the formula *iti Kautilyah* in the work."

The occurrence of the expression *iti Kautilyah* is, as far as I know, the only argument that has been advanced against the authorship of Kautilya. But this evidence is, as we must grant Shama Shastri, inconclusive. On the other hand, it would not do either to look upon it as a positive proof of his authorship; for, one does come across cases in which he who is named as the author in the way mentioned above, is not the real author; for instance, Jaimini and Bādarāyana, as they mutually quote each other, cannot be the authors of the two Mīmāṃsā Sūtras; for, that the two Mīmāṃsā Sūtras could have been produced approxi-

* [To the Rev. Father Dr. Robert Zimmermann, S. J., Ph.D., are due my most sincere thanks for having kindly undertaken to go over the translation in manuscript and for having improved upon my unaided efforts; the more so as, owing to the difficulties in the way of communicating with the author of the article, the translation could not be submitted to him for the benefit of revision. It is hardly necessary to add that I am solely responsible for the errors and imperfections of the translation.—V. S. S.]

¹ See **A. Hillebrandt**, *Das Kautilyaśāstra und Verwandtes*, Breslau 1908, pp. 2 ff. J. Hertel in *WZKM.*, Vol. 24, pp. 417 f. The author in these *Sitzungsberichten*, 1911, pp. 733, 735, footnote 1, 962.

² Translator.

mately at the same time seems impossible on account of the extreme dissimilarity of their styles, and perhaps also by reason of their mutual differentiation as *pūrva* and *ullara*. If we, therefore, provisionally leave out of consideration the specific statements of the author of the Kautilīya regarding his personality and confine our attention to the occurrence of his name in the formula *iti Kautilīyah*, it would be after all possible to imagine that Kautilīya might not be the author of the Arthaśāstra that is called after him. It would then be a work of an indeterminate period of composition, and would be without that significance for the 'culture history' (*Kulturgeschichte*) which, I am convinced, it possesses. The great importance of this question calls for a detailed inquiry, which is to occupy us in the sequel.

When we say that a work had its origin in the school of a certain individual person after whom it is named, we must assume two things: 1. that the alleged author was the founder of a school that acknowledged him as such in the sense that he, either materially or formally, brought the development of a 'discipline' to a certain completion and, through its being regularly handed down from teacher to pupil, made a new beginning; 2. that the 'discipline', that had been handed down in that manner and perhaps also amplified as regards minor details through discussion and controversy, was put forward in the form of a book by some subsequent adherent of the school. Can we make these assumptions in the case of the Kautilīya?

[834] That Kautilīya could have been the founder of a school in the above sense is hardly conceivable in the light of what we know from history of the position of this man. For, according to the unanimous voice of tradition, which makes itself heard already in the Kautilīya (*yena śāstram ca śāstram ca Nandarâjagatâ ca bhûh | amarseṇo ddhrtāny āśu*), he had played a leading part at the time of the founding of the Mauryan Empire and become the first Chancellor of the State that was soon to grow to such prodigious dimensions. This office imposed on him undoubtedly a task to which only a man endowed with extraordinary powers could be equal. That such a man might have "formed a school" among the statesmen and diplomats of his time—as we might say of Bismarck—may be unhesitatingly admitted; but that he had founded an academy is difficult to believe. Just try and imagine Bismarck at the end of the day's work, if there was at all an end to it, lecturing to a number of Assessors on the theory of politics and administration! Hardly less preposterous is it to imagine that Kautilīya, the Indian Bismarck, should collect pupils around himself like a common Pandit,³ instruct them in the Arthaśāstra, and in this manner found a school of the Kautilīyas. On the other hand, it is quite compatible with the character of a great statesman, nay even a ruler, that he should deal with the subject of his avocation or a part of it in theoretical treatises, as indeed was actually done by Frederick the Great. Therefore, if one may speak of a school of Kautilīya in any sense of the term whatever, then such a school could have originated not with Kautilīya personally, but only through the medium of the Arthaśāstra written by him. In other words the book does not owe its existence to the school, but the school to the book. It is perhaps not superfluous to point out that the word school is used in the last sentence in two widely different senses. In the former case—that is, had Kautilīya himself founded the school—the word school signifies the sequence of teachers and pupils, *guruśiṣyasaṃtāna*, in the latter the totality of the followers of his doctrines, *tanmatānusārīṇā*.

³ It is true that in the first Act of the *Mudrārākṣasa* he is represented as one. But the author of this drama, who lived a millennium after Cāṇakya's time, depicts the age of his hero after the pattern of his own.

Now, what do we know in reality about a school of the Kauṭīliyas? The solitary fact which could be adduced in favour of its postulation is that Kāmandaki, the author of the *Nitisara*, calls Viṣṇugupta, i. e. Kauṭīlya, his *guru* (II 6). In this instance *guru* can clearly not be taken in its strict sense; for, since Kāmandaki (as was shown above 1911, p. 742) can at the earliest be placed [835] in the third century A.D., he could not have been a contemporary of the minister of Candragupta. In other words, in Kāmandaki's mouth *guru* signifies either the Great Master of the Science or the *paramparāguru*. But the latter appears on his own saying not to have been the case. For, after praising Viṣṇugupta and his deeds in the introductory verses of his work (I 2-6), he proceeds to say:

darśanāt tasya sudr̥ṣṭo vidyānām pāradāśraṇaḥ |
rājavidyāpriyatayā saṅkṣipta-grantham artharat : 7 ,
upārjane pālāne ca bhūmer bhūmīśvaram prati |
yat kincid upadekṣyāmo rājavidyāvidām matam : 8 .

"From out of the teaching (*darśanāt* = *śāstrāt* C.) of this sage, whose gaze has penetrated to the deepest fundament of all sciences, shall we, as friends of the Science of Kings, teach only a small part concerning the acquisition and preservation of territory on the part of the prince, abridged in form, but of like contents (*artharat*, C. : *artha(ta)s tu tādān eva yasya tat*), to which the masters of the Science of Kings have given their assent." As Kāmandaki in this instance scribes the attribute *saṅkṣipta-grantha* to his work, therefore, contrasted with it, the original that served as the source must needs be called *vistṛta-grantha*, with which only the Kauṭīliya could have been meant. This, undoubtedly, he means by *darśana*, as indeed also *Vaiśeṣika*, and *Nyāya-Darśana* are the usual designations of these two *Sūtras*. Our conclusion that the source used by Kāmandaki was the Kauṭīliya is supported by his quotation II 6 : *vidyā' catasra eva' itā ūti no gurudarśanam*, which is almost identical with Kauṭīliya, p. 6, *catasra eva vidyā itī Kauṭīliyah*.⁴ In any event in Kāmandaki we find no reference to *āgama* or *āmnāya* as we indeed might expect if he had learnt the doctrines of Kauṭīliya not from his work, but in his "school," i.e. if Kauṭīliya had been his *paramparāguru*.

To estimate, however, the relation of Kauṭīliya to Kāmandaki adequately, we must draw attention to two facts that are hinted at by Kāmandaki himself in the verses translated above. In the first place it is to be noted that he, in addition to the authority of Kauṭīliya, appeals to the consensus of the *śarants* of the science (*rājavidyāvidām matam*), that is to say, he takes into consideration [836] other authorities, older and newer, when their doctrines have received general recognition. Thus we can explain divers points of difference between Kāmandaki and Kauṭīliya as, for example, those dealt with above 1911, p. 742. A further instance concerns the doctrine of the *maṇḍala* ('political sphere') and its constituents to which Kauṭīliya, p. 259, refers very briefly without mentioning any authorities, obviously as a matter of little practical value.⁵ But here was a field for idle theorists. Kāmandaki cites VIII, 20-41 a great number of different theories, in some cases giving the names of their exponents. Thus it follows that he is not a

⁴ XI, 68 Kāmandaki refers to the views of Kauṭīliya concerning the number of ministers in the Council of State (*mantrin mantramandhate*) : *yathāśambhavam ity anye* ; cf. Kauṭ., p. 29 : *yathāśamarthyam itī Kauṭīliyah*. His including Kauṭīliya under the *anye* would not be intelligible, if he had belonged to a 'School of the Kauṭīliyas.' But in the mouth of a compiler who, in addition to his chief authority had consulted others as well, it is unobjectionable. On this question see the immediate sequel.

⁵ Interesting is Manu's procedure in this respect. VII, 156 he teaches, what according to Kāmandaki, VIII, 28 is the view of Uśanes, and VII, 157 that of the Mānavas (ib. 35). Thus we have here a combination of the two views, which we may expect to find in the Bhṛguproktā Manusmṛti. Beyond this, however, no direct connection of Manu with the doctrines of the Mānavas communicated by Kauṭīliya is demonstrable, see above 1911, p. 743.

biased partisan of his master. The second peculiarity of his work that deserves notice is that he presents only one small section of the Arthaśāstra (*yat kīṃcit*). He omits everything that is concerned with the actual reality of the life in the State, the State affairs proper, such as Administration, Control of Trade and Commerce, Administration of Justice, etc., in fact, those very things which impart to the Kauṭīliya an incomparable value in our eyes; or at least he does not go beyond the most general maxims. Surely he was no statesman but a typical Pandit: in fact, even his work is characterised by his commentator, p. 137, as *mahākāvyaśvarūpa*, i.e. didactic poetry. The subjects which chiefly interest him are those that bear on abstract concepts, and may be discussed even by laymen with a *vraisemblance* of political discernment: such parts of the Śāstra, for instance, as have offered material to Bhāravi in sarga 1 and 2 of the Kirātārjunīya, and Magha in the 2nd sarga of the Śisupālayadhya for their descriptions and for many ingenious *bons mots*. Such is not the case with a science that is handed down traditionally and studied in a school, but rather with a Śāstra which the author knows principally from books and from which he concocts his own. In any case we cannot appeal to Kāmandaki for establishing the actual existence of a school of the Kauṭīliyas, which is, in fact, here the point at issue.

So far we have been treating of the school as an indefinite abstraction: it is absolutely necessary that we now come to the actual facts of the case and try to determine the importance of the school for the development of the Arthaśāstra. We find information regarding it [837] in what Kauṭīliya says concerning the sources utilised by him. This question will now be subjected to a detailed examination.

As authorities are mentioned in the Kauṭīliya the following: the *ācāryāḥ* 53 times, *apara* twice, *eke* twice, *Mīmāṃsā* 5 times, *Bārhaspatyaḥ* 6, *Auśanasah* 6, *Bhṛadvajāḥ* 7, *Viśākṣah* 6, *Pārāśarah* 4, *Parāśarah* once, *Parāśarah* once (for the latter two we ought perhaps to read *Pārāśarāḥ*), *Pīśunah* 6, *Kaṇvapakāntah* 4, *Vatavyadhiḥ* 5, *Bāhudaūtiputrah* 1. *Āmbhiyāḥ* (perhaps a mistake for *ācāryāḥ* ?); besides these, six authors are mentioned once each, but probably not as authors of Arthaśāstras, see above 1911, p. 959. Kauṭīliya thus refers to his predecessors 114 times—all instances when in either he differs from them, or they differ from one another—and then he expresses his own views with *iti Kauṭīlyah* or *neti Kauṭīlyah* (altogether 72 times); only once, p. 17, we find in a verse *etat Kauṭilyadarśanam*.

This frequency of contradiction appears to me to disclose unmistakably an individual author with a pronounced critical tendency and is in entire harmony with the words of Kauṭīliya quoted above, that he had reformed the Arthaśāstra without consideration in quite an independent manner (*amar-seṇa udhṛtam āśu*). If the Kauṭīliya had originated in his school a long time after Kauṭīliya's death, and only reproduced those of his doctrines that in the meantime had attained general recognition, would people have taken the same interest in carefully noting all those points in which the doctrines of Kauṭīliya differed from those of his predecessors? And would they have called his opponents *ācāryāḥ*; ought not the founder of the school to be the only *ācāryah* for them?

Now it is highly remarkable that two rather large sections of the work, pp. 69-156 and pp. 197-253, contain no reference to divergent views. The former would have included the whole of the *adhyaśāpaprakāra* (pp. 45-147), if antagonistic views had not been mentioned on pp. 63 and 68. At both these latter places the question is about the measure of punishment for losses which the responsible overseers are guilty of (p. 63), and also about how to trace their crimes,⁶ p. 68. Both these questions relate really to the Criminal Proce-

⁶ Read *lakṣyaṅgati* for *bhukṣyaṅgati* of the printed edition.

ture and have nothing to do with Administration, the subject-matter of the *adhyakṣapracāra*. The other section includes the 4th and 5th *adhyakṣas*: *kṣaprasādhanaṃ* and *yogavṛttam* upto the last *adhyāya* of the latter, which deals with a topic unconnected with the preceding one, namely, [838] what should be done in the event of a prospective vacancy of the throne. These two sections, in which no reference is made to any antagonistic views, have this in common that they do not deal so much with general principles as rather contain detailed practical hints: the *adhyakṣapracāra* regarding Administration, Inspection of Trade and Commerce, the other about Police, Budget and similar subjects. They are things about which the doctrinaire does not worry himself, but which for the practical politician are of the utmost importance; and on which after all only such a person can give an authoritative opinion as has taken an active part in the affairs of the State. If Kauṭilya does not avail himself of the opportunity of entering into controversy in connection with these parts of his work, the reason probably is that his predecessors never having dealt with these subjects, no opportunity offered itself. In the introductory remarks of his work the use of the expression *prāyāśas* appears to show that he had some such idea in his mind: *pṛthivyā lābhe pālanc ca yānanti arthasāstrāṇi pārvācāryaṇi prasthāpitāni, prāyāśas tūni samṛṣṭyū kam idam arthasāstram kṛtam*.

(To be continued.)

THE REVISED CHRONOLOGY OF THE LAST GUPTA EMPERORS.*

BY RAMESH CHANDRA MAJUMDAR, M.A. : CALCUTTA.

THE Bhitari Seal of Kumāragupta II. has added three new names to the list of the Gupta Emperors. Dr. Hoernle who announced this important discovery in *JASB.*, Vol. LXVIII, Part I, p. 88, undertook at the same time a discussion about the chronology of these kings and arrived at the following conclusions about their dates:—

Purugupta, A.D. 470–485

Narasimhagupta (Baladitya), A.D. 485–530

Kumāragupta II, A.D. 530 (accession).

Dr. Hoernle's views have been generally accepted by scholars. Thus Mr. V. A. Smith placed the accession of the three kings respectively in 480, 485 and 535 A.D.,¹ while Mr. Allan refers it to A.D. 480, 485 and 530.²

A few inscriptions, recently discovered, seem however to invalidate the above conclusions. As none of these inscriptions has been published in detail, it will simplify matters if a short description of each of them is given at the outset.

1. The first in point of importance is an inscription on a Buddhist image discovered at Sarnāth. The announcement of this discovery together with a reading of the dated portion was published in the *Annual Report* of the Archaeological Survey of India, Part I, p. 22.³ Through the kindness of Mr. R. D. Banerjee of the Indian Museum I had an opportunity of examining the estampages of this and the two following inscriptions. I read the dated portion as follows:

Varsha Śate Guptānāṃ sa-chaturpa-ichāśā-luttare bhūmim rakshati Kumāragupte māsē Jyai(śh)he. . . .

“In the year one hundred and fifty-four of the Guptas, in the month Jyaishṭha, while Kumāragupta was protecting the earth.”

* This article was submitted for publication in August 1917.—D.R.B.

¹ *Early History of India*, 3rd Edition, pp. 311-12.² *Catalogue of Gupta Coins*, XLIX, LV, LX.

³ See also *Annual Progress Report* of the Northern Circle, Buddhist and Hindu Monuments, 1914-15, p. 65.

2 & 3. The second and the third inscriptions were also incised on Buddhist images discovered at Sârnâth. The announcement of their discovery together with a translation of the dated portion was published in the *Annual Report* of the Archaeological Survey referred to above.

In one of these inscriptions a considerable portion of the line containing the date is quite illegible but enough remains to show that the two inscriptions belonged to the same year and were probably dated in identical words. I read the second inscription as follows :

Guptânâm samatikkṛānte sapta-paīchā'ad-uttare śate samānām pṛithivīm Budhagupte praśāsati.

"When one hundred and fifty-seven years of the Guptas had passed away, and Budhagupta was ruling the earth."

The third inscription reads: *pta pa(?)chā(?)a(?)duttare śate samānām pṛithivīm Budhagu x praśāsati Vaiśakha-māse saptame.*

4. A copperplate of the time of Budhagupta has been discovered at Damodarpur in the district of Dinâjpur, Bengal. It records a grant of land in the Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti. It is now in the possession of the Varendra Research Society along with four others belonging to the Gupta period. Short notices of these inscriptions have been published in p. 273 of the *Indo-Aryan Races* by Ramā Prasād Chanda.

Now the question arises about the identity of Kumāragupta mentioned in No. 1. We know of three kings of this name belonging to the Gupta Dynasty. The first Kumāragupta must have died before A.D. 456-7⁴, the earliest recorded date of his son and successor Skandagupta. Kumāragupta of the later Gupta Dynasty is said in the Apsad Inscription to have defeated Śānavarman, whose reign is placed beyond all doubt in the middle of the 6th century A.D. by the recently discovered Hārāhā Inscription. Kumāragupta of Inscription No. 1 with a date in 154 G. E. (A.D. 473-4) cannot, therefore, be identified with any of these, and must be identified with Kumāragupta II. of the Bhitari Seal. For it cannot be maintained, without positive evidence, that a new ruling dynasty had sprung up within the home territories of the Guptas in less than six years after the death of Skandagupta.

If this is once admitted, the chronological scheme proposed by Dr. Hoernle and accepted by Mr. V. A. Smith and others at once falls to the ground. The invalidity of their chronological assumption is also definitely established on independent grounds. Inscription No. 4 plainly indicates that Budhagupta was not merely a local ruler of Malwa as has hitherto been supposed but that his empire extended to Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti or Northern Bengal. This conclusion is supported by the Sârnâth Inscription of the same king (Nos. 2 and 3). Now the latter places his reign in the year 158 (current) of the Gupta Era or A.D. 477-8. According to the accepted scheme of chronology, either Skandagupta or Puragupta must have been the Gupta Emperor at that time and there is no place for Budhagupta, king of Magadha, before A.D. 530, the date of Kumāragupta II, the last king in an unbroken line of succession that ruled over Magadha.

⁴ It is generally assumed, on the authority of the Junâgaḍh Rock Inscription (Fleet's No. 14) that the earliest recorded date of Skandagupta is 116 G. E. or A.D. 455-6 (Allan's *Catalogue of Gupta Coins*, (XXXVIII)). This view, however, does not seem to be quite correct. The inscription says that Chakrapālita, an officer of Skandagupta, renewed, in the year 137, the embankment of the Sudarśana lake which had burst in the year 136 in consequence of excessive rain. It does not necessarily follow from this that Chakrapālita was already an officer under Skandagupta, when the dam of the lake had actually burst, and there remains, therefore, no ground for the supposition that Skandagupta had ascended the throne as early as 136 G. E. or A.D. 455-6.

Let us now examine the grounds on which Dr. Hoernle⁵ based his chronological theory. He accepted as true the statement recorded by Yuan Chwang that Mihirakula was defeated by king Bâlâditya of Magadha, and identified this Bâlâditya with Narasimhagupta of the Bhitari Seal on the ground that the latter "calls himself Bâlâditya on his coins."⁶ He then pointed out that as Mihirakula's final overthrow in India took place in about A.D. 530 "it follows, that Bâlâditya in whose reign Mihirakula's overthrow took place must have reigned down to about A.D. 530"⁷ and accordingly adjusted the dates of Puragupta, Narasimhagupta and Kumâragupta II.

This argument is considerably weakened by two considerations. In the first place, we need not lay too much stress on a tradition recorded by Yuan Chwang, specially when we remember that his information about Mihirakula was anything but satisfactory⁸ and that the credit of defeating Mihirakula is given to Vakodharman in the Mandasor Inscription.⁹

In the second place, the identity of the Bâlâditya of Yuan Chwang and Narasimhagupta Bâlâditya is anything but certain, for we know from a Sarnath stone inscription¹⁰ that there were at least three kings of the same name. Under these circumstances the evidence on which Dr. Hoernle based his chronological scheme must be pronounced to be very weak. It might have been provisionally accepted in his days in the absence of any other evidence, but we must be prepared to give it up as soon as more definite information is forthcoming. Such informations are furnished by the inscriptions noticed above and it is therefore high time to reconstruct the whole chronological scheme on this new basis.

It will follow from what has been said above that the total period of the reign of Puragupta and Narasimhagupta cannot possibly be more than 18 years, from A.D. 455-6 the last recorded date of Kumâragupta I. to A.D. 473-4 the earliest date of Kumâragupta II. This in itself is not inadmissible but the difficulty is caused by the fact that we have to place during the same period, the great emperor Skandagupta whose known dates range from A.D. 456-7 to A.D. 467-68. This raises once more the question of relationship of Skandagupta to Puragupta, a question which has never been satisfactorily answered. As Skandagupta had certainly ascended the throne in less than a year's time within his father's death, Puragupta could not possibly have preceded him. Puragupta could therefore be either (1) the successor, (2) the contemporary or (3) identical with Skandagupta. Let us now consider the probability of each of these points of view.

(1) Dr. Hoernle¹¹ looked upon Puragupta as successor of Skandagupta and this view has been generally accepted. As he held that Narasimhagupta ruled in A.D. 530, he naturally argued that the interval of 75 years between this date and the earliest recorded date of Skandagupta "can be more easily filled up by two generations including three reigns than by two generations including only two reigns, i.e., by assuming that Skandagupta and Puragupta

⁵ Dr. Hoernle has now considerably modified his theory. See *JHAS.*, 1909, pp. 128-9. He would now identify Puragupta with Skandagupta and place the latter's death at about A.D. 485, the other portions of the chronological scheme remaining intact. The other scholars, however, have accepted the original chronological scheme laid down by Dr. Hoernle apparently on the same grounds as were put forward by him. It is therefore necessary to examine these grounds.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 97.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 96.

⁸ This is clearly proved by the fact that he places Mihirakula "some centuries ago" although the latter must have flourished hardly more than a century before him.

⁹ Fleet's Nos. 33, 34.

¹⁰ Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 79.

¹¹ See footnotes above.

were brothers, succeeding one another and being themselves succeeded by Narasimhagupta.”¹² According to the new scheme of chronology put forward above the interval between the latest date of Skandagupta and the earliest date of Kumāragupta II. is reduced to only 6 years, and not only does it invalidate Dr. Hoernle’s arguments, but it seems also to be fatal to his conclusions. For if we hold Puragupta to be the successor of Skandagupta the two reigns of Puragupta and Narasimhagupta would have to be crowded in the short space of less than 6 years, a theory not deserving of serious consideration without strong evidence in its support.

(2) Dr. Fleet was of opinion that “there was a formal division of the Early Gupta territories in the generation of Skandagupta and Puragupta or some dissension between them.”¹³ This implies that both Skandagupta and Puragupta were contemporary kings over different portions of the Gupta Empire.

The Bhitari Stone Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta records his achievement as crown prince and as well as emperor, and we are told that he erected there an image of the god Vishnu in order to increase the religious merit of his father. It is, therefore, certain that he succeeded his father in those parts of his dominions.¹⁴ The Junāgadh Rock Inscription of the year 138¹⁵ records that Skandagupta selected Parādatta as his governor over Surāshtra, and the latter appointed his son Chakrapālita as the governor of the city. We are told that Chakrapālita renewed the embankment of the Sudarsana lake in the year 137. Skandagupta must, therefore, have come into the possession of the western parts of his empire immediately after his father’s death. These considerations seem to show that Skandagupta inherited the empire intact from his father and there could not possibly have been any formal division of the Gupta Empire on the death of Kumāragupta I.

It may be contended that Puragupta rebelled against his brother at a later date and carved out a dominion for himself and his successors. This view is, however, opposed to the testimony of coins.

It is a well-known fact that Kumāragupta I. introduced a new type of silver coinage for the home territories of the Gupta empire and this type is commonly found in the eastern portion of the Gupta empire. Skandagupta imitated this type of coins: four of them are dated in 141, four others in 146 and one in 148. This shows that Skandagupta was in possession of those parts down to the end of his reign. On the other hand, the available coins of Puragupta are all of the ‘Archer’ type and closely resemble in style Skandagupta’s heavier issues which, according to Mr. Allan, belong to a later period of the reign and to the most eastern Gupta dominions.¹⁶ These numismatic considerations certainly do not favour the theory of a division of the Gupta empire in Skandagupta’s reign, or the contemporaneity of the reigns of Skandagupta and Puragupta.

(3) We next come to the question of the identity of Puragupta and Skandagupta. The Bhitari seal of Kumargupta II. favours the supposition. It traces the genealogy of the Gupta dynasty from Gupta upto Kumāragupta I. and then continues: “His son (was) the Mahārājādhirāja the glorious Puragupta, who meditated on his feet (*tatpādānuḍhyātā*) (and) who was begotten on the Mahādevī Anantadevī.”

¹² *Op. cit.*, p. 96.

¹⁴ Allan’s *Gupta Coins*, p. xlvii.

¹³ Above, 1890, p. 227.

¹⁵ Fleet’s No. 14.

¹⁶ Allan’s *Gupta Coins* pp. xov, cii, 129-133.

As Dr. Hoernle admitted, the expression *tatpādānudhyāta*, applied to Puragupta in the Bhitari seal, seems to indicate him as having been the immediate successor of his father rather than a remoter successor of him.¹⁷ As Skandagupta is known to have been the immediate successor of his father, the natural presumption is that Puragupta was but another name of Skandagupta. This view was discarded by Dr. Hoernle on the ground that it seemed "hardly probable that in such genealogies the same person would be called by different names"¹⁸ and even when later on he assumed the identity of the two¹⁹ he was at a loss "how to account for the two names of the same person."²⁰

Such instances of double names are, however, not unknown even in the Gupta dynasty. Chandragupta II had a second name Devagupta and both the names occur in the genealogical list of the Vākātaka kings. Thus in the Chammak village grant of Mahārāja Pravarasena II,²¹ the donor's father, is said to have married Prabhāvatī-Guptā, daughter of the Mahārājādhirāja Sri-Devagupta, while a copperplate grant of Rudrasena²² calls the same Prabhāvatī Gupta, daughter of Chandragupta II. Another instance may be quoted from the inscriptions of the Pāla dynasty. The fourth king of this dynasty is generally known as Vīrahapāla, but in the Bādal pillar inscription of the time of Nārāyaṇapāla²³ he is mentioned under the name of Śurapāla. These instances are calculated to obviate the objection raised by Dr. Hoernle against the identity of Puragupta and Skandagupta.

Numismatic considerations also support the identity of Skandagupta and Puragupta. All the coins attributed to Puragupta are exactly similar to the coins of Skandagupta with the difference that on one coin alone the two letters *Pu, ra*, are written vertically beneath the left arm of the king in place of the letters *Ska, nda*. As a matter of fact, before the discovery of the coins with the letters *Pu ra* the other similar coins, now attributed to Puragupta, used to be attributed to Skandagupta.²⁴ If it is assumed that Skandagupta had a second name Puragupta, all these coins may be without any difficulty attributed to Skandagupta himself.

On the whole, therefore, the new inscriptions seem to be fatal to the accepted view that Puragupta succeeded Skandagupta. They certainly favour the supposition that the two names were identical although they do not absolutely preclude the theory that Skandagupta and Puragupta were rival kings.

As has been pointed out above, Budhagupta can no longer be looked upon as a mere local ruler. We learn from Inscription No. 4 that his kingdom included Puṇḍravardhana or Northern Bengal, from Nos. 2 and 3, that it extended up to Sārnāth, and from the Eran stone pillar inscription²⁵ that it included the country between the rivers Narmadā and Jamunā. He must be said, therefore, to have been in possession of a fair portion of the Imperial Gupta territory, if not the whole of it, and there remains no ground for relegating him to the position of a local ruler.

Now, the Sārnāth inscriptions (Nos. 2 and 3) definitely prove that Budhagupta was ruling there in 158 G.E. or A.D. 477. The Bhitari seal of Kamāragupta II places this monarch as well as his two predecessors in an unbroken line of succession from Kumāra-

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 93.

¹⁹ *JRAS.*, 1909, p. 129.

²¹ Fleet's No. 55.

²³ *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 161.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²² Above, 1912, p. 215.

²⁴ Allan's *Gupta Coins*, pl. cii.

²⁵ Fleet's No. 19.

gupta I. It would follow therefore that the reign of Kumāragupta II was closed before A.D. 477, at least in the Sārnāth regions, and this inference is in full agreement with the Sārnāth Inscription (No. 1) which gives us the date A.D. 473-4 for Kumāragupta II.

As a result of the foregoing discussions the following reconstruction of the chronology of the last Gupta emperors may be offered with confidence on the basis of the newly discovered inscriptions mentioned above:—

Kings.	Known dates.	Probable period.
1. Skandagupta or Puragupta, } or Skandagupta and Puragupta }	A.D. 456-7—467-8	A.D. 456-468
2. Narasimhagupta	Nil.	A.D. 468-472
3. Kumāragupta II.	A.D. 473-4	A.D. 472-477
4. Budhagupta	A.D. 477-8—494-5	A.D. 478-500

The relation of Budhagupta to his predecessor cannot be easily determined. It is natural to look upon him as the immediate successor, if not the son, of Kumāragupta II, but it is not impossible that he was a successful rebel in the west who had gradually forced his way to the imperial throne. The fact that no gold coins of Budhagupta have been discovered as yet, is certainly difficult to explain. It may be supposed that the coins bearing simply the 'Āditya legends' like Prakāśāditya and Dvādasāditya really belonged to him, though at present there is no evidence to show that they were so. On the other hand, it may very well be that he did not survive his usurpation of the imperial throne for a sufficiently long time to institute the gold coinage.

The reconstructed Gupta chronology clears up our knowledge about the history of the period in some respects. To take only one instance, the history of the so-called later Guptas becomes more definite and more consistent. The beginning of this dynasty cannot be placed later than the commencement of the sixth century A.D., because the fourth king of this dynasty, Kumāragupta, who also belonged to the fourth generation of kings, was a contemporary of Īśānavarmman and therefore lived in the middle of the 6th century A.D. According to the hitherto accepted chronology of the last Gupta emperors, the first half of the 6th century is covered by the two reigns of Narasimhagupta and Kumāragupta II, the former of whom died in about A.D. 530. We have thus to suppose that the first four kings of the later Gupta dynasty were contemporaries of these Gupta emperors, although the available evidence shows that all of them ruled over Magadha. The scheme of Gupta chronology reconstructed above gives a very natural explanation of the origin of the later Guptas. The last lineal descendant of the mighty Gupta emperors died some time after A.D. 473-4. The throne was then occupied by Budhagupta whose latest known date is A.D. 494-5. We have no definite information of any other Gupta king occupying the imperial throne of Magadha and this is quite consistent with the supposition that a new dynasty of local kings, probably scions of the Gupta Emperors, was established at Magadha at the beginning of the 6th century A.D.

In conclusion, I may refer to an article on the "Gupta Era and Mihirakula" contributed by Mr. K. B. Pathak to the Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, recently published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. He has read the 5th word in the Sārnāth.

Inscription No. 1 as *Śāsati* instead of *rakshati*, but the latter reading is quite clear on the estampage. Besides, he holds Kumāragupta of the Sārnāth inscription to be the son and successor of Skandagupta, and different from Kumāragupta of the Bhitari seal. Further, he takes Budhagupta II (*sic*) as son and successor of Kumāragupta of the Sārnāth Inscription. As he furnishes no reasons for these hypotheses, I am unable to discuss them in the present paper. I do not know of any evidence which either establishes the existence of Budhagupta II or proves the relationship assumed to exist between Skandagupta, Kumāragupta of the Sārnāth Inscription, and the so-called Budhagupta II.

BOOK NOTICE.

THE SANSKRIT POEMS OF MAYŪRA AND BĀṆA'S *CANḌĪSATAKA*, edited with a translation, notes and an introduction by G. P. QUACKENBOS, A.M., Ph.D. (Columbia University Indo-Iranian Series, vol. 9.) New York, 1917.

PROF. JACKSON, the general editor of the Series, is to be congratulated for the success of his pupil Dr. Quackenbos, who, by bringing out this critical edition of the poems of Mayūra and the *Canḍīsataka*, has not only preserved the reputation of the Columbia editors but has actually increased it. To handle and study the artistic and nice volumes of this series is a pleasure to a Sanskrit scholar whose hard lot is to read old and worn-out MSS. or cheap Indian editions. In the Introduction Dr. Quackenbos has very ably discussed anything and everything concerning Mayūra, the contemporary and rival of Bāṇabhaṭṭa. His criticism of the poems is just. Original and romantic indeed are the following remarks on the origin of the *Canḍīsataka*:—"I cannot refrain from hazarding the suggestion that perhaps the *Canḍīsataka* was written by Bāṇa to propitiate the anger of his wife by praising the foot with which she had spurned him. The reader will remember how Mayūra, while eavesdropping, heard a lover's quarrel in progress between Bāṇa and his wife. Bāṇa was saying: 'O faithful one, pardon this one fault; I will not again anger thee.' But she spurned him with her foot, and Mayūra heard her anklet tinkling. Then Bāṇa recited a propitiatory stanza (*Gatapriyā rātriḥ kṛśanau śaśi śīryata iva Pradīpō'yaṃ nidrāvaśam upagato ghṛñita iva; Praṇāmānto mānas tyajasi na ta'hā'pi kruddham aho Kuca-pratyāsattyaḥ hṛdayamapi te subhru kaḥḥinam*) in which he addressed his angry spouse as *subhrā*, 'fairbrowed'. Thereupon Mayūra, unable to restrain his propensity for punning, interrupted the quarrel and said: 'Don't call her *subhrā* (Subhrū was one of the six *kṛttikīs*, the Pleiades, who were accounted the six mothers of

Skanda; Caṇḍī was his seventh mother) but *Canḍī*' which, punningly, means 'Don't call her fairbrowed, but a vixen.' May not, therefore, the title *Canḍīsataka* have the underlying meaning of 'The Hundred stanzas to the Vixen?' The matter is all legend, or mostly all; but speculation, even in legend, is not without interest." (p. 247, footnote). Simultaneous propitiation of one's Deity and lady-love is not unknown in Sanskrit literature (e.g., Kāhlaṇa, in his *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, VII. 1, refers to Śiva's simultaneous praise of *Sandhyā* and of his consort) and *double entente* is the play of Sanskrit poets and commentators. If the suggestion of Dr. Quackenbos be communicated to orthodox Sanskrit paṇḍits, we may soon expect a *Śṛṅgārapakṣīyatikā* of the *Canḍīsataka* which would be a parallel to the devotional interpretations of the *Amarasataka*, the *Caurapūñcāśikā* and the *Śṛṅgāratitika* of Kālidāsa. The text of the poems has been edited critically. The *Mayūrasataka* has been printed for the first time from the unique birch-bark *Sāradā* MS. in the Tübingen University Library. The other poems were printed many times in India and Dr. Quackenbos has given all the different readings of those editions and also the readings of the *śōkas* as quoted in the various anthologies, works on poetics, etc. The translation is a faithful one following the interpretation of the commentaries printed in the *Kācāyamālā* editions of the *Sāryasataka* and *Canḍīsataka*. The editor has also added various explanatory notes.

We have noticed all its good features. As for its defects, there are a few mistranslations and a few misleading notes as examples of which we may mention the following: (1) p. 21—*purā' marivatiḥ jayinī* *Śrī Ujjayinī* *puri*: 'Formerly in . . . Amarāvati Ujjayinī, Śrī Ujjayinī.' (It ought to be 'in Śrī Ujjayinī which surpassed Amarāvati—the city of the Lord of Devas.') (2) p. 272—

Kuvalayakalikā-karṇapārādareṇa; 'out of regard for her ear-ornament, an imitation lotus bud'—an ear-ornament in the shape of a lotus.' (The commentary explains '*Nilotpala-kalikā-rāpaḥ Karṇapārah*'; here *rāpa* does not mean shape but indicates identity of the two, i.e., the lotus itself is the ear-ornament. For lotus as ear-ornament, cf. . . . *Bhaviṇī putrapremni Kuvalayadutapripi karṇe kuroti*. Meghadūta I. 48). (3) p. 109—Dr. Quackenbos identifies the 'Mountain of Sunrise' (Udayagiri) with Mt. Meru. But these two are, according to the *Purāṇas*, different; Udayagiri is located to the east of Bhāratavarṣa, the southernmost country of the Jambudvīpa in the centre of which is Mt. Meru. Thus Udayagiri is to the east of India, whereas Mt. Meru is to its north. (4) pp. 234-5—*Bhūpālāḥ śaśi-bhāskarānvaya-bhuvah ke nīma nī*"*saditu Bhārlāram punar eka eva hi bhuvah teḍu deva manyāmahe*; *Yenāṅgaḥ parimarsya Kumdatam a'hā'kr̥sya vyndasyāyatam Colam prāpya ca madhyadeśam adhunī kañcyāḥ karah patitah*. Dr. Peterson supposed that this *śloka* refers to the conquests of Harsavardhana, Mayūra's patron. But as his conquest never extended to Southern India, Dr. Ettinghausen believes (and Dr. Quackenbos also seems to believe) it to be a stanza written before a campaign, forecasting what Harsa intended to do. But it cannot be a forecast. The suffix *ta* (*ktā*) of *patitah* refers to past tense only. Here it has been used with *adhunā* (now) and thus the past sense is modified a little so as to mean immediate past or in other words *Present Perfect Tense*. It cannot refer to future. Hence we must take the stanza not as a forecast but as 'Praise in the conventional exaggerated style of a poet given up to punning and without any reference to historical accuracy.'

SURENDRANATH MAJUMDAR SASTRI.

PĀRTHA-PARĀKRAMA VYĀYOGA OF PARAMĀRA
PRAHLĀDANADEVA, edited with introduction by
C. D. DALAL, M.A. Baroda, 1917. Price
Annas six.

It is the fourth volume of the Gaekwad's Oriental Series which was welcomed, a few months ago, in my review of the first volume—*Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*. The work under review is a *vyāyoga* or an one-act drama on military spectacle. The

subject matter is the *parākrama* of Pārtha (Arjuna) in defeating the army of the Kauravas and recovering the cows of Virāṭa. The author is Prahlādanadeva, the younger brother and Yuvarāja (A.D. 1162-1207) of king Dhārāvarsa, the Paramāra ruler of Chandrāvātī and Mount Abu. Prahlādana was famous as a warrior, philanthropist and poet. The author of the *Kīrtikāumudī* says that this royal bard made the Goddess of Learning, who was afflicted with sorrow on account of the death of Muñja and Bhoja, again delightful by dramatizing a beautiful story. He also describes our poet in a *prastāvi* as the incarnation of *Sarojāsanasambhavā* (Goddess of Learning) or of the heavenly cow. Though these descriptions have been prompted by what Viśākhā-datta refers to (in his *Mudrārāksasa*) as "*Stuvanti śrōṇāśyāḥ kṣitī patimabhatāirapi guṇaiḥ prabhā vast-śāyāḥ sa khatu*," this Vyāyoga exhibits our royal bard's skill in drawing word-pictures and in delineating the *Sambhāvokti alaṅkāra* as an example of which I quote :—

*Gopān-astravrajitavapuṣaḥ prekṣya bhoṣṇāgi-
tāksyo-
Hambhārāir-mukharitanahākadhrarandhran-
rudatyah ;
Udhoroḥṇid-atasagatayo'pyāśu bhūtyā rajantyas-
Tāmyanty-ctāḥ Kurapatihātā (kṛtā ?) māturas-
tarākōnām.*

It contains many fine passages some of which reminds the reader of similar incidents described in the *Vaṇṣasambhāra* and the *Dhanuḥjaya-vijaya-vyāyoga* which treats of the same subject. Though our poet is skilful in writing fine verses and is thus really a *prahlādana* (gladdener), he is not very artistic in the manipulation and development of the plot. His style is *Gauḍī*. He introduces, in his *Prastāvanā*, a *Ślōpaka* in addition to the *Sūtradhāra*. The Prākṛit passages insert *y* to avoid hiatus (the *Ya-śruti* of Jaina Prākṛit)—a peculiarity probably due to the fact that the MSS. belonged to Jaina Bhāṇḍāras. The editor has performed his duty very satisfactorily; his introduction is learned, and there are only a few printing mistakes (e.g., read *hṛtā* for *hatā* in the *śloka* quoted above, *varṣadhara* for *varṣadhara* in p. 13, *Ācārya*, *vicāryatām* for *Ācāryavicāryatām*.)

SURENDRANATH MAJUMDAR SASTRI.

THE VAULTING SYSTEM OF THE HINDOLA MAHAL AT MANDU.*

BY CAPTAIN K. A. C. CRESWELL, R.A.F.

LOOKING through the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1903, I was much struck with the interior of the Hindola Mahal at Mandu, which I think must possess one of the most remarkable vaulting systems in India. This building is T-shaped in plan, and consists of a great Durbar Hall (Plate I, A) 88½ feet long by 24½ feet broad and 38½ feet high, forming the stem, and a cross-piece in two storeys. The ground floor of the latter is taken up by passages, storerooms, a stairway and a broad ramp leading to the upper floor, where there is another fine hall, a glimpse of which is seen through the window over the door at the end of the Durbar Hall.

As may be seen, the vaulting system of the great Durbar Hall consists of a series of transverse arches evenly spaced; the backs of these arches are filled up level, but the roofing between them had disappeared as long ago as 1842¹. These transverse arches may have been connected either by a series of barrel vaults running at right angles to the axis of the hall, or by means of beams of wood or stone. Mr. Cousens² suggests "that the roof was supported on wooden beams, which have been carried off, as has happened in so many buildings at Bijāpur and other places." In view of the tremendous abutment provided (Plate I, B) it is difficult to believe that it can have been roofed with anything lighter than stone. I venture to suggest that it was roofed by a series of barrel vaults resting on the transverse arches, and my reason for doing so will become clear in the course of this article.

The great feature of this vaulting system which immediately strikes one is that, owing to the roof being carried on fixed points spaced well apart, the wall between them becomes merely a curtain wall, which may be pierced at will and lateral lighting obtained, as in Gothic vaulting. With a simple barrel-vault running from one end of the hall to the other it is very difficult to do this. I shall therefore attempt to trace this somewhat unusual solution to its earliest type, a type in which this potentiality for lateral lighting is not realised, and in which the arches, placed seldom more than six or seven feet apart, are roofed with stone slabs and never vaulted. This primitive type can be traced back to the commencement of the Christian era, when it is found in Nabataean tombs still existing in the Jebel Haurān (the country lying S. E. of Damascus).

The Nabataeans, who were once thought to have been Arameans on account of their language, have been shown by Nöldeke and others to have been true Arabs who made use of Aramaic for literary purposes - all their inscriptions are in Aramaic - because Arabic had not at that time developed into a literary language. Our knowledge of them may be said to date from the Hellenic period, when we hear of Antigonos sending his general Athenæus against them in 312 B.C., previous to which we know practically nothing about them. At this time they were nomads, without agriculture; nevertheless they were great traders. The first ruler (βασιλευς) of whom we hear is Aretas, with whom Jason, the High Priest, sought refuge in 169 B.C.³ The Nabataeans got their chance on the fall of the empire of the Ptolemies and the Seloucids, and their kingdom may be said to date from Erotimus,

* Reprinted with additions from the *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*.

¹ *A description of the Ruined City of Mandoo*. By a Subaltern. Bombay, 1854. (Preface dated June, 1842.) See pages 16-17.

² *Archæological Survey, Annual Report*, 1903, p. 32 n.

³ Macc., V.

about 110-100 B.C. In 84 B.C., the Nabataean king Aretas III. took Damascus from Antiochus XII. : it was recovered by Herod, 23 B.C., but it again changed hands nineteen years later, being taken by Aretas IV. in 4 B.C. In A.D. 106 the Nabataean kingdom, which now comprised Bostra (Ḥaurân) and Petra, was converted into a Roman province (Provincia Arabia) by Cornelius Palma, the Roman governor of Syria.⁴

As might be expected, the architecture of the Ḥaurân was governed by local conditions. Like the mountains of the Ḥaurân, the entire region is one in which black

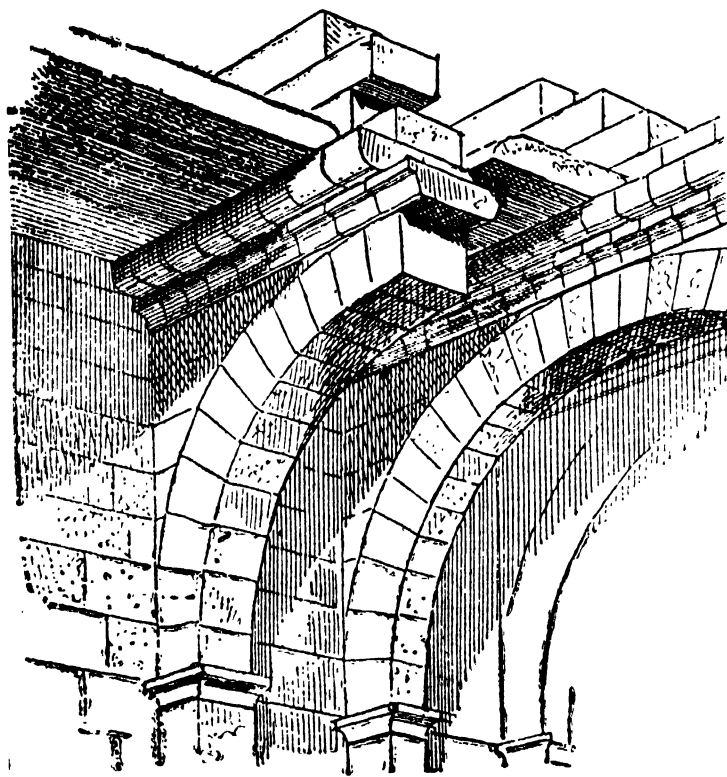


Fig. 1.

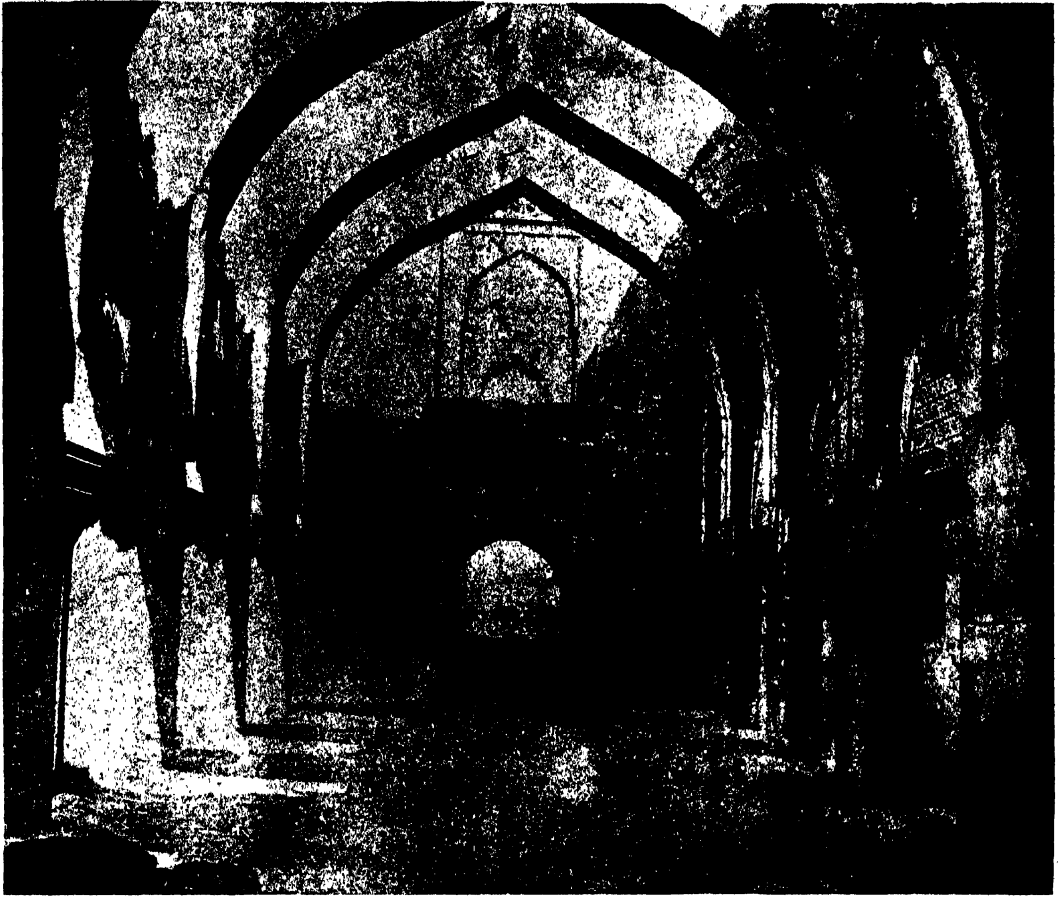
basalt is the only rock, except at its southernmost extremity, where limestone appears as a building stone in the ruins of Kuşair al-Hallâbât.⁵ The country does not produce any timber, and this quite material necessity became the mother of invention and led to the discovery of new constructive methods. Thus the arch, the sole means of covering wide spaces, became the principal element of construction and a series of parallel arches supporting ceiling slabs (Fig. 1) served to cover most of their halls.⁶

The architecture of this region is divided by Butler into five groups:—(1) The Prehistoric—a rough megalithic style without any indication of date; (2) The Nabataean; (3) The Roman; (4) The Christian; (5) The Muhammadan. The first historical period is the Nabataean, the earliest monument of which that can be accurately dated is placed by him c. 60 B.C. It may, of course, have begun somewhat earlier, and it lasted until A.D. 106 when the Roman period commenced, and continued until the time of Constantine. The Roman and Christian periods have much reduced the Nabataean remains, but many scattered details of very characteristic ornament and numerous inscriptions in Nabataean script remain.

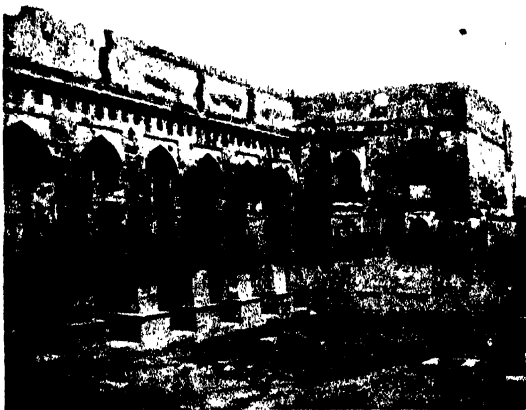
⁴ Schurer, (E.). *History of the Nabataean Kings*, being Appendix II. to his *History of the Jewish People*, Div. I, Vol. 2.

⁵ Butler (H. C.). *Ancient Architecture in Syria*, Sect. A, pp. 63-64.

⁶ De Vogüé. *Syrie Centrale*, tome I. p. 6.



A. The Hindola Mahal (Interior)



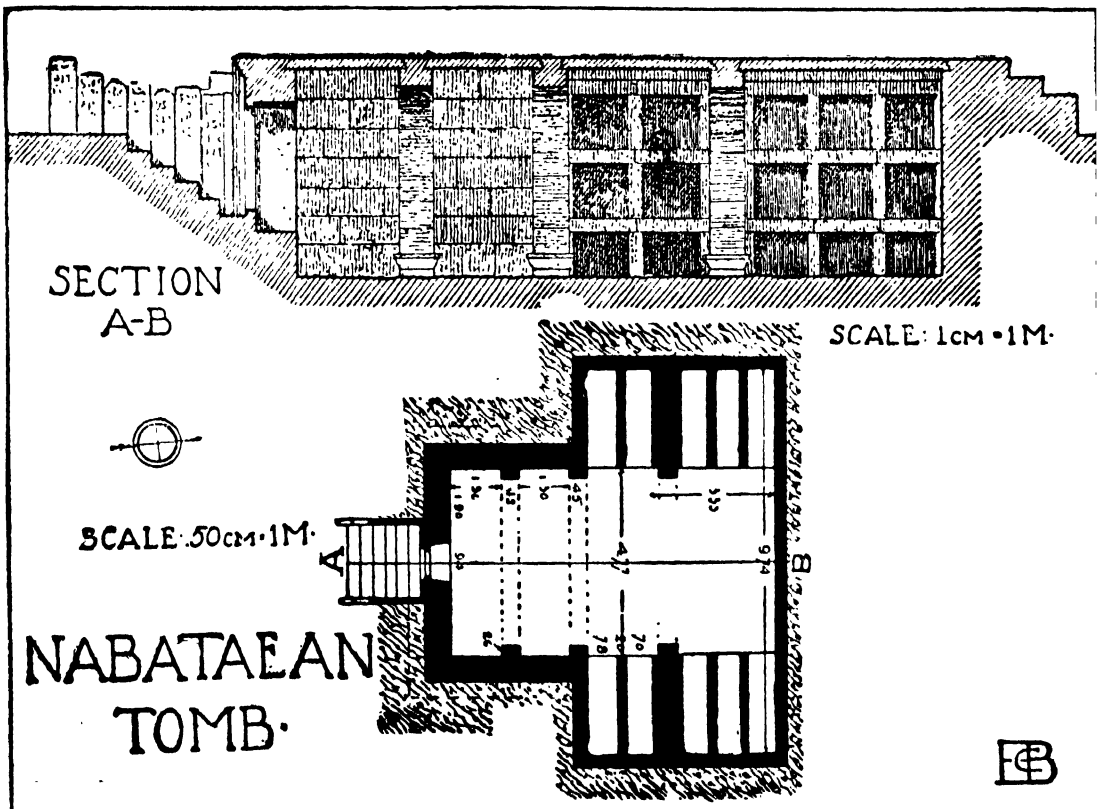
B. The Hindola Mahal (Exterior).



C. Tak Aiwān. (From Dieulafoy:
L'Art antique de la Perse).

Butler, like De Vogüé, emphasises the fact that "the architecture was the most truly lithic that the world has ever seen; it was entirely of stone, sometimes even to the doors and window shutters."⁷ It offers a marked contrast to that of Northern Syria in plan, principles of construction and ornamental details—in all those things that go to make up style.⁸ For the roofing of all narrow apartments stone slabs were employed; when the width did not exceed 9 feet the space was reduced by corbels to about 6 feet, and slabs slightly over this length were placed across. The wall was always carried up above the corbels to weight them and keep them in place. When broader spaces were to be roofed an arch was thrown across, the haunches of the arch were filled up level with the side walls, and long slabs were laid from these side walls to the central line of support thus provided. Corbelling was used at the same time to further help the cross slabs. In roofing a space that was very long as well as over 9 feet in width, two or more transverse arches were used, giving a series of transverse supports all down the hall. The Druses of the Hauran build their houses in this fashion at the present day.

Tombs were wholly or partially excavated in the ground and paved, walled and roofed with stone. One of the earliest found is described and illustrated by Butler. It is roofed with arches which support slabs (Fig. 2), and eight stelæ with Nabataean inscriptions were found in it.⁹



⁷ Butler, *Ancient Architecture in Syria*, p. 68.

⁸ Butler, *Architecture and other Arts*, p. 310.

⁹ *Ancient Architecture in Syria*, p. 206 and ill. 185. Another p. 207, also illustrated.

Some examples of this form of roofing were published by De Vogüé fifty years ago. Recently the ground has been thoroughly gone over by the Princeton Expedition, which has published and described many new buildings. Confining myself to those which are dated, I have compiled the following list :—

A.D.

345. Church of Julianos at Umm al-Jamal.¹⁰

371. Prætorium at Umm al-Jamal.¹¹

412. Kaşr al-Bâ'ik, near the western border of the southern Haurân. A Greek inscription states that it was built in the reign of the Emperor Arcadius under the *dux* Phil. Pelagios, A.D. 412.¹²

430-1. A small house at al-Majdal, in which it occurs on the ground floor.¹³

508 (?) Church No. 1 at al-Umtâ'iyah. Inscription gives date which may possibly be A.D. 508.¹⁴

515. Church of S. George at Zor'ah, dated 410 of the Era of Bosra (=A.D. 515).¹⁵

578. House of Flavios Soos—a Roman-Nabataean name—at al-Haiyât.¹⁶

624-5. Monastery of S. George at Sameh. This date is exceedingly late for a Christian inscription to be found *in situ* in Syria, as Islam had been proclaimed and Christian Arabia was on the point of extinction. Bosra, however, had not fallen and the country was still under the protection of the Empire.¹⁷

Let us now stop a moment to examine the exact *raison d'être* of this roofing system. Being a country of stone, the people naturally had a predilection for the lintel, and used it wherever possible. Where, however, this was not possible they used the arch, and it may well be asked, why did they not make the arch continuous, and thus form a barrel-vault. I think the answer must be that, as they were not acquainted with the Mesopotamian method of building a vault without centering by using flat bricks in rings sloping backwards at a considerable angle against a head wall, any barrel-vault built by them would have required considerable timber for the centering—a serious matter. By building a series of separate arches, however, the same piece of centering could be used over and over again as soon as one arch had set, thus reducing the timber required to an absolute minimum, and their favourite lintel method could be used as a final covering. In all these early buildings, however, the fact that the roof is borne on points of support spaced at regular intervals permits the piercing of the side walls for lateral lighting. Yet out of the large number of examples—some thirty or forty—described by De Vogüé and Butler, there are not many in which this opportunity has been realised, and even in these cases it has only been made use of in a timid and halting manner, small square windows pierced at irregular intervals, and not in each bay, being all that is attempted.

The Persians must have been acquainted with this system at a fairly early date, since it is found in the palace built about 50 miles south of Mosul at Hatra¹⁸ (or al-Hadr) by the Parthians, (Plate II, B) whose dynasty came to an end in A.D. 226. It was left to the keen architectural insight of the Persians to realise its potentialities fully and to carry it to its final

¹⁰ *Ancient Architecture in Syria*, pp. 173-176.

¹¹ *Ibid*, pp. 160-166.

¹² *Ibid*, pp. 81-83.

¹³ *Ibid*, pp. 120-122.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 92.

¹⁵ De Vogüé, *Syrie Centrale*, tome I, pp. 61-62 and plate 21.

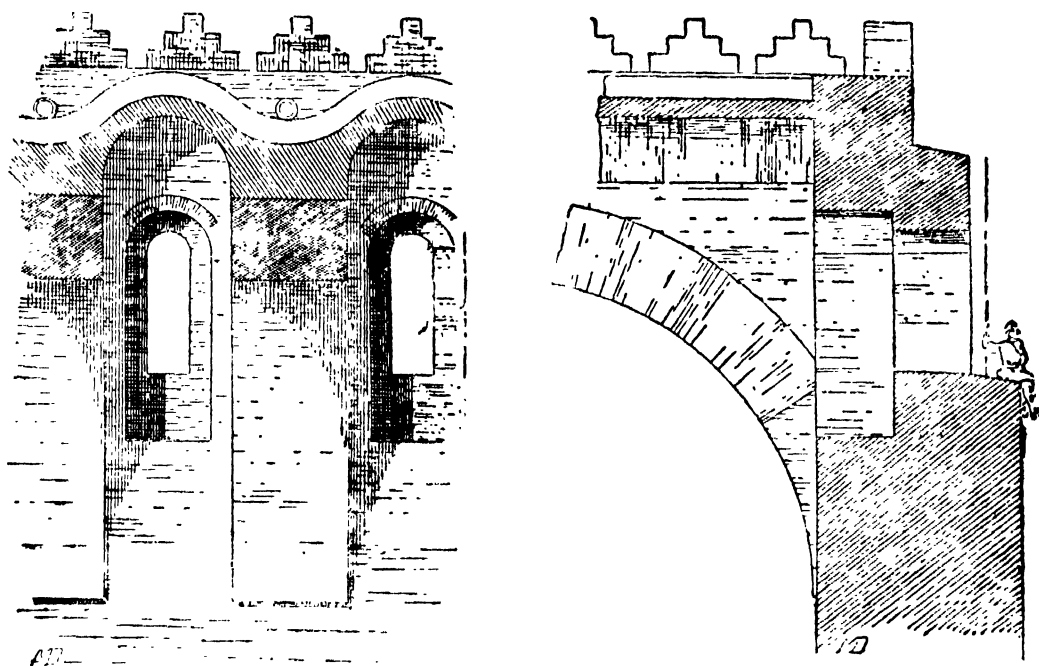
¹⁶ Butler, *Ancient Architecture in Syria*, pp. 362-363.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, p. 85.

¹⁸ Andrae (Dr. W.). *Hatra*. Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft. Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen, Nos. 9 and 21. It occurs in Room 15—see Abb. 21 and 228.

development. They were responsible for two innovations, (a) they were the first to use barrel-vaults to connect the transverse arches, thus making it possible to place them farther apart, (b) they pierced windows in each of the curtain walls between these arches and thus obtained excellent lateral lighting, so that when Dieulafoy saw the ruins of the earliest building of this type, he was irresistibly reminded of a Gothic cathedral.

This building, known as Tak Eivan or Kut Gâpân, stands at Karkh. This town, which is known in Syriac as Karkhâ de Ladân, was founded by Shapur II. who died A. D. 379. Although seen by Rawlinson in 1838,¹⁹ it was first surveyed and described by Dieulafoy some thirty years ago.²⁰ It is raised on a sub-basement connected with an immense rectangular enclosure, to which it probably formed a monumental gateway. In its present state it consists of a gallery about 60 feet long by 27 feet broad (Plate I, C), which originally formed one of the arms of a long hall, the centre of which was occupied by a dome. Each arm was spanned by transverse arches (*ares-doubleaux*) brought up level and joined by barrel-vaults (*formerets*) Plate II, A shows Phéné Spiers' restoration and Figs. 3 and 4 explain



(Fig. 3 & 4.)

the vaulting system in detail. The curvature of the transverse arches was found to correspond to a radius equal to half the width of the hall, hence semi-circular arches are shown in the restoration. If we bear in mind the restrictions imposed by longitudinal lighting, the very great step forward here taken will be realised.

We now come to a building which every writer, with the exception of Professor Max van Berchem,²¹ has regarded as Muhammadan. This is Kuşair Kharāueh, which stands in the country lying east of the Jordan, the Moab of the Old Testament, or the steppe of

¹⁹ *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, Vol. IX, p. 71.

²⁰ *L'Art Antique de la Perse*, tome V, pp. 79-87. ²¹ See *Journal des Savants*, 1909, pp. 406-408.

Balqa, where so many of the Umayyad Khalifs passed a great part of their lives. Our vaulting system occurs in three halls on the upper floor, but although the transverse arches are joined with barrel-vaults, windows are *not* pierced in the bays (Plate II, C). In this respect it is unique among Muhammadan buildings vaulted in this fashion, which fact appears to me to lend further support to Prof. van Berchem's views as to its pre-Muhammadan date. As for the date of Kharâneh, a *terminus-ad quem* is fortunately provided by the preservation on its walls of the last three lines of an inscription painted in black and copied by Dr. Moritz,²² which runs, ". . . Amîr said it and Abd al-Malik the son of Ulayd wrote it on Monday three days remaining from Muharram of the year ninety-two (= A.D. 710)." Dr. Moritz suggests that Abd al-Malik was probably a member of al-Walid's suite on his return from the visit to Mecca, which he made in A.H. 91, (709), and which is recorded by Tabari and Ibn al-Athîr.

A few hours west of Kharâneh stands Kuşair 'Amrah, first seen by Professor Musil in 1898, and completely surveyed by him in 1900 and 1901 under the auspices of the Imperial Academy of Sciences of Vienna. The feature, of course, which concerns us is the hall roofed with three barrel-vaults resting on transverse arches with windows in the bays between them (Plate II, D), but the unique feature of the building is its rich and well-preserved wall-paintings which are fortunately combined with inscriptions enabling us to fix its date within very narrow limits. The two most important pictures are one representing the Khalif enthroned, with an Arabic inscription too damaged to be deciphered, and another—a group of six figures—representing the enemies of Islam, four of whom may be identified by their inscriptions as Kaisar (the Emperor of Byzantium), Roderick (the Ostrogoth), Chosroes (King of Persia) and Negus (King of Abyssinia). It must therefore have been built after A.D. 711, when the Arabs first came in contact with Roderick at the battle of the Guadalete. On the other hand, Professor Musil has brought together detailed historical evidence from the *Kitâb al-Aghânî* and other works to show that it must have been built by the Umayyads, who have been shown both by him²³ and by Lammens²⁴ to have been real Arabs of the desert, fond of hunting, wine, poetry, and the free open-air life, hating towns and neglecting their capital, Damascus, whenever possible—Muhammadans in name but not by temperament. Especially was this the case with Walid I., a half-Bedouin, who already, when heir to the throne, had selected the steppe of Balqa (Moab) as his dwelling place. He combined with this a real craze for building and the *Kitâb al-Aghânî* especially mentions pleasure palaces built by him. Professor Musil suggests that just as Tûba, lying in the Wâdi Ghadaf, probably corresponds with Aghdaf so it is probable that Kuşair 'Amrah—half bath, half hunting-box—must be one of the Umayyad palaces mentioned in early Arabic literature, concealed under a name that is modern. As the Umayyad dynasty came to an end in A.D. 750, this fixes the other limit. Basing his opinion on convincing arguments as to the identification of the two remaining figures which, however, I cannot enter into here for want of space, Professor van Berchem has narrowed down the probable date to A.D. 712-715.²⁵

This fixes the date, more or less, for a building scarcely a mile away, known as Hammâm as-Sarakh²⁶, since its plan and dimensions, as well as the number and arrangement of its rooms, are almost identical. One chamber even is roofed with three barrel-vaults resting on transverse arches with windows in the bays, just as we have already seen (Plate II, D).

²² *Ausflüge in der Arabia Petrea: Mélanges de la Faculté orientale, Beyrouth*, tome III, p. 422.

²³ *Kuşejr 'Amra*, pp. 151-160.

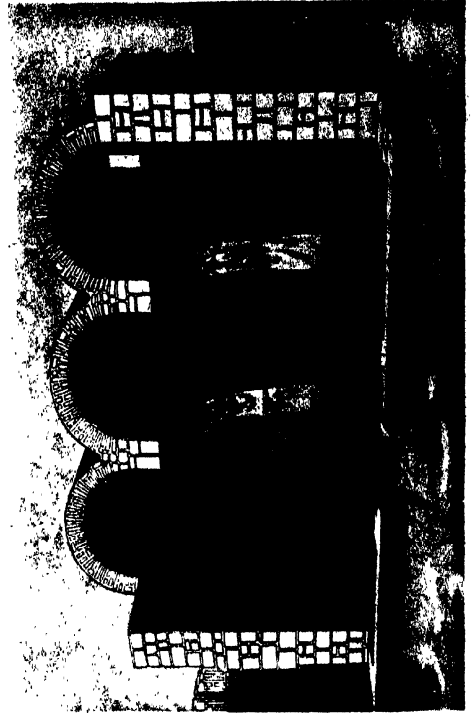
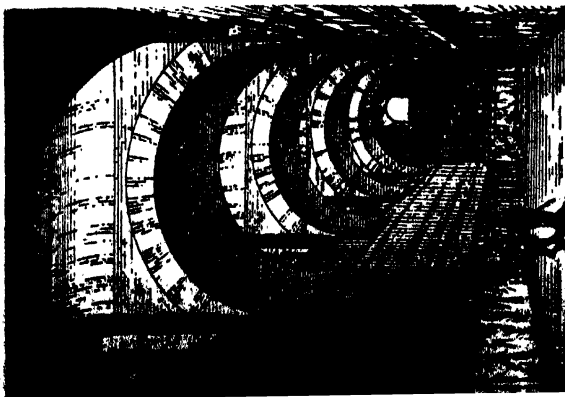
²⁴ *La bâdia et la hira sous les Omayyades: Mélanges de la Faculté orientale, Beyrouth*, tome VI, pp. 91-112.

²⁵ *Journal des Savants*, 1909, pp. 364-370.

²⁶ Butler, *Ancient Architecture in Syria*, Sect. A, pp. 77, 78, and Appendix, pp. xix-xxv, with plan.



A. Tak Eivan:
Restoration
of Interior.
(From
Dieulafoy).



B. Hatra. (From Dr. W. Andrae: *Hatra*).



C. Kaer Kharāneh (From Dr. Monto: *Archaeologia*).

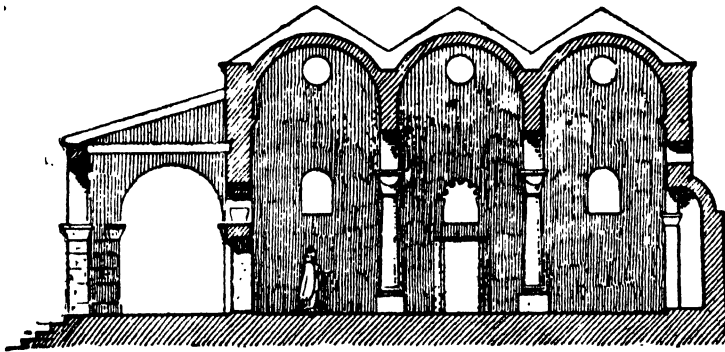
1.

2.

3.

Butler has also published a description of an exceedingly early mosque at Kuṣair al-Hallābāt.²⁷ It measures 10.10 m. by 11.80 m. and is divided by two rows of five arches carried on columns and engaged piers (Fig. 5). The walls are levelled up above the arches and barrel-vaults are turned upon them. He suggests that it belongs to the eighth or ninth century. This mosque has a concave mihrāb, which he expressly states was built with the walls, and not added afterwards. As the concave mihrāb does not go back to the earliest days of Islam, this is important, as it gives us a clue to its date. According to Makrīzī, the first to introduce the concave mihrāb was 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-Azīz when he

ACTUAL STATE.



SECTION A-B RESTORED.

(Fig. 5.)

restored the mosque at Medinah by order of the Khalif Walīd, A. H. 87-88 (705-706). The mihrāb was copied from the Christian apse and for this reason was received with some reluctance by Islam, in fact it is defined as the least holy part of the mosque and the Imām is earnestly warned not to take up his station within it.²⁸ In keeping with this statement, the exceedingly

early mihrāb in the mosque-courtyard of the eighth century palace of Ukhaīdir is entirely without decoration, and is a simple rectangular recess roofed with a semi-dome set on horizontal brackets: the archivolt consists of a double ring of voussoirs. Though the first Egyptian mosque was built by 'Amr ibn al-Āṣ in A. D. 642 it was not given a concave mihrāb until its third enlargement in A. D. 710. The mosque at Kuṣair al-Hallābāt must therefore have been built after A. D. 706 at the earliest. On the other hand, it is scarcely likely to be later than the early part of the ninth century, as it has not a distinctively Muhammadan appearance, and we know from ninth-century buildings at Samarrā, and from the mosque of Ibn-Tūlūn at Cairo (A. D. 876-879), that strong individuality had been acquired by that time.

The last early instance that I shall quote occurs in the palace of Ukhaīdir, discovered by Massignou in 1908, and by Miss Bell, independently, in 1909. An interesting example of our vaulting system is found in one room (Miss Bell's Room 32) in which the windows are not pierced, but simply blocked out (Plate III, A. and Fig. 6). This palace may be placed c. A. D. 750.

The finest and most beautiful example to be found in the Middle East is undoubtedly Khan Orthmā at Baghdad (Plate III, C), which will at once be recognised as having the closest possible affinity with the Hindola Mahal, indeed it would be difficult to find anywhere two interiors so nearly identical. Dieulafoy and General De Beylié²⁹ attribute this building to the twelfth century, and Baron von Oppenheim says that it doubtless belongs to the times of the Khalīfat³⁰ (ended A. D. 1258). I find, however, that Commander J. F. Jones, who saw it in 1846, states that it bears the date 758 (= A. D. 1356-7).³¹ This is

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 74-77 and Appendix xvii-xix.

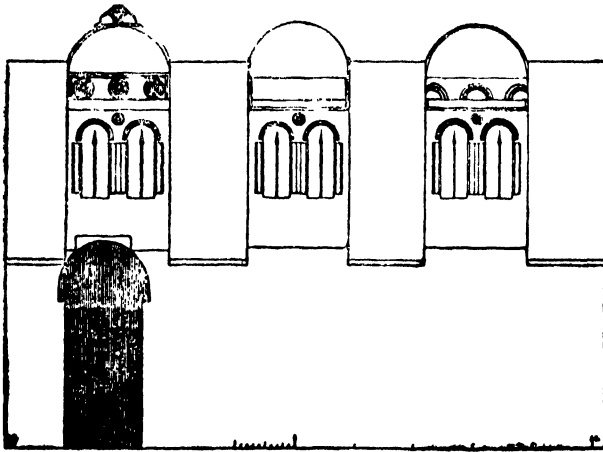
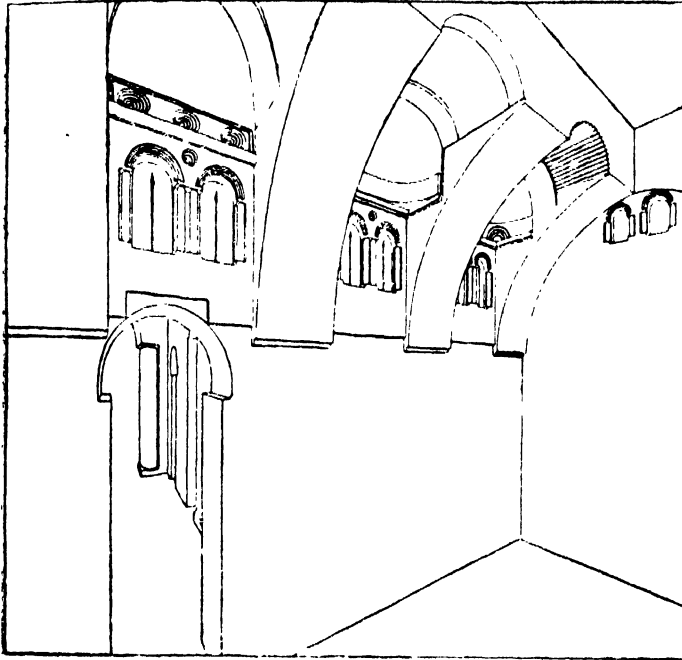
²⁸ Bell (G. L.). *Palace and Mosque at Ukhaīdir*, pp. 147-151.

²⁹ *Prom et Samarra*, p. 33.

³⁰ *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, Band II, p. 241.

³¹ *Memoir on the Province of Baghdad*. Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government, XLIII—New Series, p. 315.

the year in which the Merjaniyeh Mosque was built, of whose endowment Khan Orthma forms part. Perhaps the dating inscription may have since disappeared



(Fig. 6.)

examples which may have influenced the Mândû architect.

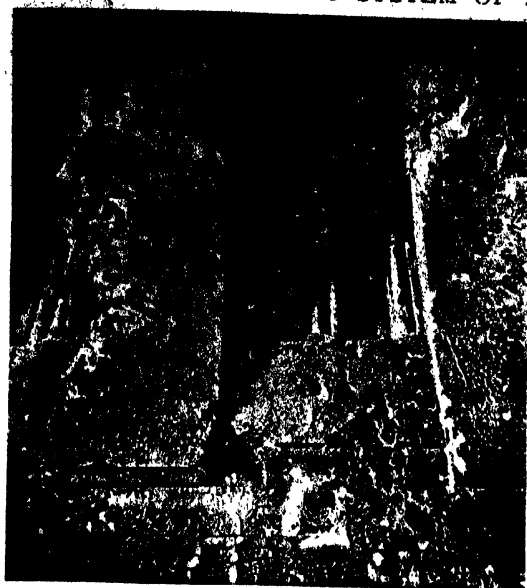
Regarding the date of the Hindola Mahal, Capt. Barnes states³² that it cannot be fixed with exactitude, as no inscriptions were discovered during the repairs, and he had not succeeded in finding a specific reference to it in any history. He considers it, however, to be one of the earliest Muhammadan buildings at Mândû. This is probable for two reasons, (a) its sloping walls which recall fourteenth-century buildings at Delhi, (b) the fact that a large number of the facing stones bear on their inner sides the images of Hindu gods or remains of Hindu ornament, while broken images were found mixed indiscriminately with the rubble core. He suggests that the building which it most resembles in its sloping walls and decorative features is the tomb of Muhammad Tughlaq at Delhi (d. 1324). However, I do not think we need assume that it is quite as old as that. Firstly, one would expect the style of a provincial building to lag some forty or fifty years behind that of the capital;³³ secondly, the tomb of Muhammad Tughlaq is the very earliest in Delhi with sloping walls: there are several later

³² Conservation at Mândû and Dhâr. *A. S. Ind., Annual Report*, 1903-4, p. 31.

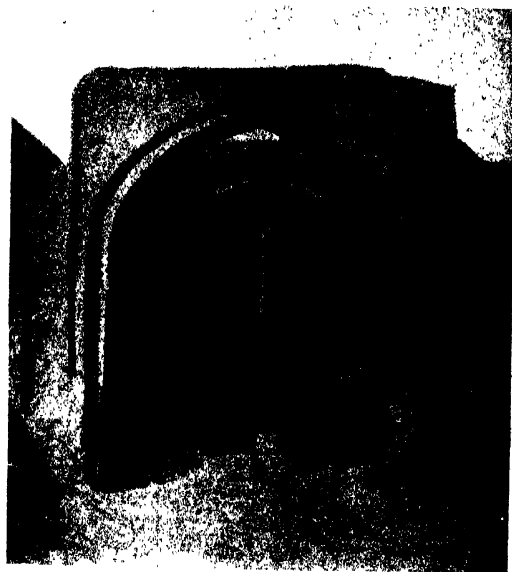
³³ As an example of this I would cite the following case taken from the field of palaeography. As is well known, the Kufic character was employed for all historical inscriptions in Egypt down to the fall of the Fatimide dynasty. The curved character, however, was employed in Syria before this event, e.g., on the *minbar* made by order of Nûr ad-Din for the mosque at Aleppo. This *minbar* is dated H. 564 (1168), and was moved by Saladin to the mosque of el-Aksa at Jerusalem, where it still is. It is illustrated in the *Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. I, plate VIII. The latest historical inscription in Kufic in Cairo is in the Mosque of as-Salîh Talâ'i and is dated H. 555 (1160). The earliest in the curved character is dated 576 (1180-1). In the large towns of the provinces the last Kufic inscription (Alexandria) is dated H. 583 (1187-8) and the first in the curved character (Alexandria) is dated in the same year. In the small towns of the provinces the last Kufic inscription (Kûs) is dated H. 568 (1172) and the first in the curved character (Desûk) is as late as H. 594 (1197). See M. van Berchem: *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, I, p. 719.

VAULTING SYSTEM OF HINDOLA MAHAL, MĀNDŪ.

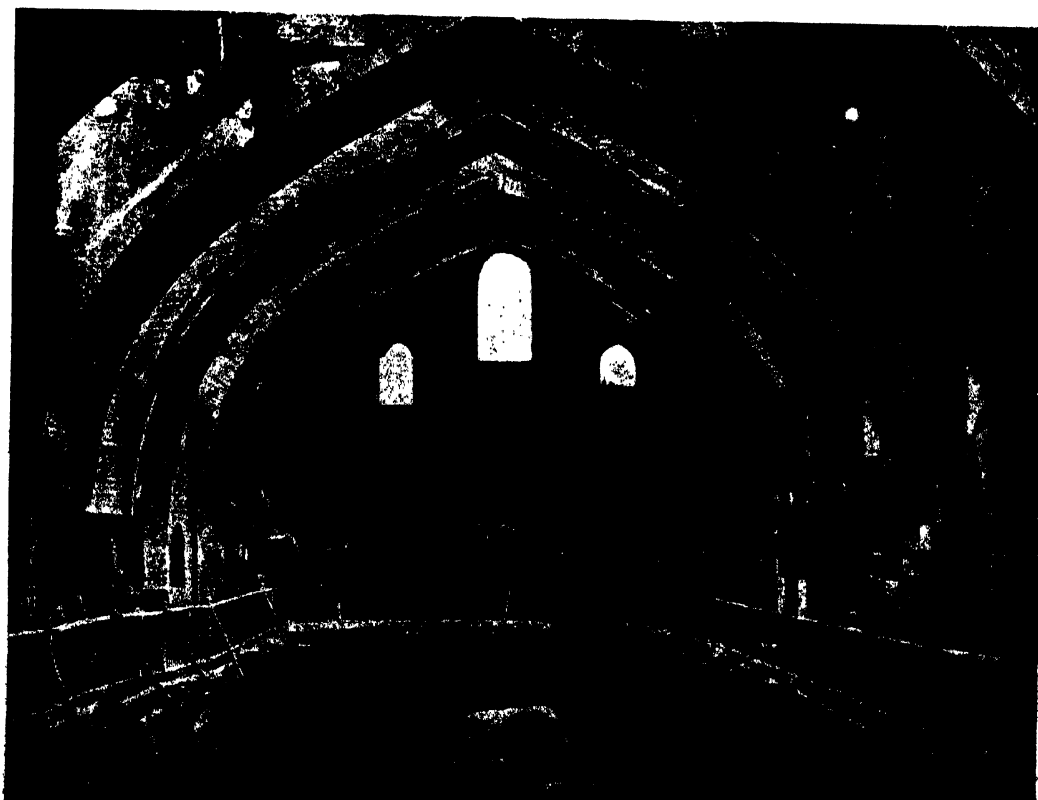
Plate III.



A. Ukhaïdir: Miss Bell's Room 32.
(From Dr. Oskar Reuther:
Ocheïdir).



B. Aiwān in the ruined palace of Machi,
near Hawzdar.
(From G. P. Tate: *Seistan*).



This view receives further support from the historical evidence. Mândû was finally conquered by the Muhammadans in 1305, and was ruled by governors appointed from Delhi until Dilâwar Khân declared himself independent in 1401. Like his predecessor, Dilâwar Khân, although he spent several months of the year at Mândû, resided at Dhâr, and Mândû only became the capital on the accession of Hûshang (1405-1434). Although Mândû owed most of its splendour to Hûshang, we know from inscriptions that Dilâwar Khân also erected buildings there, viz., the Târâpur Gate³³ and the mosque named after him. This mosque,³⁴ as well as the Lat Masjid at Dhâr, built by him in 1405, are both constructed, like the Hindola Mahal, of Hindu remains. I think, therefore, on historical and archæological grounds, that the Hindola Mahal was probably built in the first quarter of the fifteenth century, either by Dilâwar Khân or Hûshang, the chances being in favour of the former.

Before closing I give here (Plate III, B) an interesting example of an aiwân vaulted in this fashion.³⁵ This building stands at Machi, near Hauzdâr on the trade route through Seistan, and was perhaps built about A. D. 1600.

Postscript.—In the first part of this article, when speaking of Kaṣr Khâraneh, I said that Prof. M. van Berchem did not accept the view that it is a Muhammadan building. His reasons for doing so are as follows. Kuṣair ‘Amrah is not fortified, and no one would expect it to be since the Umayyads, masters of a great part of Asia, had no need to fortify their residences when these lay well within the boundaries of their empire. On the other hand Kharâneh as well as Mashîta, Tûba, ‘Amman and Abyad, are fortified buildings of Mesopotamian type adapted to the plan of the *castra* of the Roman times, such as Qastal. He discusses the matter at considerable length, and concludes that the hypothesis which attributes these buildings to the Ghassanides, who were Syrians and Christians, is improbable owing to the complete absence of Christian symbols and the presence of fragments of images at Mashîta, as well as the Dionysiac interpretation of the façade suggested by Clermont Ganneau. Further, Mashîta and Kharâneh are strongly influenced, if not entirely inspired, by Persia and Mesopotamia. Now the Lakhmids were of Mesopotamian origin, and the inscription of Nemâra proves that at the commencement of the fourth century the Lakhmid king Imrulqais was allied with the Romans and Persians, and that his rule extended to the Roman boundary east of the Haurân. He may well have felt the need of frontier-forts and Tûba, Ammân, Mashîta and Kharâneh form just such a line of advanced posts towards the west. Prof. van Berchem therefore places them in the fourth century. I submit that in the series of buildings dealt with in this article, Kharâneh, by reason of the absence of windows in the bays, falls more naturally into the fourth than into the eighth century, and that support is thus lent to Prof. van Berchem's theory.

³³ Zafar Hasan. *The Inscriptions of Dhâr and Mândû: Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1909-10, pp. 18-19.

³⁴ Barnes (Capt E.), *Dhar and Mandû: Journ. Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*. Vol. XXI, p. 384.

³⁵ Tate (G. P.) *Seistan*, plate to face, p. 136.

THE FARUQI DYNASTY OF KHANDESH.

BY LT.-COLONEL T. W. HAIG, C.M.G.

(Continued from p. 149.)

THE peace was not long kept between the imperial troops and the armies of the Dakan. Each side accused the other of bad faith, but there appears to have been some excusable difference of opinion as to the position of the southern frontier of Berar, and the Dakanis, who accused the Mughuls of breaking the peace by occupying Pâthri and other places beyond the limits of Berar, attacked some Mughul posts which were unquestionably within that province. The Mughuls could adduce some evidence to show that Pâthri was included in Berar, and there seems to be no doubt that the responsibility for the renewal of hostilities lay with the rulers of Ahmadnagar, who, having obtained help from Bijâpûr and Golconda, decided to make an attempt to expel the imperial troops from Berar. Âbang Khân of Ahmadnagar appealed for help to Ibrâhîm 'Adil Shâh II of Bijâpûr, who sent to his assistance a force, well supplied with artillery, under the command of his best officer, the eunuch Suhail Khân. A contingent under Mahdi Qulî Khân was also supplied by Muḥammad Qulî Qutb Shâh of Golconda, and the allied army of the Dakanis, 60,000 strong, marched towards Sonpat on the Godâvari, about fifteen miles from the town of Pâthri. The Khânkhânân, who had his headquarters at Jâlna, at once assembled his forces and himself went to Shâhpûr, to inform Sulṭân Murâd of the impending danger. The prince wished to take the field in person but the Khânkhânân, whether from selfish motives or in the interest of the imperial cause, dissuaded him from this course, and himself assumed command of the field force with Shâhrukh Mirzâ. The imperial army, which mustered no more than 20,000 horse according to Firishta,²⁶ or 15,000 according to the *Akbarnâma*, marched to Âshti, to the north of the Godâvari, and there entrenched itself, halting for fifteen days before venturing to attack the enemy. The battle began on Feb. 8, 1597, according to Firishta, and on Feb. 17 according to the *Akbarnâma*. The various accounts of this extraordinarily complicated battle differ in detail, but agree in all the main particulars, and display the lack of discipline and cohesion in oriental armies. In the army of the Dakan the contingent of Ahmadnagar occupied the centre, that of Bijâpûr the right, and that of Golconda the left. In the imperial army the Khânkhânân and Shâhrukh Mirzâ commanded the centre and Râja 'Alî Khân and Râja Jagannâth the right and left. As the imperial troops advanced to the attack Suhail Khân opened fire with his artillery and put two or three thousand horse out of action, Râja 'Alî Khân with thirty of his principal officers and 500 of his men being slain. The two wings of the imperial army were defeated and put to flight, so that many of the men hardly rested until they had reached Shâhpûr, more than a hundred miles distant, where their accounts of the total defeat of the imperial troops so alarmed Sulṭân Murâd and his tutor, Muḥammad Sâdiq Khân, that they prepared to retire from Berar. In the meantime the Khânkhânân and Shâhrukh Mirzâ had not only stood their ground in the centre of the imperial army but had pushed back the army of Ahmadnagar and captured the Bijâpûr artillery, which they were enabled to do by the disposal of the Bijâpûr contingent who, being assured of victory, and scattered in all directions in search of plunder. The battle had not begun until late in the afternoon, and when night fell the Khânkhânân and Shâhrukh Mirzâ, with the small force that remained to them, held their ground on the field, while Suhail Khân, who, though he believed the defeat of the imperial army to be complete,

had retained the royal guards of Bijâpûr near his person, bivouacked within a bowshot of the remnant of the Mughuls, neither party being aware of the propinquity of the other until, after a watch of the night was passed, the Bijâpûris lit their fires. The Khân-khânân then opened fire with his artillery and that which he had captured on Suhail Khân's position, and at intervals through the night caused the great drums to be beaten, thereby rallying round him many fugitives, so that before the morning he had assembled 4,000 men to oppose to the 12,000 who had gathered round Suhail Khân. During the night the imperial troops, finding no trace of Râja 'Alî Khân or his contingent, hastily concluded that he had either fled or deserted to the enemy, and plundered his camp. Accounts of the circumstances in which the battle was renewed in the morning differ. According to one version the Khân-khânân refrained from taking the offensive, believing that Suhail Khân would ask for terms, and the Mughuls were attacked by the Dakanis when they went down to the river in the morning to slake their thirst; but according to the other version the Mughuls attacked the enemy with loud shouts before it was light. There is no discrepancy regarding the result of the battle. The Bijâpûris were utterly defeated and fled towards Naldrug, Suhail Khân who had been wounded, escaping with difficulty. The contingent of Ahmadnagar and Goleonda, which had been put to flight on the previous day and had barely rallied where the Bijâpûris were defeated, fled headlong and in sorry case to Ahmadnagar and Haiderâbâd. Forty elephants and all the artillery of the Dakanis were captured.

When the corpses of Râja 'Alî Khân and his valiant contingent were discovered those who had plundered his camp were overwhelmed with confusion, and it would appear that his banner, kettle-drums, and elephants were restored. His body was carried to Burhânpûr and was there buried, with great pomp, in the Daulat Maidân. He was succeeded in Klândesh by his son Qadr Khân, who assumed and used the title of Bahâdur Shâh. The prince bitterly resented the unfounded suspicions of his father's good faith and the plundering of his camp and, with less wisdom but more honesty than his father, consistently opposed Akbar. Sulţân Murâd sent him congratulations on his accession and invited him more than once to visit him at Shâhpûr, but Bahâdur Shâh evaded the invitation on each occasion, urging as his excuse the lack of a suitable force to accompany him,—a sufficiently pointed reference to the losses which his state had suffered by its activity in the imperial cause. He could not, however, refuse Murâd's offer of a contingent of 4,000 horse to be placed under his command, and his proposal to marry a daughter of the Fârûqî house, and he gave to the prince a cousin german of his own.

Bahâdur's reign was troubled by dissensions between his *amîrs*, but he was no *roi fainéant* and usually contrived to follow his own course, which was disastrous to him in the end.

On May 1, 1599, Shaikh Abul Fazl, Akbar's secretary, who had been appointed to the Dakan, arrived in the neighbourhood of Burhânpûr and was courteously welcomed by Bahâdur, who urged him to remain for some time in the city as his guest. Abul Fazl insisted, however, on continuing his march to join Sulţân Murâd, but was delayed by wind and rain and was overtaken by Bahâdur Shâh. He took advantage of Bahâdur's forcing his company upon him to urge him to aid in the conquest of the Dakan, but Bahâdur temporized and suggested that he should send his son Kabîr Khân, with a contingent of 2,000 horse, to join the imperial camp. He again urged Abul Fazl to stay with him in Burhânpûr, but Abul Fazl again declined, saying that he would have acceded to the request had Bahâdur agreed to join the imperial army in person. Bahâdur then attempted to conciliate Abul

Faḡl with gifts, but he declined them on the ground that his imperial master supplied all his needs.

Sulṭān Murād, who had long been drinking heavily, succumbed to the effects of his intemperance before Abul Faḡl, whom he was avoiding, could overtake him, and on May 12, 1599, died at Dihārī, on the Purna, of *delirium tremens* or alcoholic poisoning.

It was at this time that Bahādur for some reason, probably because it had virtually become an imperial city, conceived a dislike to Burhānpūr and resolved to destroy it and to build with its materials a city at a distance of about ten miles from it, which he proposed to name Bahādurpur, but the people of Burhānpūr protested strongly against this proposal. They had no objection, they said, to his building a new city for himself, but objected to the destruction of Burhānpūr, which had been founded in honour of the saint Burhān-al-dīn and bore his name. Bahādur then denied that he had any intention of destroying Burhānpūr, but proceeded with the building of Bahādurpur, beginning with his own palace. When this was completed he assembled Sayyids, *amīrs*, and all the principal men of the state with poets, singers, and minstrels, and gave a great feast.

Sulṭān Dāniyāl, Akbar's youngest son, was appointed to the Dakan in the place of his brother, Sulṭān Murād, but travelled in a very leisurely manner towards the seat of his new government, and did not reach Burhānpūr until January 1, 1600. After his arrival in Burhānpūr Bahādur Shāh imprudently refused to wait on him or to acknowledge his arrival in any way. Dāniyāl was much enraged, and though he was understood to be marching southwards, under his father's orders, to besiege Aḥmadnagar, and had already sent order to Abul Faḡl to refrain from opening the campaign, which task had been reserved for him, he halted in Burhānpūr and summoned the *amīrs* of Berar to his aid, with a view to punishing Bahādur for his insolence. To all demands for reparation for the insult, which included the payment of an indemnity, Bahādur returned temporizing replies, and Dāniyāl would probably have besieged him in Asirgāḥ, had he not received peremptory orders from his father to continue his march towards Aḥmadnagar. Akbar was himself on the way to the Dakan, and was now at Ujjain. He had intended to spend some time in Mālwa, but on learning of the attitude of Bahādur resolved to march at once to Burhānpūr. In order to appease Dāniyāl and to leave Bahādur a loophole for escape Akbar feigned to believe that Bahādur, having learnt of the emperor's impending arrival, had scrupled to pay his respects to the prince before paying them to the emperor himself. On Dāniyāl's leaving Burhānpūr Bahādur sent him a present and sent his son, Kabīr Khān, to set him on his way, but when Khvāja Maudūd arrived at his court, as Akbar's envoy, to inquire into the circumstances of the slight put upon the prince he found Bahādur immovable. He took the position that it would have been derogatory to him, as a king, to make the first visit to a mere prince and instead of making the offerings which Akbar had expected, both as tribute and as reparation for the slight put upon his son, he sent only four inferior elephants. Akbar sent to Abul Faḡl, who was hastening from Berar to join him, orders to visit Bahādur Shāh and to offer him forgiveness on condition of his appearing at court and making his submission, but the mission failed and on April 8, 1600, Akbar arrived before Burhānpūr and on the following day sent Khān-i-A'zam and other officers to form the siege of Asirgāḥ. Abul Faḡl was appointed governor of Khāndesh and sent his brother, Shaikh Abul Barakāt, and his son, Shaikh 'Abd-al-Raḥmān, in different directions with troops, to establish the imperial authority in the country. Muḡaffar Ḥusain Mīrzā was sent to Laling where three of Bahādur's *amīrs*, Fūlād Khān the African, Rūp Rāi, and Malik Shīr, were assembled with their troops.

Fûlâd Khân submitted, and slew Rûp Râi, who attempted to prevent him from deserting, so that all Rûp Râi's elephants and other property fell into the hands of Muẓaffar Ḥusain Mîrzâ. At the end of May Bahâdur attempted to open negotiations with Akbar, sending his grandmother and his young son to the imperial camp with sixty elephants, and promising to give his daughter in marriage to Sultân Khusrav, the son of Sultân Salim (Jahângir), but it was evident that these negotiations were only a device to gain time until provisions should become so scarce and dear that Akbar would be obliged to retire, and Bahâdur was informed that nothing but unconditional personal submission would be accepted.

On June 21 a force under Qarâ Baig and other officers captured the Sâpan hill, from which the Khândeshîs had been able to harass the besiegers of Asirgarh, and the whole of Bahâdur's forces were driven inside the fortress : and on August 13 Malik Shîr and the garrison of Laling, who had surrendered to Khvâjagî Fathallâh, were brought to court.

On Sept. 22, further overtures for peace made by Bahâdur were rejected, but the siege made slow progress, for many of the imperial officers had received bribes from Bahâdur, and Abul Fazl was sent to infuse fresh vigour into its prosecution. The garrison was reduced to great straits, for Bahâdur had permitted many refugees from his kingdom, to the number of 18,000, with their horses and cattle, to enter the fortress, and the insanitary conditions arising from the presence of so large a number of people and animals in a confined space were aggravated by the putrefaction of the vast stores of grain which the fortress contained, and a pestilence broke out among men and beasts, so that large numbers perished. The plight of the garrison facilitated the capture of the fort of Mâligarh, a large outwork situated to the north-west of the main fort and on the lower slopes of the hill, which fell on Dec. 9.

Bahâdur Shâh's chief anxiety was to escape the disgrace of formally surrendering Asirgarh, but although he had been able to buy many of the officers in the besieging force it was evident that Akbar intended to remain in Khândesh until the fortress fell. It was therefore decided that an attempt should be made to evade the surrender by a stratagem. Bahâdur Shâh was to fulfil Akbar's conditions by appearing before him at Burhânpûr, in the hope that the emperor would be content with this formal act of submission on the part of the ruler and would confer the government of Khândesh on him as a vassal, following a common practice in such cases, so that the formal surrender of Asirgarh would be avoided. In the event of this expectation being disappointed it was decided that the fortress should hold out and that Bahâdur should avert Akbar's wrath from himself by representing the garrison as rebels who defied his authority. Accordingly he agreed to wait upon Akbar on condition that the government of Khândesh was bestowed upon him and that he was allowed to release the imprisoned members of the Fârûqî family, for it was the custom in Khândesh to imprison all members of the ruling family except the reigning king.

No attempt at regulating the issue of rations in the fortress had been made and discontent was rife, for large numbers of those who had taken refuge there were suffering from scarcity and want. The garrison, learning that Bahâdur proposed to desert them, sent a deputation to him to announce that they would not permit him to leave the fortress alone, but would accompany him. At length Sâdât Khân, one of the leading *amirs*, was permitted to go to the imperial camp to arrange preliminaries with the emperor, and carried with him a large quantity of treasure from the fortress to assist him in his negotiations. He was accompanied by his contingent of troops and a large retinue of private servants and turned traitor. Having made terms for himself he entered Akbar's service and disclosed the state

of affairs in the fortress. Muqarrab Khân was next sent to the imperial camp and, having obtained Akbar's promise that Bahâdur should be maintained in his kingdom, returned to the fortress and persuaded Bahâdur to descend to the imperial camp and make his submission. Bahâdur left the fortress with the leading men of his army and was received at some distance from Akbar's camp by the Khân-i-A'zam and by him conducted into the imperial presence. "And that," says the author of the *Zafar-al-Wâlih*, "was the end of his reign over his kingdom and his mountain."

Bahâdur's stratagem failed, for he soon discovered that Akbar's promise to maintain him in his kingdom was contingent on the surrender of Asîrgarh, and as the fortress continued to hold out the promise was held to be void. From the *Akbarnâma* it would appear that the obstinacy of the garrison was due to secret instructions from Bahâdur, but the author of the *Zafar-al-Wâlih* gives a different account. He says that among those who remained in the fortress was Malik Yâqût, Muqarrab Khân's father, who was old and blind, and he assembled in the royal palace in the fortress all the sons of Mubârak Shâh and their sons, and said to them. "The fortress is as it was and the garrison is as it was. Which of you will accept the throne and will protect the honour of your fathers?" And not one of them answered him anything, and he said to them, "Would to God that ye were women!" And they excused themselves; and it happened that as he was defending the fortress there came up to it his son Muqarrab Khân with a message from the king, and Malik Yâqût said to his son, "May God not show me thy face. Go down to Bahâdur and follow him." And he went down and obeyed his order, until at length in the assembly of Abul Fazl he stabbed himself in the belly with his dagger, in abasement that his father was not content with him, and he died. But Malik Yâqût Sultânî, when he despaired of all the offspring of Mubârak Shâh, went out to his house, made his will, bathed himself, and had his shroud brought. Then he summoned his family and went out to the mosque which he had built, and prayed, and distributed benefits and gave alms, and he caused to be dug a grave in a spot which he desired, and then he ate opium, for his jealous patriotism was strong upon him, and he died and was buried there. And they said, "Search for a text in God's book," and this was found, "Say: O my servants who have transgressed to your own hurt, despair not of God's mercy, for all sins doth God forgive! Forgiving and merciful is He!" May God pardon him and have mercy upon him! Then the people of the fortress were summoned to come down and take assurance, and in accordance with their answer Shaikh Abul Fazl of Dihlî went up the mountain and took his seat on the stone platform known as that of Tafâ'ul Khân, and gave permission to them to descend with their families, and this they did, and the reduction of the fortress in A.H. 1009 (A.D. 1600-01) was attributed officially to Shaikh Abul Fazl.

The beginning of the rule of the Farûqîs in Burhânpûr was in A.H. 784 (A.D. 1382) and from that date the name of Burhânpûr (as applied to the province) was disused, and the province was known from then as Khândesh ("the country of the Khâns") of the dependencies of Dihlî, and in the reign of Bahâdur Shâh, son of 'Adil Shâh, after 225 years, the province was again, as formerly, included among the dependencies of Dihlî. And the kingdom is God's, be He praised!

The exact date of the surrender of Asîrgarh, as given in the *Akbarnâma*, was January 26, 1601, which may be taken as the date of the extinction of the dynasty founded in 1382 by Râja Ahmad or Malik Râja, and according to the same authority it was not Shaikh Abul Fazl himself, but his son, Shaikh 'Abd-al-Rahmân, who received the surrender of the fortress.

According to Khâfi Khân, the author of the *Muntakhab-al-Lubâb*, all the treasure of the Fârûqis and much buried treasure of the former Hindû chiefs of Asîrgarh fell into the hands of Akbar's officers, and in the same work there is an interesting story of a superstition connected with the fortress. It is said that there was a large rock in the Tâpti near Burhânpûr and that when the city was founded in obedience to the posthumous instructions of the saint Burhân-al-dîn, conveyed through the saint Zain-al-dîn, the latter said that so long as the rock should retain its shape the kingdom should belong to the Fârûqis, but when it assumed the shape of an elephant the kingdom should pass from them. Akbar heard this story, and being impatient for the fall of Asîrgarh, the siege of which was long protracted, employed sculptors to cut the stone into the likeness of an elephant. His action, with the evidence of faith in the old prophecy which it displayed, disheartened Bahâdur and hastened the surrender of the fortress. It is evidently to this circumstance that Firishta refers when he says that the outbreak of sickness in the fortress was attributed by the besieged to the arts of sorcerers employed by Akbar.

The author of the *Muntakhab al-Lubâb*²⁷ also says that the siege of the fortress lasted for nearly four years, beginning in the early part of A.H. 1008 (July-August 1599) and ending at the beginning of A.H. 1012 (June, 1603), but on this point the evidence of the *Akbar-nâma*, written by Shaikh Abul Fazl, who took part in the siege, and of Firishta and the author of the *Zafar al-Wâlih*, both of whom were contemporaries, while the latter had an intimate personal acquaintance with many of the principal actors, is conclusive.

The author of the *Zafar al-Wâlih*, who was for a time in the service of Fûlâd Khân, one of the *amirs* of Râja 'Alî Khân ('Âdil Shâh IV) and Bahâdur Shâh, gives the following character of Bahâdur: 'In his reign the mighty were humbled and those of low degree were exalted, he who laboured not obtained advancement and he who was honest fell behind, and he divided among lewd fellows of the baser sort the jewels and rich stuffs which his fathers had amassed and collected together all that promoted sensual enjoyment, and all manner of unlawful pleasure became common and he aroused wrath in the breasts of his father's ministers, so that they were prepared to welcome even a disaster that might bring peace. Nevertheless there were in Bahâdur some praiseworthy qualities, such as assiduity in alms-giving at fit seasons: and with equal justice he distributed alms to the well-being of those who were in want, and very willingly to Shaikhs and Sûfis who claimed to work miracles, even though these were doubtful. Nor was he without trust in God, and would always say *mâshâ'llâh* ("please God") when he undertook any business.'

This sketch does not much exalt Bahâdur in our eyes. He was evidently weak, sensual, and strongly tinged with superstition. His petulant and foolish defiance of Akbar was evidence rather of lack of understanding than of strength of character, and he certainly entered upon the undertaking without counting the cost.

Mention has already been made of the Fârûqi princes whom it was the custom of the house to imprison lest the succession should be disturbed, and we have seen that the faithful Malik Yâqût when Bahâdur left the fortress, assembled these princes and unsuccessfully tried to rouse their spirit by inviting one of them to ascend the vacant throne. The circumstances of their lives had not been such as to foster in them a spirit of enterprise. When the fortress was finally captured over fifty of these unfortunate princes, all of whom sprang from Mubârak Shâh II, the ninth ruler of the line, fell into Akbar's hands. Their genealogy is as follows.

Mubârak Shâh II, died 1566.

Muhammad Shâh II, died 1576.

1. Hasan Khân.
 - i. Qâsim Khân.
 - ii. Ibrâhîm Khân.

II. Râja 'Alî Khân ('Âdil Shâh IV.) died 1597.

1. Bahâdur Shâh.
 - i. Kabîr Khân.
 - ii. Muhammad Khân.
 - iii. Sikandar Khân.
 - iv. Mu'azzar Khân.
 - v. Mubârak Khân.
2. Ahmad Khân.
 - i. Mu'azzar Khân.
 - ii. 'Alî Khân.
 - iii. Muhammad Khân.
3. Mahmûd Khân.
 - i. Valî Khân.
 - ii. Ibrâhîm Khân.
4. Tâhîr Khân.
5. Mas'ûd Khân.
6. Muhammad Khân.
7. Daughter married to Valî Khân.
8. Daughter married to Naşîr Khân.
9. Daughter married to Sayyid Ismâ'il.

III. Dâ'ûd Khân.

1. Fatî Khân.
2. Muhammad Khân.

IV. Hâmid Khân.

1. Bahâdur Khân.

V. Qaisar Khân.

1. Latîf Khân.
 - i. Habib Khân.
 - ii. Ibrâhîm Khân.
2. Dilâvar Khân.
3. Murtaẓâ Khân.

VI. Bahrâm Khân.

1. A'zam Khân.
2. Mûsâ Khân.
3. Jalâl Khân.

VII. Shîr Khân.

1. Ismâ'il Khân.
2. Ahmad Khân.

VIII. Glâznî Khân.

1. Ahmad Khân.

IX. Daryâ Khân.

1. Muhammad Khân.
2. Mahmûd Khân.
3. Mu'azzar Khân.

X. Şâhib Khân.

1. Tâhir Khân.

i. Sikandar Khân.

ii. Ibrâhîm Khân.

2. Şidq Allâh Khân.

XI. Daughter married to Farîd Khân.

1. Dilâvar Khân.

i. Tâj Khân.

In addition to these descendants there were :—

(1) Muḥammad Khân, son-in-law of Chând Khân, whose name does not appear in the genealogy, probably because he was dead, but who was evidently a member of the royal house.

(2) 'Alî Khân, son-in-law of Hasan Khân, only son of Muḥammad Shâh II.

From this genealogy we learn that the youthful Hasan Khân, son of Muḥammad II., was not, as the *Zafar-al-Wâlih* would lead us to suppose, put to death by his uncle, Râja 'Alî Khân, who supplanted him, but lived to marry and to have a family of at least two sons and a daughter.

The ultimate fate of all these princes is unknown, but according to the *Akbarnâma* they were presented to Akbar, who ordered that they should attend regularly at court in order that he might judge of their fitness for advancement.

Firishta, at the conclusion of his account of the rulers of Khândesh, makes one of his few original contributions to history. He tells us ²⁸ that in A.H. 1023 (A.D. 1614) he visited the fort of Asîrgarh in company with Khvâja Husain Turbati, who had held an important post in the service of Sulṭân Dâniyâl. After describing the fortress, he writes: 'They say that when Akbar Pâdshâh had conquered the fortress and returned to Agra, he, in consequence of his attachment to the ways of the unbelievers, sent orders that the great Friday mosque in the fortress should be destroyed, and an idol temple erected on its site, but Sulṭân Dâniyâl, who was then in Burhânpûr, did not obey the order, and purposely neglected to carry it out, so that it was never given effect to.'

There is no reason to doubt this statement of Firishta. He was a good Muslim and was probably much scandalized by the report of the order which Akbar had issued, but he always writes with the highest respect of Akbar and his natural impulse would have been to conceal a fact so damaging to a great monarch whom all Muslims are anxious to claim as one of themselves, despite his well established unorthodoxy. The order is only one instance out of many, though perhaps the most marked, of Akbar's hostility to Islâm.

List of the Fârûqî Rulers of Khândesh.

1. Râja Ahmad, or Malik Râja	..	..	..	..	1382
2. Nasîr Khân, Jahângîr	..	..	..	..	April 29, 1399.
3. 'Adîl Khân I.	..	..	..	..	Sept. 20, or Oct. 1, 1437.
4. Mubârak Khân I.	..	..	..	..	April 30, or May 4, 1441.
5. 'Ain Khân ('Ainâ). 'Adîl Khân II., Jhâpkhandî Sulṭân	..	..	..	..	June 5, 1457.
6. Dâ'ûd Khân	..	..	..	..	Sep. 28, 1501.
7. 'Adîl Khân III.	..	..	..	..	April 1, 150.
8. Muḥammad Shâh I. (Muḥammad I. of Gujarât)	..	..	..	..	Aug. 25, 1520.
9. Mubârak Shâh II.	..	..	..	..	May 4, 1537.
10. Muḥammad Shâh II.	..	..	..	..	Dec. 19, 1566.
11. Hasan Shâh	..	..	..	..	1576-77.
12. Râja 'Alî Khân ('Adîl Shâh IV.)	..	..	..	..	1577-97.
13. Qadr Khân, Bahâdur Shâh	..	..	..	..	Feb. 17, 1597.
[Asîrgarh captured by Akbar.]					Jan. 26, 1601.

ON THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE KAUṬILĪYA.

BY HERMANN JACOBI, OF BONN.

(*Translated from the German by V. S. SUKTHANKAR, PH.D. ; POONA.*)(*Continued from p. 161.*)

As is evident from this quotation, by *âcâryâh* Kauṭilya means his predecessors. And when he introduces a doctrine with the words *iti âcâryâh*, he must be referring to them all collectively or at any rate to the majority of them, except when he adds *ity eke* or *ity apare*, pp. 164, (185) 338. Only in one instance, p. 320, is the meaning of *âcâryâh* to be restricted to the three oldest schools which will presently be mentioned; because, after quoting the opinion of these *âcâryâh*, the author proceeds to enumerate the views of the rest of the authorities which differ from them.

The authorities that are actually mentioned by name are of two kinds: the schools and the individual authors; the former indicated by the name in the plural, the latter in the singular. Four schools have been named: the Mānavâh, Bârhaspatyâh, Auśanasâh and Pârâsarâh. The first three are connected with each other, because four times (pp. 6, 29, 177, 192) they are quoted one after the other, and once only (p. 69) in connection with the Pârâsarâh. One may, therefore, conclude that those three were looked upon as the older and the more respected schools and the Pârâsarâh as a later one. To the same conclusion point the names as well; for, the former are derived from divine persons but the latter only from a Ṛṣi. These six schools, however, were not exclusively schools of Arthasâstra; they dealt with the Dharmaśâstra at the same time. For, in the chapter of the Kauṭiliya dealing with Administration of Justice (*dharmasthîya*) the above-mentioned three schools have been quoted twice (pp. 177, 192), and the *âcâryâh*, *apare*, *eke* nine times. On the other hand, in many *Dharmaśâstras* as, for example, [839] Bodhâyana, Gautama, Vasiṣṭha, Viṣṇu, Manu, etc., have the duties of the king been laid down. We thus perceive that both subjects, Law and Politics, were intimately connected with each other and probably taught in one and the same school. Therefore a doubt may be entertained as to whether there were any schools exclusively for Arthasâstra.

The remaining authorities, which are spoken of in the singular number, namely, Bhâradvâja, Viśâlâkṣaḥ, Piśunaḥ, Kaunapadantaḥ, Vâtavyâdhiḥ, and Bâhudantîputraḥ must refer to individual authors. For, if these persons had also been looked upon as founders of schools, then like *iti Parâsarâh*, also *iti Bhâradvâjah* ought to have been said; but we invariably find only the singular *iti Bhâradvâjah*. This difference of nomenclature makes it clear that Kauṭilya distinguished between schools and individual authors.

A close examination of the passages in which the later authorities have been named reveals a remarkable fact, namely, that they invariably occur in the order given above with the Pârâsarâh standing behind Viśâlâkṣaḥ. On one occasion (pp. 13 f.) the whole series is enumerated: three times (pp. 32 f., 320-322, 325-328), the first six members; once (pp. 27 f.) only the first four; and once (p. 380) only the first two. In two passages (pp. 320 ff., 325 ff.) Kauṭilya refutes them one after the other in succession; in the remaining places the refutation of each author is attributed to the next following. The idea that the sequence is meant to be chronological, which lies near at hand, must be abandoned after a close scrutiny of the first-named places. On pp. 320 ff. is discussed the relative value of the seven *prakṛtis*: *svâmin*, *amâtya*, *janapada*, *durga*, *koṭa*, *daṇḍa* and *mîtra*. According to the *âcâryâh*, their importance diminishes in the order given above. On the

contrary Bhāradvāja exchanges the places of 1 and 2, Viśālākṣaḥ of 2 and 3, the Pārāśarāḥ of 3 and 4, and so on right through the series. In the other passage (pp. 325 ff.) the discussion is about the three *kopajāḥ* and the four *kāmājā doṣāḥ*; Bhāradvāja looks upon the *kāmājā doṣāḥ* as more heinous than the *kopajāḥ*; Viśālākṣaḥ, the second *kopaja* as worse than the first; the Pārāśarāḥ, the third worse than the second; and in the same way the *kāmājā doṣāḥ* are gone through maintaining the same stereotyped sequence of authors, and the same fixed scheme. The question whether the historical development could have taken place in this manner, according to an unalterable programme, need not be seriously discussed. That Kauṭilya had not meant the series to be a chronological one, can besides be demonstrated in another way. For, according to it, Bhāradvāja ought to be the oldest author. Now Bhāradvāja attacks (p. 253) a doctrine that is explicitly attributed to Kauṭilya and is subsequently [840] refuted by the latter. Bhāradvāja should accordingly have been not the oldest but the most modern author, and besides a contemporary of Kauṭilya himself! Probably the serial sequence expresses the degree of estimation which Kauṭilya entertained in regard to the respective predecessors, and Bhāradvāja stood in the eyes of Kauṭilya the lowest in the scale. Kauṭilya utilised, as is absolutely certain in two cases and more or less probable in the remaining, the names of his predecessors for staging an imaginary controversy as a means of enlivening his discourse! This solitary artifice strikes one as something extraordinary in a manual of instruction otherwise so sober and pertinent. It was the first step towards an artistic representation that was taken by a great writer and that remained without issue. Such liberty could be taken by a great master; it would be something unheard of in the case of a pedagogue.

From the data of the Kauṭilya we can infer regarding the development of the Arthasāstra that it was at first cultivated and handed down in schools and that subsequently individual authors wrote on the subject. This evolution was already completed before the time of Kauṭilya, whose work bears the stamp of a strong individuality, both as regards the form and the contents. This same development, first only a scholastic tradition and then individual productions, may be demonstrated also for the Kāmasāstra, which, as was shown above 1911, p. 962, belongs to the same literary category as the Arthasāstra. Thus, if we except the mythical founder of the Kāmasāstra, Nandin, the attendant of Śiva, and the semi-legendary⁶ author Śvetaketu, son of Uddālaka, then the first writer on Kāmasāstra, whose work was known to and [841] used by Vātsyāyana, according to his own testimony (pp. 6

⁶ Vātsyāyana mentions, pp. 78 f., a doctrine of Auddālaki; the commentary also one on p. 77, and p. 80 assigns a verse to him. Further, p. 4, the commentary quotes two verses according to which Auddālaki did away with the promiscuity of wives and with the consent of his father composed, as an ascetic, the Kāmasāstra (*sukhaṇṇa śāstram*). Uddālaka sets forth *Brh. Ar.* VI. 4, 2 ff., the doctrine of *rite coeuntum* and teaches the use of two *mantras* from which it follows that a man was permitted to have sexual relation with any woman during her menses. There must have thus actually existed a certain promiscuity of wives. We ought also perhaps to interpret the story of Jabālā and her son Satyakāma, *Chand. Up.* IV. 4, 2 in the same way (and not as rendered by Deussen that Jabālā in her youth knocked about a good deal working as a maid-servant). According to *MBh.* I. 122, Śvetaketu did away with the promiscuity of wives, because he was indignant at seeing that a strange Brahman should actually avail himself of the right which his father (theoretically) recognised. From what tradition has to report concerning the father and son, it is therefore explicable why the composition of a Kāmasāstra was attributed to Śvetaketu. Nor do I wish to question the fact that doctrines relating to the Kāmasāstra were current under his name. In this connection it may be mentioned that *Āpastamba* I. 5, 14 ff. counts Śvetaketu among the modern authors, Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, p. 3 (Grundriss).

and 371), was Bābhavya Pāñcāla. Now it is very remarkable indeed that Vātsyāyana quotes the Bābhaviyas four times (pp. 70, 96, 247, 303). The conclusion is that here we have a school in which the doctrines of its supposed or actual founder, Bābhavya Pāñcāla, were traditionally handed down. The rest of the authorities named by Vātsyāyana, treat of the seven parts of the Kāmasāstra severally, which cannot therefore be looked upon as products of distinct schools. For, it is indeed not possible to assume that there ever existed distinct schools which had specialised only in subjects like the Science of Courtesans, Seduction of a Maiden or Intercourse with Prostitutes. The respective works are, as Vātsyāyana himself unequivocally states, written by definite individuals : Dattaka, Cārāyana, Suvarṇanābha, Ghoṭakamukha, Gonardiya and Kucumara. As was shown above, 1911, p. 959, note 2, Ghoṭakamukha and Cārāyana are also mentioned in the Kauṭīliya and Gonardiya in the Mahābhāṣya. As out of the above-named authors Dattaka is, according to Vātsyāyana, the oldest and had been commissioned by the courtesans of Pāṭaliputra to write his work, therefore he must have lived, as I have stated in the above-cited place, at the earliest in the second half of the fifth century B.C. ; for Pāṭaliputra became the capital of Magadha only in the middle of that century. It clearly follows, therefore, that individual authors had begun writing on the subject already in the fourth century B.C.⁷

Vātsyāyana himself finally being the last author is now to be considered. Vātsyāyana is the *gotra* name, the personal name is Mallanāga (Com. p. 17 : *Vātsyāyana iti svagotranimittā samākhyā, Mallanāga iti śāṃskārikā*). Already Subandhu calls the author of the Kāmasūtra Mallanāga, (p. 89) to which passage the commentator adds a quotation from the *Viśva-kōṣa*. The personal name renders it indubitable that the Kāmasūtra is not the work of a school but that of an individual writer. Moreover, Vātsyāyana was the regenerator of the Kāmasāstra, which in his time was *utsannakalpaṃ*, all but extinct. That he is much later than Kauṭīliya, I have shown above, 1911, pp. 962-3, foot-note 1 ; he can scarcely be prior to the third century A.D.

⁷ To the reasons already adduced for assuming a considerable difference in point of time between Kauṭīliya and Vātsyāyana may be added that the latter looked upon abstention from meat diet as meritorious (*māṃsabhikṣaṇādhīkṣyaḥ śāstrād eva nirāraṇaṃ dharmah*, p. 12), while in Kauṭīliya's time there was no such thing. In the *sāndhikyakṣa* a number of animals are named which should not be slaughtered (especially in the *abhayavanas*), but meat diet was not tabooed. For, otherwise Kauṭīliya would not give rules regarding the sale of meat, e.g., "only the flesh of freshly slaughtered animals and cattle (*mṛgapaśāṇām*) should be sold, and it should be devoid of bones ; the bones ought to be compensated with meat of the same weight. No animal should be sold of which the head, feet and bones have been severed, which has an offensive smell or had fallen dead." The disinclination towards meat-eating has been on the increase since very early times. In the time of Brāhmaṇas some already forbid beef ; while, on the other hand, Yājñavalkya raises no objection to tender beef, *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. III 1. 2. 21 ; in later times many Brahman ascetics were converted to complete vegetarianism. The motive power in this movement appears to be the duty of *ahiṃsā* imposed upon the fourth Āśrama, the *parivrajakas* (also in Kauṭīliya, p. 8 : *sarveṣāṃ ahiṃsā*). Buddhists and Jainas raised the *ahiṃsā*, though not at the outset, still with certainty in later times, to a general religious commandment. Asoka's example and edicts must have exercised the most powerful influence. In the *Mahābhārata* occurs a polemic against animal sacrifice and the recommendation of vegetable sacrifice as a substitute for it. The prohibition of meat-eating follows naturally the abstention from killing. In India extreme principles become established in the long run : the more stringent rule appears to be the more correct one ; the Indians fight shy of cultivating lax habits. An important rôle was played in these matters probably by the women. Do they not appear even now-a-days as the guardians of the orthodox tradition, though the men might be prepared to renounce it ?

[842] The transition from the scholastic treatment of a 'discipline' to its presentation in literary works, which we can follow in equal measure in two separate subjects, was caused probably by the growth of these sciences, which rendered their separate treatment and specialisation inevitable. Simultaneously a change in the form of its presentation must have set in. While those text-books which were the products of schools, such as the śrauta-, dharma-, grhyasūtras, the two Mīmāṃsā sūtras, exhibit the *sūtra* style, the works of individual authors such as Yāska's Nirukta, Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya, Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra (in spite of its designation as sūtra) are of a different type. By the side of dogmatic exposition discussion comes more and more into prominence. The sūtra style changes into the bhāṣya style. The Kauṭīliya has also its place in these stages of development: alongside of sections in which the author attempts the shortness of the sūtras, there are others where the author indulges in a certain amount of breadth and prolixity after the manner of the Bhāṣyas. In point of fact the author of an old Tīkā⁸ on Kāmandaki's Nītisāra (pp. 136 and 138) designates the Kauṭīliya as Kauṭālyabhāṣya⁹ and an anonymous Ārya of unknown origin added at the end of the Kauṭīliya says:

[843] *dr̥ṣṭvā vipratipattim bahudhā śāstreṣu bhāṣyakārāṇām |*
svayam eva Viṣṇuguptas cakāra sūtram ca bhāṣyaṃ ca ||

If then our Kauṭīliya is the Bhāṣya and we know nothing about another work, a Sūtra, of Kauṭīliya, nor can we even imagine what that Sūtra should be like, to which the Kauṭīliya could stand in the relation of a Bhāṣya, it appears to me that the above statement that Viṣṇugupta himself is the author of a Sūtra and a Bhāṣya must be interpreted to mean that the Kauṭīliya is at once Sūtra and Bhāṣya. It would not be, for that matter, the only instance of a Bhāṣya that was not a commentary to any Sūtra: another example is the Prasastapādabhāṣya, which is an entirely independent treatise on the Vaiśeṣika system and in no sense a commentary on the Sūtra of Kaṇāda. The designation Bhāṣya for those kinds of works did not, however, come into vogue, as we see that Vātsyāyana on the contrary gives the title Kāmasūtra to his work.¹⁰

Generally speaking it must be emphasised that the free exposition of the sciences in the form of literary works does not import a complete breakdown of the primeval institution of the Vedic school. People may have adhered to the old method in Vedic 'disciplines' and others similar to these, and given that method a scholastic turn, conformable to the particular subject in hand, in the case of others. The first might have been the case with the two

⁸ For the age of the Upādhyāyanirapakṣā Tīkā, from which the editors have given in the *Bibl. Ind.* extracts with their own additions (see bhūmikā, p. 1), the fact that the author calls Vātsyāyana *asmadguru* appears to be decisive (p. 136 where he quotes a passage from the Kāmasūtra, p. 3 of the edition). This statement could not very well have been smuggled into the text by the editors. On the other hand the quotations from Kullūkabhaṭṭa to Manu, VIII. 155-157 on pp. 211 ff., from Sāhityadarpaṇa (III. 146 f.) on p. 278, from Mudrārāksasa, p. 223 (cited according to a printed edition of the drama !) are undoubtedly additions by the respective editors: *arthaprakāśārtham*.

⁹ The spelling Kauṭālyā is rendered certain through the derivation of the name from *kuṭāla* (*kuṭāḍh* *kumbhādhānyāḥ* = *kuṭā* = *lāṇṭi*); com. to Kāmandaki I. 2 and Hemacandra Abhidhānac. III. 517 com. Does perhaps the form Kauṭīliya rest on a popular etymologie? *Kauṭīliya* denotes 'falsity, cunning,' and, in the tradition, that is just the prominent characteristic of Cāṇakya. cf. the stories about him in the Parīṣṭaparva, VIII. 194 ff., particularly 352-376, as also the Mudrārāksasa.

¹⁰ The case is quite different with the use of the designation *sūtra* with the Jains and Buddhists. They were influenced by the religious literature of the Brahmans. The name *aṅga* for the oldest portions of the Jaina canon shows that most clearly; for it the *vedāṅgas* had evidently served as model.

Mīmāṃsā, of which it was noted above that both the alleged authors quote each other. For, as the exegesis of the Vedas, theoretically dealt with in the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā, was developed in the schools of the Śrauta-Sūtra and followed in practice, it is probable that the scholastic method of the latter was introduced into the former. Later the Uttara-Mīmāṃsā followed in the wake of the older branch.

With the Vedic schools should not be confounded the academic schools, even though the latter were moulded after the pattern of the former. We shall elucidate the difference by a reference to the later philosophic schools, about which we are better informed. A philosophical system must have been originally the vigilantly guarded property of a school; for, as in accordance with the Indian custom [844] the disputant that was vanquished in public disputation had to acknowledge the victor as his *guru*, it was disadvantageous that the train of thought of any disputant should be known beforehand to his antagonist. At a later stage of development when the knowledge of the system could no longer be kept secret, there took place the composition of the respective Sūtras. Here we find the actual authors mentioned by name in the case of the Vaiśeṣika—and Nyāyadarśana : Kaṇāda the Kaśyapa for the former, and Akṣapāda the Gotama for the latter. Now the interpretation of the Sūtra became the task of the school, while, on the other hand, in the case of the Vedic school it consisted in its traditional preservation. When therefore ultimately the exegetical activity of the school results in a written exposition in the form of a Bhāṣya, the science acquires a standing independent of a school exclusively devoted to it; henceforth its cultivation lies mostly in the hands of Pandits who do not form a corporate school in the original sense.¹¹ It may be that the scheme roughly sketched here has to be modified in details in regard to other 'disciplines'; but in every case one may assume the following three stages: 1. during the initial stages of development of a 'discipline', its existence is bound up with the school or schools devoted to it; 2. through the composition of the Sūtra a certain amount of completion is attained and the activity of the school is, in the first place, directed towards the interpretation of the Sūtra but is incidentally also concerned with supplementing the material contained in it; 3. the composition of the Bhāṣya ushers in the dissolution of the school as such, in place of which steps in the scholastic and scientific study.¹² It may here be added that eventually the Sūtra becomes a purely

¹¹ For a science the living tradition is naturally of great importance in India. But it does happen that the *āgama* becomes extinct and is subsequently revived. So Bhartṛhari appends at the end of the second book of the Vākyapadiya a *résumé* of the history of grammatical studies upto his own time. He relates among other things how the study of the Mahābhāṣya, which then existed only in manuscript, was revived by the Acārya Candra and others (B. Liebleh, *Das Datum Candragominis und Kalidasa*, p. 7). Also similarly, as Prof. Von Scharbatskoi informs me, the study of the ancient Nyāya in Sūtra, Bhāṣya, Vārttika and Tātparyāṇikā has been brought into vogue again in our time through the editions of these works, after being supplanted for centuries by the Tattvacintāmaṇi and the literature connected with it.

¹² One of the most modern schools that we know of, that of the Dhvani-doctrine has gone through the three stages set forth above in barely a century, see my remarks in *ZDMG.*, vol. 56, pp. 405 ff. (pp. 14 ff. of the off-print). Through the Dhvanīloka the Dhvani-doctrine became the common property of the Pandits; then afterward one can speak of a Dhvani-school only in the figurative sense of *tanmatānuśrīta*. In the grammatical school of Pāṇini the activity of the individual authors appears to have attained great importance already in the second phase. The case of the medical schools may again have been quite different; if, that is, we might believe in the intimations of the Upamitibhava-prapañcā Kathā, pp. 1210 f., a medical school was constituted through the *pīṭha* of a Saṃhitā.

literary form, especially when [845] its author writes simultaneously also a commentary; this took place when the sciences detached themselves entirely from the school proper.

We have set forth the foregoing reflections regarding the different kinds of schools in India in order to clear up the point whether the Kauṭīliya could be the product of a school. If such were the case, we ought to expect a Sūtra-work, as, however, the Kauṭīliya is not a Sūtra but rather a Bhāṣya, which designation is also expressly given to it by an ancient author; therefore the work is presumably that of an individual author, as shown by many a peculiarity, material and formal, which has come to our notice in the course of our inquiry. We must now investigate if there is reason for doubting the common Indian tradition that Kauṭīliya himself is the author of the work under discussion.

In the first place, it must be emphasised that, as already shown by Hillebrandt, throughout the Indian middle ages Kauṭīliya was with one accord looked upon as the author of the Arthaśāstra under reference. I single out only the evidence of Daṇḍin, who places in the mouth of a character in the Daśakumārac. Chap. VIII, the words: *iyam (scil. daṇḍanītiḥ) idānim ācārya-Viṣṇuguptena Mauryārthe śatbhiḥ ślokaśaśraih saṅkṣiptā*; here with is the time, the author, purpose, extent of the work most definitely given, in complete accordance with the data of the Kauṭīliya itself. The passages in which the facts in question are given are, in addition to the opening sentence of the work quoted above *verbatim*, the last verse of I 1, of II 10, and the last three verses at the very end of the work. The first question is: whether these verses may not be later additions. This supposition is impossible in the case of the end verses of I 1 and II 10. For were we to strike off these verses, then those chapters would lack the usual metrical conclusion. There is in the Kauṭīliya (as in the Kāmasūtra) the rule that every chapter must end with at least one verse.¹³ Further, as regards the three verses at the end of the work, it is well-known that that is the place where authors give information about themselves and their work; it must be specially emphasised that the Kāmasūtra, which in other respects also agrees [846] in outward form with the Arthaśāstra, ends with eight verses containing information about the work, the sources, the author, the purpose and the justification. Lastly, the introductory words, which, indeed, do not contain Kauṭīliya's name, cannot be dispensed with and find besides their parallel in the Kāmasūtra, where similarly, before the enumeration of the Prakaraṇas, but in greater detail, the relation of the work to its sources has been set forth. Accordingly the expunging of the doubtful passages would result in gaping blanks; the amputation is therefore not feasible.

Let us now examine the contents of the above passages. The introductory words say that the contents of the works of all previous masters have been compressed in the Arthaśāstra before us. If the Kauṭīliya were the product of a school it would have in that case appealed to the tradition of the school itself and not to older teachers, who would be looked upon as the leaders of rival schools. The wording of this passage points thus to an individual author, independent of every school. The same follows from the end verse of I 1, which reads as follows:

sukhagrahaṇavijñeyam tattvārthapadaniscitam

Kauṭilyena kṛtam śāstram vimuktagraṇthavistaram ||

¹³ Only an apparent exception to this rule is XIV 1, where a *mantra* in prose follows the last verse; for, this *mantra* is probably a gloss intended to supplement the *agnimantra* mentioned in that verse. Otherwise when *mantras* are laid down (XIV 3), the directions for use are always appended to them introduced by the words: *etasya prayogaḥ*. There are no such directions in this instance.

"Kauṭilya has composed this manual easy to understand and to study; exact as regards subject, ideas and words; free from prolixity." These appear to be the words of the author of a book intended for self-instruction. A text-book intended for the use of schools does not need to be *sukhagrahaṇaviṇēya*: the teacher, the school is concerned with its exposition.

The second verse runs:

sarvaśāstrāṇy anukramya prayogam upalabhya ca |
Kauṭilyena narendrārthe śāsanasya vidhiḥ kṛtā ||

"After scrutinising all Śāstras and with due regard to practice, Kauṭilya has formulated these instructions concerning documents for the benefit of kings." This verse refers only to the particular chapter *śāsanādhikāra*: Kauṭilya claims special credit for it, probably as this subject was either not dealt with at all before him or at any rate not dealt with sufficiently well. The personal note is here unmistakable. Would a school compiler boast of having provided for the wants of a king?

The verses at the end of the work read:

evam śāstram idaṃ yuktam etābhis tantrapuktibhiḥ |
arūpau pālanc cōkta m lokasyā sya parasya ca ||
dharmam artham ca kāmam ca pravartayati pāti ca |
[847] *adharmānarthavidre ān idaṃ śāstram nihanti ca ||*
yo na śāstram ca śāstram ca Nandarāja-gatā ca bhūh |
amarṣeṇo'ddhyātāy āsu tena śāstram idaṃ kṛtam ||

Thus has this Śāstra that leads to the acquisition and preservation of this and the other world been set forth along with these methodic concepts. This Śāstra brings about and protects Justice, Prosperity and Enjoyment and also dispels Injustice, Detriment and Displeasure. This manual has been composed by him who quickly and angrily rescued at once the Science, the Art of War and the Earth that had passed to the Nanda King."

The first of these three verses refers to the last chapter (concerning methodic concepts) and to the first words of the book: *prithivī lābhe pālanc ca*. The second verse promises the attainment of the *trivarga* to him who knows this Śāstra, as is done in a similar way, in partly identical words in the *Kāma-sūtra*, p. 370: *dharmam artham ca kāmam ca*, etc. Lastly, the end verse tells us, with surpassing conciseness, who the author is, not through the specification of his name, which had occurred already twice, but through the recounting of his distinguished services. That is not self-praise: they are the words of a man who stands at the pinnacle of his fame. But in spite of his self-consciousness, which is not veiled by any sham modesty, one does feel in the words of the Chancellor of Candragupta a certain amount of courteous consideration in so far that he does not specify the name of the master whom he has raised to the throne: for, it might in this connection have called forth his disfavour. Kāmandaki, on the other hand, who could glorify the great master irrespective of any such consideration, praises as his work the overthrow of the Nandas and the raising to the throne of Candragupta, each in one stanza (I 4. 5). If some one in later times had added a *prāśasti* to the book, it would surely have been a lengthy eulogium like Kāmandaki's.—What the words *amarṣeṇo'ddhyātāy āsu* in the last verse referred to the Arthasāstra imply, deserves to be discussed more fully. *Amarṣa* is, taking

it in its widest sense, the irritation caused by the conduct of the opponent ; ¹⁴ the primary meaning of *uddhṛta* is something like "restoring to its rights" and is according to its object to be translated differently: with reference to the Science it may be rendered with something like "reform." The sense of Kauṭilya's words very probably is that he [848] is vexed over the narrow-mindedness of his predecessors, and that he has without a moment's hesitation (*ānu*) thrown overboard their dogmatism: it implies the sense of contempt in which the "Professors" are held by the statesman, which even Bismarck was at no pains to conceal. This standpoint of Kauṭilya finds expression in his work, on the one hand in the frequent rejection of the doctrines of the *ācāryas*, on the other hand, in the admittance of important matters into the Śāstra which his predecessors did not deal with there, but which in a serviceable hand-book of Politics could not very well be left out. The agreement obtaining between the words of Kauṭilya and the character of his work, and the personality that characterises them would be difficult to understand, if those were not the very words of the author. A later writer who wanted to palm off his own lucubration or that of his school on the name of the famous statesman, would surely have faltered somewhere. From this view-point the higher criticism must acknowledge the authenticity of the Kauṭilya.

Many will perhaps find it difficult to bring themselves to believe in the authenticity of the Kauṭilya for the reason that literary forgeries have been in India the order of the day from time immemorial on an extensive scale. For is it not a forgery when a work is given out as revealed (*prokta*) by Manu, Yajñavalkya, Vyasa or some god or Ṛṣi? But a forgery in the name of a historical personality with studied adaptation of the work on that of the latter would be no longer a *pia fraus* but a refined imposture, which has no counterpart in the Indian method. For this case would be quite different from that when, for instance, some tractate or commentary is attributed to Saṅkara through the putting down of his name at the end of the chapter; the Kauṭilya is a masterly product of the highest rank and recognised as such through a long series of centuries. He who could write such a work must have suffered from a morbid lack of self-consciousness, were he to send it out into the world under the name of another in order to assure its recognition. — Another mis-statement commonly made by authors in India is one which is rather a *suppressio veri* than a direct falsification, and consists in the publishing of the work under the name of the patron who brought about the composition, more or less influenced or even supervises it, instead of under that of the author himself; a well-known instance is that of the works going under the name of Bhoja, king of Dhāra. Such an origin is impossible in the case of the Kauṭilya on account of the way explained above in which Kauṭilya looks upon the composition of the work as a personal achievement; and even if such were the case, the question of the age of the work would not be affected by it. On the other hand, I do not wish [849] to dispute that Kauṭilya may have had collaborators for certain parts of his work, especially for such as deal with technical details; officers engaged in the respective branches of administration may have supplied the material and he may have only attended to its editing. A similar state of things may be observed elsewhere, for example, in the commentary of

¹⁴ Compare the definition in the Rasagāgādhara, p. 88: *parakṛtāvajñādinaṅparādhaṅanyo maunavākpārusya-dikāraṇibhūtaś cittaavṛttivēśeṣo 'marṣaḥ*. Similarly already in Bharata, p. 80: *amarṣo nūna vidyaisvaryaadhanabalaḥkṣiptasyā 'pamāṇilasya vā samutpadyate*. These definitions are applicable primarily to poems and dramas.

Arjunavarmadeva to the Amaruka, in which one believes to be in a position to distinguish between the words of the princely author and the learned disquisitions of his Pandits. But even this reservation does not vitiate the authenticity of the Kauṭīliya.

Lastly, one might hesitate to accept the fact that just the Kauṭīliya should survive as the only literary monument of those early times,¹⁵ for which the "*habent sua fata libelli*" would offer no satisfactory explanation. I too do not look upon its preservation merely as a matter of an unexpected, lucky chance, but would emphasise that epoch-making works of master-minds, to which category the Kauṭīliya undoubtedly belongs, have this advantage over other merely creditable productions that they do not get antiquated but, on the contrary, attain the dignity of a canon. Similarly out of a slightly older epoch has been preserved the Nirukta of Yāska, and from slightly more modern times the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali. The high esteem in which these works are held protects them not merely from the tooth of time but also from the hand of the meddlesome interpolator. In the latter respect was the Kauṭīliya further protected through the enumeration of the Prakaraṇas contained in it and the specification of its extent like similar data in the Kāmasūtra also. We have, therefore, a certain guarantee for the fact that our text has not undergone any considerable addition; whether any curtailment has taken place will be revealed by a critical study of the work.

The outcome of our investigation is, on the one hand, that the suspicion against the authenticity of the Kauṭīliya is unfounded, and, on the other, that the unanimous Indian tradition according to which the Kauṭīliya is the work of the famous minister of Candragupta, is most emphatically confirmed through a series of internal proofs.¹⁶

MISCELLANEA.

VĀTSYĀYANA AND KĀLIDĀSA.

IN Act IV of the *Śakuntala* Kālidāsa has got the famous verse, *Suśrāṣasea gurān*, etc. Kāśyapa in this verse advises Śakuntala as to how she should behave herself in her husband's house. The third foot of the verse *bhāṣiṣṭhaṃ bhava dakṣiṇā pariṇane bhogeshu anutsakini* is rather interesting as it clearly shows that Kālidāsa was indebted to Vātsyāyana for the idea and language of this passage. A lady who is *ka-chārīṇī* must possess according to Vātsyāyana, among other qualities, *bhogeshu anutsakah* and *pariṇanedakṣhṇyam* (*Kāmasūtra*, IV, 1, 39-40). This similarity of language

and idea seems to be a clear proof of Kālidāsa's borrowing from Vātsyāyana.

In the third foot of the verse from the *Śakuntala* quoted above, according to some reading we get *bhāṣgesha* instead of *bhogeshu*. In the light of the *Kāmasūtra* it would be now justifiable to alter *bhāṣgeshu* into *bhogeshu* once for all.

Accepting Prof. Jacobi's theory that the third century A.D. should be fixed as the date of Vātsyāyana, the same period should also be now put down as the lower limit of the date of

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¹⁵ It may further be emphasised here that in the later classical period there was no longer any certain tradition concerning the pre- and early classical writers and that therefore they could not be distinguished in that period. Thus the lexicographers (Trikaṇḍaśeṣa, II 365 f., Abhidhānaveintāmani, III 517 f.) identify the following writers with Kauṭīliya: both the Vātsyāyanas (Mullavāga and Pakṣilasvāmin), Drāmiḷa and Aṅgula. Is it perhaps due to this confounding of Vātsyāyana with Kauṭīliya that the commentator to the Kāmandakiya, as remarked above p. 191, note 8, calls the author of the Kāmasūtra *asmadguru*?

¹⁶ The above article of Prof. Hermann Jacobi appeared in the *Sitzungsberichte der königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1912, No. XXXVIII.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

SPREAD OF HOBSON-JOBSON IN
MESOPOTAMIA.

THE war has naturally brought about a new crop of Hobson-Jobsons and corruptions of English and European languages which are beginning to be reported and are worth collecting from the commencement for the sake of future students of philology.

Mr. Edmund Candler, the representative of the British Press in Mesopotamia, is responsible for those contained in the following extracts taken from a letter published in the (London) *Observer* on the 12th May 1918.

A.—Hobson-Jobsons.

1. **Imshi.** Imperative of Ar. verb *mashi*, to go; go, get out. To vanish, a **vanisher** (one who vanishes). "There was a small port on the Euphrates where the villagers were called 'imshis' by the British rank and file. The word, with its Djinn-like [Ar. *jinn*, generic term for supernatural beings of darkness] suggestion of disappearance, is very apt."

2. **Makoo.** Contracted form of Ar. *ma yakhin*, it is becoming nothing. There is none, not to be had, out of stock. "I only know of one instance in which 'makoo' has been applied to an individual, and that is Makoo Effendi of— [Mr. Never has], a picturesque dignified old gentleman, a sort of general factotum, contractor and agent, whom we have inherited from the Turk. He stands with the palms of his hands turned up and resting on his hips, his eyes fixed on the far horizon empty of hope, the personification of 'makoo.' 'If you talk about work,' said a subaltern to me, 'he falls all of a tremble and spins out 'makoo's' by the yard.'"

3. **Bill-bellum.** Ar. *b'il-balam*, in the river-boat. Any kind of river-boat. "In Basrah you have soldiers calling out for a 'bill-bellum.'"

4. **Marionette.** Ar. *mandrat*, a turret: the minarets of a mosque. "The other day I heard a

corporal talking about the 'domes and marionettes of Bagdad.'"

B.—Corruptions of European words.

1. **Shamin dafar.** Fr. *chemin-de-fer*: a railway. "An Arab asked me the other day where the new, 'shemin duffer was going to be.'"

2. **Satarônbil, terumbil.** An automobile, motor car. "The men of the desert call our motors 'stronbills' or 'terumbills,' a truly onomatopoeic word."

3. **Antika.** Any "antique." "The urchin who holds out a faked curio at Babylon asks you to buy an 'antica.' [This is an old expression in the Near East through the Italian *antica*. The Editor heard it used continually in the bazaar in Cairo 50 years ago. The expression used in enquiries then was usually, *awdak hâja antica*? Is there any antique with you? Have you any ancient goods?].

4. **Kuntrâchi.** A contractor. Fr. *contrat* and Turk. *chi*, an agent, a handler. "The contractor is the 'contrachi' (*contrat* and *chi*, the Turkish termination that implies agent)." [Cf. *mash alchi*, the 'lamp man,' the 'made kitchen-maid,' or 'tweenie' of the Anglo-Indian household: *ûi*, the man who handles the lamps (properly torches, *mash al*).—ED. J.]

5. **Damful.** To deceive. "At Aden I hear the Arabs have coined a verb from an English expletive, 'damful,' which is conjugated in all its moods and tenses. 'I damfuled you' [*damfaltuk*], 'you damfuled me' [*damfaltani*], with the Arab inflection."

6. **Finish.** To finish, end, be done for. "It has spread from Basrah to Samarra and to the remotest villages of the desert. A familiar greeting from the Arabs as we went up the Tigris was 'Turk finish,' and it was always accompanied with an eloquent gesture of finality."

R. C. TEMPLE.

RELIGION IN SIND.

BY C. E. L. CARTER, I.C.S.

Part I.

(Continued from Vol. XLVI, p. 208 of 1917.)

HAVING formulated our hypothesis let us proceed to examine a few legends which clearly refer to pre-Mussalman times. In the History of Gujerat¹ we read that the Brahmins of Sind refused to become Shrimâli Brahmins. "The angry Sindh Brahmins in their own country worshipped the sea. At their request Samudra sent the demon **Sarika** to ruin Shrimal. Sarika carried off the marriageable Brahman girls Shrimal became waste When they heard that the Shrimal Brahmins had returned to their old city and were prospering, the Brahmins of Sind once more sent Sarika to carry away their marriageable daughters. One girl, as she was being haled away, called on her house-goddess and Sarika was spell-bound to the spot. King Shripunij came up and was about to slay Sarika with an arrow when Sarika said "Do not kill me let your Brahmins at their weddings give a dinner in my honour and let them also marry their daughters in unwashed clothes On this Sarika fled to Sindh. And in her honour the people both of Shrimal and of Jodhpur still marry their daughters in unwashed clothes."

This extract clearly indicates that in Sindh the orthodox Hindus had given up the worship of celestial deities and were water worshippers. It is true the sea is specified but the connotation is vague. Even Punjabi Mahomedans to this day call the Indus the "sea".

That the crocodile was demonic may be gathered from the strange lycanthropic tale incorporated in the *Mahâbharata*.² Arjun was roving through Western India in search of adventure and had apparently reached the lakes of the Lower Indus flood plain. "Dragged by the renowned Arjuna to the land, that crocodile became a beautiful damsel "Who art thou, O beautiful one? What for hadst thou been a ranger of the Waters?" The damsel replied, saying, "I am, Oh mighty armed one, an Apsara sporting in the celestial woods. I am, Oh mighty one, Varga by name" . . . and then she describes how she and four others (dear to Kuvera), Sauraveyi, Samichi, Vudonda and Latâ, tempted a Brahman, who cursed them. "Becoming crocodiles range ye the waters for a hundred years . . . An exalted individual will drag ye all from the water to the land. Then ye will have back your real forms."

Now this tale is pure lycanthropy and is all the stranger because this form of magic is so rare in India. The name of the leader of the Apsaras, Varga, is to be noted. One must assume that the Beast, the terror of the jungle, the incarnation of foul murder, is not in Sind either the panther (Marathi *wâgh*), or the tiger (Sk. *vyâghra*), but the crocodile (Si. *wâgho*). In Europe the Beast was the wolf (Norse *vargr* Saxon *varag*) and from the terror inspired by its ferocity was evolved the whole conception of the werewolf. In Sind the Beast was eventually lost in an all-embracing Hinduism. A curious parallel of absorption in Catholic Christianity will be found in the most holy miracle, which St. Francis wrought when he converted the very fierce wolf of Agobio.³

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Pt. 1, p. 462.

² Trans. by P. C. Roy, Calcutta, 1883. *Âdi Parva*, ch. 218.

³ *Little Flowers of St. Francis*, ch. XXI. For the terror inspired by the crocodiles among the Jews, see *Job*, ch. 41 R.V.

Does the mythical 'makara' represent the contribution of Brahmanical Sind to catholic Hinduism? One Puranic legend, quoted in the History of Gujerat,⁴ refers to the conquest of Mayûradhvaja of Gujerat by Makaradvaja of Sind. This fight is considered to represent the contest in which the Mers from Sind, as allies of the Huns, overthrew the Gupta viceroy of Kathiawar. It is significant that the Mers fought under so repellent a standard.

What the classical idea of the Makara was may be gathered from the gloss incorporated in Sir William Jones' translation of the *Institutes of Manu* (VII. 187). "On the march let him form his troops . . . like a macara or sea-monster, that is, in a double triangle with apices joined. In the *Mahâbhârata*⁵ the formation literally reproduces the crocodile form.

Part II.

Introduction.

The first part of this article was based on customs observed in Lower Sind regarding the river cult and the few remarks of reticent villagers. In central Sind the attraction of the shrine of Uderolal results in less reticence and fuller details are available. The problem is, *how* did the cult survive the subtle blandishments of Buddhism and the more violent methods of the Arabs. Regarding the former, Hiuen Tsang is clear, though a Sindhi characteristic appears, then as now—no tale, no religion. It took an aeronaut *arhat* to convert the denizens of the Indus flood plain. "Since then generations have passed and the changed times have weakened their virtue, but as for the rest they retain their old customs." Arab methods may be conveniently studied in the *Chachnâma*.

In the story of the Incarnation of the River God not only have the details of the cult at Uderolal been described in full but the caste customs of the Thakurs have been elaborated—not because of an essential connection with religion as illustrative of how completely a foreign control has been established over a purely local religion, centuries after it might reasonably be supposed to have died out, and of how it is maintained by the custom of exogamy.

In the cult of Khwaja Khizr the Thakur was less successful. Apparently it had already become esoteric before the Thakur arrived and the most he could do was to assert that the deity worshipped near Sukkur was identical with the incarnate Uderolal.

The Story of the Incarnation of the River God.

At the beginning of the eleventh century, when Marakh was king of Tatta and Aho was his *vazir*, the Hindus of Sind were greatly oppressed—so much so that their sacred threads were removed and their top-knots cut off that they might be converted into Islam. Tatta was at that time the capital of Sind. The Hindu *panchâyat* of Tatta thereupon approached the king with a request that they might be relieved from so great a tyranny, but the king utterly refused saying that they must obey his order for he desired only one religion in his realm. Then the *panchâyat* asked for a respite of three days on the expiry of which they would make a final reply. The older members of the *panchâyat*, who were learned in the *Śâstras* and the *Bhagavad Gîtâ*, the most holy books of the Hindus,

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 135.

⁵ *Op. cit. Karna Parva*, XI. 14-21.

called to mind a *śloka* of the third book of the *Bhagavad Gītā*, wherein it is written, "Whenever the dearest ones of God are oppressed or their ritual interfered with, God, becoming incarnate, will protect those dear to him."⁶

Remembering, then, this *śloka* they resolved to go in a band to the bank of the river at Tatta, where they offered prayers for three days continually. At the close of the third day a voice was heard coming from the River, saying, "Eight days from to-day I shall be born at Nasarpur in the house of Ratanrai Arora, who is Asharm by Viran and Tina by caste. I shall be called Uderolāl. My mother's name is Deoki. Do you therefore request the king that after eight days he and his *vazir* should come to me there to discuss your religious differences. I shall gladly dispose of them. Meanwhile the king should stay his hand."

The *panchāyat* became of good cheer and with hearts emboldened returned to the city strewing flowers on the road. They related their tale to the king who agreed to postpone matters. After eight days on Friday the first day of *Chaitra* in the year 1007 *Samvat* Uderolāl was born in the aforementioned house at Nasarpur. The king then sent his *vazir* Aho to Nasarpur to enquire into the statement of the Hindus: first asking the name of the father he came to the house of Ratanrai, where he learnt that a child named Uderolāl had actually been born. In those days Nasarpur was also on the bank of the Indus. Aho entered the house with some of the elders of Nasarpur and indeed found the child in a cradle. After a few moments the babe had become a youth of sixteen years of age, again he became a black-bearded man, and yet again after a short while a grave old white-bearded man. Much astonished he humbly requested the babe to accompany him to Tatta for the king had summoned Him in connection with a dispute regarding the Hindu religion. He replied that the *vazir* should go in advance to Tatta and then He Himself would appear on the bank of the river at Tatta what time the *vazir* remembered Him. The *vazir* set out from Nasarpur and after three days reached Tatta. On the fourth day while standing on the bank of the river he remembered the words of Uderolāl Sahib and to his surprise at once saw Him emerging from the river at the head of a regiment armed with swords and other weapons. The *vazir* was astonished to see such an army coming from the river and begged Uderolāl to send it back again as there was no question of a fight; the king merely desired His presence. Uderolāl thereupon commanded the army to return to the river, while he accompanied the *vazir* to visit the king.

On seeing God thus incarnate the Hindus collected in large numbers, rejoicing in Him and conducted him with great pomp to the king. The *vazir* then related all that he had seen, introducing Uderolāl by name and reporting that he was considered as the *guru* of the Hindus. The king arose to receive Him and enquired of the *vazir* the name of the new incarnation. The *vazir* replied that He was known both as Uderolāl and as Zinda Pir. He was called Zinda Pir because He was their personal God, though the meaning of Zinda Pir is this, that *Zinda* means living and *Pir* means a *guru* or a teacher. The king thereupon addressed Uderolāl, saying that as He was held to be an incarnation by the Hindus, He should advise them to give up the worship of stocks and stones and become Mahomedans

⁶ The reference is perhaps to *Bhagavad Gītā*, III. 35: 'There's more happiness in doing one's own Law without excellence than in doing another's Law well. It is happier to die in one's own Law; another's Law brings dread.—(L. D. BARNETT, *Temple Classics*).

whereby there would be one religion throughout the country. Uderolāl replied that the world is the creation of God and all is according to His nature, wherefore he should abandon his plan and cease from tyrannising over the Hindus. A reference to the *Śāstras* or to the *Koran* would show that God had created all things in His wisdom and in the fullness of His wisdom had He created many religions. To Him Hindus and Turks were alike. Those who remember Him are those who are nearest and dearest to Him. It would be better therefore for the king to follow His (Uderolāl's) advice and abandon his plans.

The king asked the *vazir* as to what should be done to Uderolāl; he replied that the king should be firm, that he should bind Uderolāl and cast him into prison. The king issued orders accordingly but his men could not capture Uderolāl. At times his body changed to air, at times to water, at times it was itself; thus their efforts were fruitless.

Failing in this the king and his *vazir* turned their thoughts to converting the Hindus to Islam by force. On hearing this they became terrified but Uderolāl calmed their fears and commanded Fire to destroy the houses and places of the Turks. While this fire was raging through the town the king and the *vazir* with all the Mahomedan ryots bowed before Uderolāl and begged for pardon, offering to obey all His orders. Uderolāl commanded that all should be free in their own religion and that Hindus should not be persecuted for the future. The king submitted to this and Uderolāl, first consoling the Hindus, returned to Nasarpur and lived with his father.

On reaching the age of twelve he asked his brothers Somo and Bhandar to give up their worldly affairs and to join him in founding their new *Thakurai* or *Daryāqantūi* religion. This they refused to do and remained in their business. Uderolāl then ordered his cousin Pugar to bear his commands and to found the new religion. He agreed and was led to the bank of the river, where, while bathing, he saw the true form of Uderolāl and many other wonders. By the grace of Uderolāl his mind and heart were open and understanding, he saw what remained to be seen.

Returning from the river Uderolāl made him his disciple and gave him seven things:—

- | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----|-----|--|
| (i) <i>Jot</i> | ... | ... | چوت or lamp. |
| (ii) <i>Timahli</i> or <i>jhari</i> | .. | .. | A pot containing sacrificial water for distribution in cups to Hindus. |
| (iii) Robe | ... | ... | |
| (iv) Drum | ... | ... | Capable of emitting various notes. |
| (v) Crown | ... | ... | |
| (vi) <i>Deg</i> | ... | ... | دېگ A large metal pot for cooking rice. |
| (vii) <i>Teg</i> † | ... | ... | A sword.. |

Somo and Bhandar, the brothers of Lāl Sahib, now became jealous of Pugar and wished to drive him away. Lāl Sahib, however, informed them that Pugar was the only person fit to be his disciple; if they wished to share in his service and its rewards and to be respected as was Pugar, let them take the *Timahli* and distribute water from it to the

† At the present day the *jot* is in the possession of the Thakurs of Sehwan and the crown with the chief of the Thakurs, who resides at Alipur (Punjab). There is no trace of the other gifts.

Hindus, whereby they too would be respected as Thakurs and obtain wealth, reputation, and believers.⁸

After the establishment of the new religion Uderolâl Sahib came riding on horseback, spear in hand, to Jhai-jo-Goth, some eight miles from Nasarpur, and halted in a large open space. A Mahomedan, who was there, on being asked who the owner was, replied that he himself was. Uderolâl informed him that he wished to purchase the land, but the Mahomedan before selling wished to consult his wife. He went off to do so and on his return found Uderolâl, whom he had left in the full blaze of the sun, standing beneath a large tree that had suddenly grown up on the land. The Mahomedan was astonished particularly by the miracle, and offered the land gratis to Him, provided he might receive the income accruing to the temple, which would be built on the spot. Uderolâl granted the request. Further, he struck his spear in the ground and, bringing to light many diamonds and rubies, told him that all was his for the gathering. The Mahomedan declined everything except the income of the temple. Uderolâl confirmed the grant and was immediately swallowed up by the ground, himself, his horse and his spear and was never seen again.

When the news of this event spread abroad, the king, Marakh, sent his *vazir* to enquire into the matter; if the information was true he should build a fine mausoleum over the spot in commemoration of Uderolâl. The Thakur Pugar also arrived at the place and as they could not agree among themselves about the construction of the mausoleum they decided to watch during one whole night and to carry out whatever orders a voice from underground should give. While keeping their vigil they heard a voice declare that the king, wealthy as he was, should build the mausoleum in fitting style and that the Hindus should build another place adjoining it in which should be maintained the lamps. In fact, it is said Uderolâl considers Hindus and Mahomedans alike and would rejoice if both would worship at his tomb, adding that He is not dead; His name of Uderolâl or Amarâlâl indeed signifies the everlasting one.

The order was obeyed and the two places, still in existence, were built side by side. Mahomedans do not go to the *jot* building, but Hindus go to both. Five lamps are maintained up to the present time and lit at night-fall in the tomb, where a Mahomedan sits to collect the offerings. These lamps are lit by the Hindus and all service is done by them, such as sweeping the floor, cleaning the tomb and offering flowers. The Mahomedans only collect the money offerings. In the *jot* building lights are kept burning day and night.

The holy tree, which grew up while the original owner went to consult his wife, still survives. It is worshipped and no common person is allowed to touch it. The seeds of this tree, if swallowed like pills, are a certain specific for sonlessness. Pugar Sahib had also constructed a well and a rest-house (*bhandâro*) for travellers, which still exist. The well is considered sacred as the Ganga or Jumna.

A fair is held annually on the first day of *Chaitr* (*Cheti chand*) at Jhai-jo-goth (Uderolâl) and all Uderolâl's followers from Sind, the Punjab, Cutch and elsewhere come.

⁸ The Thakurs of Nasarpur are in consequence known as Somais. The followers of Pugar are Bhudai Thakurs. These latter are so called from Budho, the son of Pugar in his old age. The Thakurs of Sehwan and of the Punjab are Budhais. There are Budhais also in other parts of Sind.

A large market is opened during the fair. A fair is also held on the first day of every month at Uderolâl and a mid-yearly fair is held on *Asu chand*. At Nasarpur also fairs are held as at Uderolâl at the place where he was born, the place being considered holy and *jot* being maintained there.

On the island of Bukkur a fair is also held on *Cheti chand*. After Uderolâl had disappeared at Jhai-jo-Goth he appeared again at Bukkur emerging from the rock. He was seen and people still worship Him as Zinda Pir in the temple built over the spot. Here a light is perpetually maintained in a cave. From the *Sakrant* of *Srawan* to the *Sakrant* of *Bado* the Hindus at Sukkur lock the doors of the holy place of Zinda Pir for forty days and no one but the care-taker is allowed to enter. He too approaches the place not in a boat but swimming on an earthenware pot (*mali*) with his eyes bandaged. He but adds oil to the lamp and trims the wick. After the expiry of forty days a great fair is held when many *baharânas* (بهارانوس a ball of spiced dough) and much sweet rice are distributed.

At Uderolâl the service is in the hands of a *Bairagi*, who has been placed in charge by the Thakurs. From him no accounts are taken and he is in fact his own master with his own *chelas* to succeed him. He, however, serves all Thakurs who visit Uderolâl. It is he who adorns the tomb with its rich trappings on every day of the new moon, on every Friday, and on every thirteenth day of the moon a golden turban and a rich piece of cloth are laid upon the tomb. At the same time people offer rice cooked with sugar (*gur*) and *baharânas*, of which the former is eaten and the latter thrown into the well.

At other places where there are disciples, as at Sehwan and Shikarpur, will be found temples for the *jot* where lamps are maintained night and day. At every temple or, as in Hyderabad city, at every road-side shrine, a *jhari* full of water is also maintained near the *jot*. Both are worshipped symbolically and equally. Morning and evening prayers must be offered before the *jot* and the *jhari*, or, if possible, on the river-side before running water. A Thakur as part of his worship should morning and evening ceremonially cast rice and sugarcandy into the river. At "Uderolâl" He is addressed as Lâl Udero Sâin (the holy leader), Ratnaji Sher (the lion of the house of Ratanrai, and Baga Bahar Sher (Lion of the white sea).

The *Daryâpanthis* are monotheists and worship no other gods nor are they idolaters. Their only religious books are the *Janam bakhi* (the story of Uderolâl, in verse from which the foregoing story is taken) and other poems and writings in praise of Uderolâl.

Women partake in the worship of Uderolâl. From ancient times they visit the central place of the cult to pray for children, seating and bumping themselves at the time of prayer on a wishing-stone. They pray too on many accounts, on behalf of their husbands, for wealth or for health. When going to the river to ask such requests they carry sweet rice in a *jhari* which must not be opened on the way. The whole is thrown into the river as also other offerings of rice and sugar to the accompaniment of hymns in praise of Uderolâl. Finally, they draw their *sâri* (*rava* or *châdar*, the body cloth) slightly across their breast and beg for the required boon. Such prayers should be offered on Friday, the 13th day or a new-moon day. In other respects there is no special ritual or place specially set apart for women.

Mahomedans do not go to Nasarpur, they never eat with Hindus either at Nasarpur or Uderolâl.

In this religion there is no place for Brahmins though a few Brahmin mendicants may be found at Uderolâl. The controlling persons are Thakurs, who maintain their position by the most unusual custom of exogamy.

It has already been noted that the two principal sections of the Thakurs are the Somâi and the Budhâis. The latter centre upon Sehwan and are the more respected persons. There is a third sub-division known as the Ghorâis, who centre around Mehar and have their own followers. The story runs that they are the descendants and disciples of a poor man who lived with some Budhâis (who are known also as Vardharis) as a temple-servant. One day when the Thakur arose early in the morning and ordered his horse to be prepared as he wished to go to the river, this man came and knelt before him like a horse saying that he was the horse and that the Thakur Sahib should ride him to the river. The Thakur rejoiced and told him that he might now leave the temple and obtain his own disciples who should henceforth be known as Ghorâis. When Ghorâis approach a village where other Ghorâis live they neigh like a horse before entering it.

The custom of marriage among Thakurs is this. No Thakur may marry from a Thakur family ; more especially a Budhâi may not marry from a Somâi Thakur family for all Thakurs are brothers. A Thakur may not even marry from a *Daryâpanthi* family which is reckoned among his own disciples. A Thakur may marry from any Punjabi-Hindu family, e.g., Arora, Lanjâra (لنجاہی), Suparcja (سپرچہ), Khirâna (کھراٹا), Rabar (رہبر); Kukareja (ککریچہ), Chânwala (چانوالا). They do not marry from among Sindhi Lohanas nor from among the Thakurs of Punjab. Conversely, too, Thakur daughters must be given to Punjabi families. Among the rank and file of the *Daryâpanthi* religion marriage is a question of social position. Daughters may be given to castes or sub-sections of equal standing but not to those of lower esteem though daughters may be taken from such (hypergamy) or from within the same section (endogamy). Socially Budhâis will have no intercourse with Somais, as Pugar, their ancestor, was the honoured disciple of Uderolâl.

Thakurs are, ordinarily speaking, a priestly class and when personally they have a sufficient number of followers they are absolved from the necessity of working for their living. Otherwise they enter Government or private service or engage in trade.

The story of Uderolâl, Lâl Wadero, the holy chieftain, is remarkable from many points of view. The incarnation of the God of Nature, the God of Sind, the River God, is assigned a definite and comparatively recent date. It may be that the Hindu revival spring from the persecution of a petty Sumro prince during the latter part of the 10th century just previous to the inroads of Mahomed of Ghazni; it may be, however, rather later and represented a reaction against the strength of the agents of Ghazni kings. Probably the latter is a better explanation in view of the close connection of the Thakur family with the Punjab. One may picture to oneself the break up of Brahmanical rule in the Punjab, the flight of large classes to Sind, the "capture" of local Hinduism in the 11th century, just as in the 17th and 18th centuries a new swarm of Uttarâdis came, partly to avoid local persecution and partly to avail themselves of trading facilities under the Mogul régime.

Nextly the great and persistent strength of a non-Brahmanical religion, purely monotheist and still pure in its worship, not at all idolatrous, yet essentially Hindu in its connection and philosophy, is a feature which cannot be passed over. Strangely enough Sehwan, Shivistan, one great home of the Thakurs, was a religious settlement of the Guptas, whence the cult of the great god Siva was to spread over Sind. The cult did not spread far. Only one daughter-colony, that of Pir Patho, is known and their elements of both the Saivite and *Daryāpanthi* religions have been caught up with Buddhism and Sufi-ism and remoulded into a strange Moslem cult.

Again, the unsuccessful attempt to connect up the religion with the cult of Kṛishṇa must be noted.

The revival of religion preparatory to the Incarnation is professedly inspired by, the *Bhagavad Gītā* but this is again nowhere referred to nor does it form any part in the modern *Daryāpanthi* religion or in any branch of it except at Bohāra. Yet another and, apparently, a Vishnuvite attack was made on the worship of the God of the Waters. Jhimpir is a popular place of resort for Hindus in the old Mogul *pargana* of Sonda or Sondro. The story, as related in the *Tuhfat-ul-Kiram*, is as follows: "Sondro" is another important place. Until recent times there was a large fort here. Its name was Bhim-kot and Hindus frequently visit it as a place of pilgrimage. There is a spring of water at the place; the water trickles from beneath a cliff. The spring is an interesting phenomenon of nature. The locality is commonly known as Jhim. The place also possesses a stone which the Hindus worship as a deity.

The servants of this place say that a party of virgins took this stone and threw it into the river. On their return they found the stone on the exact spot whence they had removed it. Seeing this the virgins thrust their hands into the sleeves of connivance (i.e., they were ashamed to touch it again)."⁹

The geography of the story calls for some notice. In the *Tuhfat-ul-kiram* Nasarpur is stated to have been founded on the banks of the Sangro Wah in the 16th century and that its glory had departed by the 18th century. The topographical maps still show the old course of the Sangro Wah and Dhoro Phital running due south parallel with the line of the Ganja Hills but far to the east of them. Does the Sangro Wah represent an old course of the Indus and, if so, how could it run from Nasarpur to Tatta, which lies far to the south west? The vagaries of the river constitute of course the only problem in Sind and in the days before it was harnessed by huge riverain embankments nothing definite could ever be postulated as to its course. The move from Nasarpur to Jhai-jo-Goth probably represents an attempt to keep the cult located on the river bank though the river is now many miles west of Uderolāl. Curiously enough the canal running past Shahdādpur towards Brahmanābād is still known as Marakh Wah. This disposes of the possibility of the Indus lying east of Shahdādpur and gives respectability to the history of the tale.

Khawja Khizr.

On a small island near Bukkur stands the *ziarat* of Khwaja Khizr. He is identified by Mussalman with the River God, the Living God, Zinda Pir as he became manifest there.

⁹ The town of Sonda is eight miles from Jhimpir station and midway between it and Jherruck to the north-east are some Buddhist ruins. There is no trace of Bhim-kot. A large tumulus, unexplored, overlooks Jhimpir. Any spring is a phenomenon in Sind.

¹⁰ As evidence of the pre-Mussalman existence of Vishnuvism, see the name of the capital of (Central) Sind in Hsien Tsang's account. P'i-shen-p'o-pu-lo = Bishnavpur or Vishnupur.—Beal, II p. 272.

This identification is based on the similarities of the two personalities, on the fact that both are eternal, that both derive their power from the fountain of life. Here there was no Mussalman buried on a spot held sacred by Hindus, as at Sehwan, no attempt as at Uderolâl to combine persons of both religions as servants of one incarnation. The identification was complete, the cult was esoteric and uncongenial ritual, such as the cult of the Satyun or Virgins, was separated out.

The period of the identification is an extremely difficult problem. Does it date from the days of the Arab conquest or from the time when Multan was a centre of Sufi learning and missionaries of all types wandered through the land working subtly as leaven.

Who Zinda Pir was we have discussed. El Khizr, in Arabic legend, was the *vazir* of Dhoulkarnaim, the two-horned one, Alexander the Great, who drank of the Fountain of Life, through the virtue of which he will live till the day of judgment. To Mussalmans in distress he appears clad in green robes—whence his name.¹¹

In the fourth book of the adventures of Hatim Tai will be found a life-like picture of Khwâja Khizr in the character of a "white magician." He was a man of venerable appearance dressed in green apparel, who guided Hatim Tai from an enchanted desert, who released him from the clutches of a magic tree, who taught him the charm of the ninety-nine names of God, which is however of no avail unless "you keep yourself pure and never utter a falsehood; every day you must devoutly purify yourself with water, and never break your fast till set of sun, nor must you repeat the charm at an improper time." Later when he finally released Hatim Tai from Sam Almar's power, Iblis, the Devil (on whom he curses) informed the latter that they should fight no more—"over the unerring decrees of the Almighty I have no power or control. The Eternal hath willed that Hatim's fame should be perpetual and he hath commissioned the prophet Khwâja Khizr (on whom be peace) to assist him in his bold undertakings." This Moslem charm finds such a strange analogue in Hinduism that one is tempted to believe that it is a borrowed one. "O Illustrious one, listen to the one hundred and eight names of the sun as they were disclosed of old by Dhanmye to the high-souled son of Pritta! Dhanmye said 'Surya, Aryamen, Bhaga . . . the merciful Maitreya.' These are the 108 names of Surya of immeasurable energy as told by the self-create. For the acquisition of prosperity I bow down to thee, Oh Bhaskara, blazing like unto gold or fire, who is worshipped of the gods and the Pitris and the Yakhas and who is adored by the Asuras, Nisacharas and Siddhas. He that with fixed attention reciteth this hymn at sunrise obtaineth wife and offspring and riches. . . ."¹²

Once in this guise of a divine helper Khwâja Khizr appears in Sindhi legend. Mullah Daud of Sehwan was an accomplished and learned man; his son Nur-ul-haq, when a child, was very weak in mind and forgetful; his father tried hard to teach him the *Koran* but the boy could remember nothing. His father then shut him up in a cell and paid no heed to his lamentations and weeping. The boy was indeed a blessed soul, for in that confinement he had a vision of Khwâja Khizr, who addressed him: "Child, why liest thou low thus? Get up. Henceforth whatever thou readest will remain in your memory." At once the *Koran* shone in his mind, there and then he repeated them aloud and shouted to his father and mother who took him out; their instructions were welcomed by him; he remembered promptly whatever he was taught and gradually became a very learned man. He was surnamed Ta'lib-i-ibn Ustad—the seeker of the Preceptor's knowledge—and Mushta'qi—

¹¹ *The Koran*, Everyman Ed., p. 186.

Mahâbhârata. Vana Parva, ch. III.

enthusiastic—was his nom-de-plume. His poetry was greatly appreciated by Mirza Sahib—that illustrious poet of Persia, when he saw this poet of Sind in the course of his travels in Persia.

Simple though this identification may be, there is still considerable doubt attached to it, as though the Baloches are in some measure disciples of the River God, a cult which they seem to have adopted in Sind several centuries ago, they are unable to fix their choice of the personality of their Pir.¹³ Khwāja Khizr in one Baloch ballad takes the place of the archangel Mikail in the heavenly hierarchy and is at times variously identified with Elijah or Ilias and the River God. In the delta of the Indus Khwāja Khizr is held to be the brother of Ilias.

The Khulāsat has no reference to this *ziarat* but Manucci mentions it¹⁴ though under an ill-written name. "At a short distance from the fort (of Bakkur) towards the north was a little island known as Coia Khitan, where is a tomb held in great veneration by the Moors."

According to an "ex-Political"¹⁵ the date on the mosque of Khwāja Khizr *ziarat* is A.H. 341 (= 952 A.D.) The story of its being built is that "a shepherd named Baji, whose hut stood where the Mahal of Baji, one of the divisions of the town of Rohri, now stands, observed at night a bright flame burning at some distance from him. Thinking it had been kindled by travellers, he sent his wife to procure a light from it but, as often as she approached, it vanished. She returned and told her husband; and he disbelieving the report went himself and then discovered that it was indeed a miraculous manifestation. Awe-struck with what he had seen he erected a *takiyah*, or hermit's hut, on the spot and devoted himself as the *fakir* to the religious care of the place. Soon after this the Indus altered its course and abandoning the walls of Alor, encircled the ground on which the *takiyah* of Baji stood and which is now called the island of Khwāja Khizr.

"There is another story which relates that the Rajah of Alor was desirous of possessing the beautiful daughter of a merchant who resided in his city. The unhappy father, unable to oppose the wishes of the king, entreated that a respite of eight days might be allowed to him, and having spent that time in fasting and prayer he was miraculously conveyed with his daughter and all his wealth to the island Khizr, the river at the same time deserting the city of Alor."

The violence of the river has given rise to a characteristic Sindhi proverb—"Who has drowned the place? Khwāja Khizr," which means that one must not grumble at the tyranny of a great man but submit.

Khwāja Khizr appears once in history. Qutb Saheb, Qutb-uddin Bakhtyar Kaki of Ush, settled at Delhi and died in the year A. D. 1236. He obtained his name Kaki from his ability to produce hot cakes (*kak*) from his armpits. Khwāja Khizr, who "still regulates the wealth and the price current of grains," appeared to him in a dream and gave him the power of prophecy.

Now it is very remarkable that the date quoted by Mr. Eastwick corresponds very closely with that given in the Uderolāl legend. At the same time the story of Qutb Saheb shows that by the beginning of the 13th century the identification of Khwāja Khizr with the River God (? Nature God) was complete. It seems indeed that the invasions of Mahomed of Ghazni must have hammered into the understandings of the Sindhis that,

¹³ L. Dames, *Popular Poetry of the Baloches*, p. 141.

¹⁴ *Storia do Mogor*, I, 326.

¹⁵ *Dry Leaves from Young Egypt*, by an ex-Political. H. B. Eastwick.

Hindu or Mussalman, they were of one stock supported by the same river and bound together by common interests. Whether matters were clinched by a sudden diversion of the river is doubtful in spite of the persistence of the legend, for no sudden diversion or catastrophe could carve a way of the river of the size of the Indus across a range of hills or line of high ground.

We must think rather of political events moulding and reviving old creeds, think of the Hindus as worshipping the river and of the Mahomedans with a veneer of Arabic learning, carrying on to the full all their old customs and folklore. What spot should be holy if not that to which the *pulla* went on pilgrimage annually, that which breasted every year the floods which overwhelmed the land. The early years of the 11th century gave the Sindhi much to think about and one result was the realisation by Hindus and Mahomedans that both could worship at the same shrine and pray for help, for both worshipped the living God. The cult of Uderolal was developed by foreigners who brought their own ideas of their saviour as a warrior, that of Khwaja Khizr was more primitive and aboriginal. In it the God moves through the rivers seated on a *pulla*, and so every year the first *pulla* caught in the season must be offered as a sacrifice to the River God. In both cases the religion is the same but the background is different, the setting is different. The Uderolal legend clearly shows how the effort was made by the Thakurs to capture the earlier form of their own religion and to what extent they succeeded, for they can but assert that Zinda Pir is the same as Uderolal. The cult of Uderolal has become purely anthropomorphic in the hands of the Thakurs. From the cult of Zinda Pir by a few stages of evolution a true conception of Godhead may still be developed.

Part III.

Within a mile of Mai Pir's coppice is the shrine of Ahmed Pir or Hot Hakim—the Pit of the Jackals. This composite saint has two *Khalifas*, a Sheikh and a Murghar Baloch. The *Khalifa* of Mai Pir is a Sheikh. In both cases the annual ceremony depends upon the Hindu calendar and my Mussalman informants were in doubt as to whether the anniversary of Mai Pir fell in *Nahri* (*Mârga*) or *Poh* (*Pausha*). It is probably in *Nahri* as the Jackal Pir's anniversary is *Poh* 12th.

The first point of interest is that a certain cure for rabies is for the person bitten to go to Hot Hakim's shrine and drink holy water and ashes. This form of medicine is a common one; Pir Patho's ashes are a specific for any ordinary complaint. The "ashes" are simply wood ashes prepared on a sanctified spot. Now in Balochistan Bibi Dost¹⁶ is the popular physician for this terrible illness of rabies and it was not by mere chance that Baloches captured one-half of the cult of Mai Pir and set up their own *Khalifa* (a Murghar) and invented their own saint (Hot Hakim). It would appear that the strict rule preserving the virginity of Mai Pir had necessitated the separation of "Ahmed Pir." A former connection is certainly indicated by a Sheikh being *Khalifa* at either shrine, while though the medicine is obtainable at Ahmed Pir's shrine, it is at Mai Pir's that the jackals are fed ritually. It is illustrative of Baloch superstition that they did not attempt to restore Mai Pir's cult but were satisfied with that of Ahmed Pir (Hot Hakim), however much they had formerly had faith in Bibi Dost.

In fact, one is tempted to believe that the jackal almost became the Beast associated with the Vegetation Deity, but did not, being too contemptible. It is formidable only

¹⁶ *Frontiers of Balochistan*, by G. P. Tate, pp. 193, 200, 204.

when rabid and Bibi Dost, Madonna, healed her votaries—if, as Mr. Tate sagely remarks, they are not fated to die.

That the whole ritual is of great antiquity is obvious.

- (a) It occurs separately in Sind and Balochistan.
- (b) In Sind it is part of the cult of the Virgin *Mai*.
- (c) It depends upon the Hindu calendar.
- (d) Rice is the only offering made to the jackals at Mai Pir's shrine.

The question is at what stage of pre-history the cult arose.

In this character as "wolf-god", Apollo is usually regarded as he who keeps away wolves from the flock, yet offerings were laid out in his honour just as in Mai Pir's case. A still closer parallel in ritual will be found in the association of jackals with the Roman Ceres, a "Mediterranean" deity, linking up whose cult with the East is the well-known incident in the legend of Samson, where "fox" is noted in the margin to connote "jackal." Further, one may cite the elaborate discussion by Mr. B. A. Gupte in his work on Hindu Holidays, where the details of the worship of Lakshmi are related at considerable length and a not unreasonable conclusion drawn that Lakshmi was purely a vegetation goddess. Thus, diffused throughout the Middle East is a popular Ceres cult; to fix its origin or development would throw considerable light on the wanderings of people.

We may at least draw our own conclusions with regard to Sind; they require primitive man to be neither a believer in totems nor altogether animistic. He was of necessity very matter-of-fact, childish and fearful for good reason of the bigness of the world.

- (i) Tribal religion is indissolubly connected with economics.
- (ii) Nature, red in tooth and claw, was a reality to primitive man.
- (iii) Divine help was the only remedy for rabies, or, in other words, rabies was one (? the only) illness that mattered that he could not understand.

The first and second propositions are truisms, though often forgotten, and the third is but a special case of the second. Others barely need elucidation. One obviously is the classification of the genus *canis* as dog and non-dog, the dog being the domestic servant and non-dog all the allied wild species. This classification is presumably still that of the N.-W. Frontier, where wolves are said to be inbred with dogs in every third generation. Another is the dependence of medicine upon religion, this subject opening up a wide field for discussion on the psychological aspect of Fate, it being the residuum, the Incomprehensible, after all the old wives' medicines, the "tried remedies" of *hakims* and *raids* have proved ineffective. We are no more advanced in "Physician, heal thyself."

One further conclusion remains. It is a favourite axiom of anthropologists that the concept of maternity as a matter of observation precedes that of paternity, which is, *pace* Mendel, a matter of conjecture. It naturally follows that, the worship of the River being local and that of Ceres general, the worship of the Living God of the Indus was grafted upon the worship of Mother Nature, by a more advanced race, who ventured into the flood plains and waxed fat upon agriculture. One might talk of Aryans and non-Aryans, for we think we know the Aryans, but criticism has dulled the virtues of the Aryan touchstone and the non-Aryans have still to be classified. One non-Aryan race we certainly know of locally, a pigmy brachycephalic race of hunters, who worshipped the sun after their Prometheus had taught them the use of fire, builders of dolmens and—but the subject of the Stone Age requires separate treatment.

ALLEGED BUDDHIST INFLUENCE IN THE SUN TEMPLE AT KONARAK.

BY GURU DAS SARKAR, M.A.: CALCUTTA.

It was Raja Rajendra Lala Mitra who seems to have first suggested in his *Antiquities of Orissa* that like Darpan, the place of Ganesha, Konarak, the place of the Sun, 'may fairly be suggested to have been Buddhist' (*Ant. Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 148). In his much earlier work *Stirling*—the first western worker in the field of Orissa History—makes no mention of such a theory in the chapter dealing with the great temple of the Sun, though he expatiates at some length on the architectural remains and the beauties of the door-frame carved in black chlorite.

Dr. Mitra apparently based his theory on the existence of a car-festival at Konarak. Popular belief and the accounts in the existing religious works like *Kapila Sañhita* seem to indicate that this extinct festival was one of some importance. It appears to have been once a sort of article of faith in these parts that the person who witnessed the car-festival held in this sea-side shrine had the privilege of seeing the Sun God in a corporeal existence (*Śārīri Rūpa*, — Maitreyâkshye vane pūnye rathayātrā-mahotsavam je paśyanti narā bhaktiyā te paśyanti tatva-maveh" (*Kapila Sañhita* Chap. VI).

The presence of an Asoka inscription at Dhauli not far from Bhubaneswar—the city of numerous temples—and the mention in Yuan Chwang's work of about a dozen *stūpas* built by the Emperor Asoka in the Orissa tract was regarded in Dr. Mitra's times as a sufficient basis for holding many of the principal shrines in Orissa as primarily of Buddhist origin.

In the passage referred to above (quoted by Dr. Mitra from the translation Stanislaus Julien) there is a reference to the extraordinary prodigies exhibited at some of these *stūpas*, and to the scholastic activities of some ten thousand monks who were 'the great vehicle' in some hundred local monasteries where heretics and men of the faith lived 'pell mell'. It seemed to have been argued that as Buddhism was once in such a flourishing condition in the province of Orissa, it was quite reasonable to suppose that other shrines within 3 or 4 days journey from Dhauli would still contain lingering traces of their Buddhist origin either in ceremonies or in the architecture and sculpture. Dr. Mitra also lays considerable stress on a passage from the *Fo-ku-ki*, of which an English translation from the French rendering by MM. Remusat, Klaproth and Landresse seems to have been available in Calcutta at least 27 years before Dr. Mitra published his great pioneer work. The passage in question refers to the observance in ancient Pātaliputra of a car-festival, a close analogue of which the Chinese Pilgrim saw in a festival in Buddhist Khotan on his way to India. The description of the ceremony seems to have made a deep impression on the Indian Orientalist and the car-festival *per se* seems to have been regarded as a special feature of the Buddhist faith.

The Khaṇḍagiri caves lying within a few hours journey from Dhauli—once regarded as the habitation of Buddhist monks—have now been proved to be of Jain origin from the *Hāthigumphā* inscription of King Khāravela supposed by Bhagwanīl Indraji to be of the 2nd century B.C. (Actes du sixième congrès des Orientalistes, Vol. III, pp. 174-77, and Mr. K. P. Jayaswal's paper in *JBORS.*, December, 1917) and the following three minor inscriptions: (1) the inscription referring to the Jain Monk

Sabha-chandra (in Navamuni Gumphā (2) the inscription of the Chief Queen of Khāravela (in the Manchapuri cave), and the (3) Udyota Keśari inscription in the Lalatendra Keśari Gumphā supposed on epigraphical grounds to date from the 10th century A.D. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 160, 165-166).

The emperor Aśoka flourished in the 3rd century B.C. If only after the lapse of a century or two, Jainism could leave such lasting evidence of its long continuance in the Kumāra and Kumāri Hills in close proximity to Dhauli,¹ it is difficult to understand why Buddhism should be dragged in to account for the existence of a fourteenth century Solar Temple which copper-plates of Ganga Kings (Narasimha Deva II and IV, *JASB.*, 1906 and 1905 agree in attributing to Narasimha Deva I (Langulya Narasimha or Narasimha of the tail), a king whose name is also mentioned in this connection in Abul Fazal's *Ain-i-Akhbari*.

Mr. M. M. Chakravarty has after very minute and careful calculations, ascertained the periods of reign of the respective kings of the Ganga dynasty in Orissa and there cannot be the least hesitation in accepting (1238-64) as the period of first Narasimha's reign (*JASB.*, part I, 1903). Mr. V. A. Smith also agrees in holding that the Konarak temple was built in the 13th century though he assigns the period between A.D. 1240 to 1280. The only inscription found at Konarak on the pedestal of an image since removed to the Indian Museum, though undated, may safely be assigned on paleographic and other grounds to the third quarter of the 13th century as has been done by Mr. M. M. Chakravarty in his note in the *JBORS.*, Vol. III, part II, p. 283.

Though the palm-leaf record at Puri ascribes the erection of the temple to a mythical king of the Keśari dynasty—one of the so-called Caesars of Orissa as Dr. Rājendra Lal Mitra was pleased to style them—there are in the remains at Konarak no trace of any earlier structure which might reasonably lead to the presumption that the present foundations were laid on the ruins of an earlier shrine.

The late Dr. Fleet, in his paper on the Somavamśi Kings of Katak, rightly disbelieves the temple-chronicles and puts forth convincing arguments in favour of the supposition that except the two Somavamśi kings² of the 11th century—Yayāti Keśari and Mahasiva Gupta and Janmejaya Mahabhaya Gupta—the other Keśaris styled Kūrma, Varāha, &c., are mere figments of the chronicler's imagination (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 324, 336, *et seq.*). Except the inscription of Udyota Keśari mentioned above no other inscription or copper-plate has been found of any other Keśari king. In Sandhyākara Pandit's *Rāmacarita* (*Asiatic Society Memoirs*, Vol. I, p. 146, and p. 36, *ikā* of śloka 5),³ there is mention of one Karmā Keśari. But of this king also no inscription or any

¹ Mr. Jayaswal says in his paper on the Hāthigumphā inscription of the emperor Khāravela (*JBORS.*, December, 1917, p. 448), that before the time of Khāravela there were temples of the Arhats on the Udayagiri Hills as they are mentioned in the inscription as institutions which had been previously in existence.

² Mr. B. C. Majumdar is of opinion that these kings had their *raja* at Sambalpur although their territories extended to Chandwar or Cuttack in Orissa (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 102).

³ *Smṛha iti Daṇḍabhūktibhūpatiradānātprabhavakarakakamalamūkula—tulitotkalesakarna—keśari saritvallabha-kumbhasamvabo Jayasvalah*

other reliable epigraphic evidence has yet been discovered. If Purandara Keśari, referred to in the Palm-leaf record, had really existed and been the builder of this important temple, Choḍa Ganga's descendants would hardly have tried to filch the honour from him and in all likelihood some of the inscriptions of these monarchs would have set forth details about the earlier origin of the temple. It may be argued that as the Keśari kings were staunch Hindus according to tradition and popular belief, their connection with the temple, even if proved to be a historical fact, would not be of much help to the supporters of the theory of Buddhist origin. But even in this regard there seems to be a divergence of opinion. Some architectural ornaments on the temple such as Gaja-Simha or elephants surmounted by lions or leogriffs, have been explained in a manner more clever than convincing—as the symbols of the triumph of the Hindu Keśari kings, represented by the lions, over Buddhistic faith—of which elephant representations are said to be the special symbols. It is thus suggested, inspite of reliable evidence to the contrary, that the mythical Keśari transformed or built up anew in parts a shrine originally Buddhist, and in token of his dominance put up these huge figures on the pyramidal roof of the temple as prominent sculptural decorations. The assertion that lions were the symbols (*Lâñchhana*) of the Keśari kings, still remains to be proved.⁴ The seal of the Murañjamura copper-plate of Yayâti Keśari (*JBORS.*, March, 1916) is a figure of *Srî* or *Kamalâtmi*kâ and that on the copper-plate of Janamejaya (described in *Ep. Indi.*, Vol. XI, p. 95, *et. seq.*) is the representation of a man in a squatting posture. It would thus appear that no evidence is forthcoming at present to connect the temples with any line of kings anterior to Ganga Dynasty. The Udyota Keśari Jaina inscription at Khaṇḍagiri further proves that during the reign of this king with the Keśari title (of about the 10th century A.D.), no intolerant persecution of heretical sects had taken place. In India it is hardly safe to theorize about the creed of the builders of a sacred shrine merely from the way the temple is fashioned or from its architectural or sculptural remains. Like Buddhist *stûpas*, Jaina *stûpas* have also been discovered, and Hindu curvilinear temples like those of the Jainas are by no means uncommon. It has therefore been rightly held by modern authorities like Mr. V. Smith that works of art and architecture should be classified with regard to their age and geographical position only, and arbitrary divisions formerly favoured by specialists like the late Mr. Fergusson according to the so-called religious styles have now been abandoned. We have so far been able to show that there is nothing in the geographical position of Konarak or in the age or style of the temple which would lead to a reasonable inference as to any Buddhist influence. We shall now examine the so-called Buddhist indications which are said to be still lingering in the name of the place, the traditions regarding past ceremonies, the

⁴ The stone image of an elephant surmounted by a lion is also met with in the Doumar Layna (grotto), one of the Hindu Śaiva caves in Ellora (*Monuments de L'Hindoustan* par M. Langlès, Tome II, plate *contra*, p. 87). Mr. B. C. Majumdar has kindly suggested to me that the fabulous strength of the king of beasts could best be indicated by a design in which he is shown as tearing open the skull of huge elephants. In Sanskrit literature the capacity of lions to strike down the huge pachyderms of the forest seem to be emphasised in passages such as *bhinatti nityam kari-râja kumbham*.

peculiar style of architecture and the subject of some of the principal decorative sculptures.

As regard traditions, as to the so-called Buddhist ceremonies, much has been made of the car-festival or Ratha Yātrā, as already alluded to. Whatever may be the origin of this festival there is no doubt about the fact that the system of perambulation in cars and other conveyances appear to have been early adopted as an integral part of some of the Hindu observances.

In the *Agni Purāṇa*, we find, even in connection with such a rather unimportant affair as the consecration of hand-written books or manuscripts that after the Pratiṣṭhā ceremony the book is to be perambulated (apparently round the city or town) in cars or elephants ‘*Rathena hastinā vāpi bhrāmayet pustakam naraiḥ.*’ (Vol. I, p. 186, chap. 63, v. 16, *Biblioth. Indic.*) Thus it would appear that mere perambulation or carrying to and fro in cars of an image or simulacrum cannot always be taken as a Buddhist observance—specially in a period when Buddhism had no longer any hold on the province.

In his otherwise excellent monograph on Konarak published under the authority of Government Mr. Bishan Swarup tries to make out a strong case in favour of the “Buddhistic” theory. The name Kona Kone or Kona Kona occurs in certain verses in the copper-plates of Narasiṃha Deva II (*JASB.*, 1896, p. 251, and of Nṛsiṃha Deva IV, (*JASB.*, 1895) referred to above (Koṇā Koṇa Kutir Kamachikara Dusha rashme) कोण कोण कुटिर कमचिकर दुष्ण रश्मे. The common-sense inference from this is that the place was known at the time as Kona Kone or Kona and the word Konaraka means only the Arka or Sun God at Kona. This explanation (simple as it is) has met with the approval of so careful a scholar as Mr. V. A. Smith (*History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 28, foot-note). Mr. Bishan Swarup, however, makes bold to assert that Konakona is an abbreviated or corrupted form of Koṇā Kamana or Koṇā Gamana, the name of one of the previous Buddhas (*Konarka*, p. 85). Whether phonetic decay can account for this change seems to be very much open to doubt, but when the ingenious author of *Konarka* proceeds to account for the last two syllables in Konaraka by bringing forward from the Sanskrit dictionary, *Amarakośha* (I, 1, 15), the word Arka Bandhu as one of the appellations of Buddha—one though convinced of the ingenuity of the explanation can hardly accept it as a correct or scientific statement of actual facts.

Then as regards the form, the temple looks like a huge car furnished with wheels—beautifully sculptured in the plinth. There are still some remains of big stone horses, which Mr. Havell regards as splendid specimens of Indian sculpture. Any one acquainted with Indian iconography would admit that the Sun God is represented as being drawn by seven horses in a car driven by his charioteer Aruṇa. Though there is nothing to show that the number of these horses at Konarak were increased at any subsequent date, Mr. Bishan Swarup supposes—I do not know on what authority—that the number of horses in this car pagoda was originally four and was increased to seven at some later date (*Konarka*, p. 89). He was apparently thinking of some sculpture at Bodh-gayā, reference to which will be made in a subsequent part of the paper, wherein Apollo is said to be represented as being drawn in a car with a team of four horses.

The key-stone of the Buddhistic theory appears to be the subject represented in some of the sculptures in the temple and it is necessary to consider them *seriatim*.

Much has been made of the abundance of elephant figures not only in the various friezes of the temple, but also in the elaborately sculptured altar or Ratna-Vedi.

In Konarak there are not only elephant friezes, but goose friezes as well, and there are cornices containing rows of processions of horsemen and infantry. While it must be admitted that elephant figures are met with in some of the oldest Buddhist remains such as the Aśokan cave known as the *Lomasa Rishi Guhā* in the Barabar Hills, similar sculptures are also to be found in structures almost contemporaneous with Konarak temple such as the temple of Hoysaleswar, an undisputed Hindu shrine supposed to have been built between A.D. 1117 and 1288. In the Hoysaleswara temple in Southern India there are amongst the animals depicted, figures of horses, elephants and Sārdūlas (lions) and the last were believed by some to be the symbols of Hoysala Ballalas, even as the lions or leogriffs in Konarak sculptures were taken to be the emblems of the Keśaris. Architectural ornaments of this description are also not quite uncommon in Ellora Caves. M. Langlès says in describing the Ādinātha Subhā in Ellora (Tome II, p. 79), "on a aussi pratiqué de petites retraites (Nos. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18) couvertes d'une multitude innombrable de sculptures. L'exterior est orné, d'éléphants de lions et autres animaux." A careful study of these with reference to Sanskrit works has convinced the modern scholars of the prevalence of "a canonical scheme of decoration" of which such frieze-borne figures formed a part. (*History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, by V. Smith, p. 42, foot-note 2.)

The Khajuraho group of temples are believed to have been erected between the 4th and 8th century of the Christian era and in the precincts of one of them—the temple of Viśvanātha—there is a colossal elephant carved out of stone. Elephant figures are also to be met with in the Ellora Caves. The huge stone-elephants at Konarak considered by connoisseurs to be not less vigorous in execution than the much-belauded horses of the Sun cannot therefore be regarded as something singular or exceptional. The picture of a boy and elephant in the Konarak altar reminds Mr. Bishan Swarup of the Jātaka story which describes how the mother of the future Buddha saw in a prophetic dream that a white elephant was entering into her womb by piercing one of her sides. Mr. Swarup further mentions that Buddha himself was born as an elephant-keeper or driver in one of his incarnations (*Konarka*, p. 88). On this slender foundation is based the identification of the sculpture as illustrative of the Jātaka story. Mr. Swarup identifies another part of this very altar as depicting the meeting of Sāmba—the son of Kṛṣṇa—and the Sun God, after the former had been cured by the special favour of the latter—of the dread disease of leprosy—the result of paternal curse for a thoughtless indiscretion. If the boy and elephant had merely been illustrative of a Jātaka story, it is only natural to suppose that the continuity of the subject should be maintained in the adjoining panels as well—as is said to be the case in regard to some of the far-famed sculptures at Boro Budur, but to identify at the same breath two such neighbouring sculptures, forming component parts of a single altar piece, as depicting the Buddhist Jātaka and Hindu Pauranic legends, can hardly be regarded as a satisfactory way of reconciling facts with theory. The prevalence of so-called Buddhist ornaments like the goose-frieze, the elephant-frieze and the *Barājhānji* ornament consisting of reproductions of a water-weed on the pilasters, the scroll work of Nāgas and

⁵ The goose-frieze is found in the Aśokan pillars, e.g., the pillar at the entrance of the Indian Museum, and *Barājhānji* decorations are met with in the remains at Bodhi-Gaya. There is a prominent goose-frieze in the semi-circular moonstone at Anuradhapura, which is over-topped by a mixed frieze of lions, horses, elephants and bullocks (Plate 90, *Viśvakarma*, pt. VII, published by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy).

Nāgakanyas, and the figure of Lakshmi on the lintel, seem only to indicate that like that of Makara in Hindu ornaments, in Toranas (gateways) and water-spouts (*Annual Report of Archaeological Survey of India, 1903-4, p. 227*), the use of these architectural devices extended far back into the Buddhist age. In the mediæval period these conventional ornaments and decorations seem to have been adopted by architects in southern and south-eastern part of India. Similarly in some Buddhist *stūpas* miniature productions of these sacred structures are found in the ornamental pilasters. It would be as safe to ascribe the existence of a temple to Buddhist influence because of the existence of the *Burājhañjī* decoration, goose-friezes or elephant friezes as it would be to attempt to lay at the door of Buddhism the type of Saiva temple of the Bengal School⁶ (of 17th century) which are still to be found in some parts of Nadia and other Bengal districts—simply because the pilasters of these buildings contain reproductions of temples in miniature.

The sculptural representation of trees found in the plinth have been taken to stand for the sacred *Bodhi-Tree* of the Buddhists. In the Jaina caves at Khandagiri, trees enclosed in railings are also found carved in relief. Tree-worship is prevalent among the Hindus to this very day. Kalpadruma, the legendary Tree of Desire described in sacred literature, the model of which used to be constructed in gold and given away as *Mahā-dāna*, may also have some influence in determining the *motif* of such architectural ornaments. That a Kalpadruma existed at Konarak like the *Valeśvara* at Puri appears clear from the *Kapila Saṃhitā* from which the following translation of an extract is given in Dr. Mitra's work. "There exists an all-granting tree named Arka-Vaṭa adorned by numerous birds and at its foot dwell many saints and whoever goes to the salvation-giving *bunian* tree becomes, for certain, indestructible. For the good of animated beings Sūryya himself has become the tree and those who recite the excellent *mantras* of Sūryya under its shade in three fortnights attain perfection." (*Ant. Orissa, Vol. I, p. 147.*) Under the circumstance these trees, should, I think, be taken as conventional decorations only. As regards the semi-ophide *Nāga* and *Nāgini* figures represented singly and in couples, usually forming part of the beautiful scroll work and said to be an evidence of Buddhist Architecture (*Konarka, p. 86*). Mr. M. Ganguly in his work on Orissa has pointed out (*Ganguly's Orissa, p. 177-78*), that in the *Mahābhārata Ādi-parva*, mention is made of the thousand *Nāgas*, the offsprings of Kaśyapa. Even to this day when performing *pūjā* of the Serpent Goddess Manasā, the name of the principal eight *Nāgas*—Vasuki, Padma, Mahāpadma, Takshaka, Kulira, Karkata Śankha, &c.—are duly recited. Mr. Ganguly holds—I think with the majority of Hindu opinion in his favour—that these demigod-like *Nāgas* were probably borrowed by Buddhism from Hindu sources. At any rate there is no reason to suppose that every *Nāga* representation found in Hindu temple should be the outcome of Buddhist cult, simply because there is mention of *Nāgas* in Buddhist sacred books, this does not in any way militate against the generally accepted opinion that a certain amount of resemblance is noticed among the Buddhist *Nāga* figures as represented on the *topes* of Sanchi and Bharhut, and the *Nāga* representations of the later Brahminical period as found in the south-eastern (Orissa) temples.

⁶ Mr. R. K. Mukerji, referring to this class of temples in the chapter on "Building and Carving" in his *Foundation of Indian Economics*, observes: "In the older brick temples the spaces between the curved lines and roof-base and on the sides are covered with carvings.....there are also mixed panels of rosettes or geometrical patterns and in some instances miniature temples are piled one above the other along the arched openings" (p. 247). A temple of this kind has been described by the present writer in his article on the remains at Srinagar (Nadia) in the *Journal of the Sāhitya-Parishad* (Vol. XIII, p. 259).

The Indian sculptors of old never carved their names underneath the works of art coming from their chisels nor described the subject which they represented in the various sculptures. Hindu iconography as a science is still of recent origin. To this may be ascribed the conflict of opinion which is so often noticed in regard to the identification of sculptures by different scholars and sometimes ludicrous mistakes are made because of the partiality or bias towards a particular theory.

Instances of such clashing opinions are by no means uncommon in regard to the Konarak sculptures. The well-known "Teaching Scene" has been taken by Mr. Swarup to represent Buddha in the act of delivering a sermon or imparting religious teaching to some of his disciples (*op. cit.*, p. 86). Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, a scholar well learned in Hindu and Buddhist lore, describes this in his *Vīśvakarma*, Part VII, plate 72, as Vaishṇava Guru. Any one who has the opportunity of examining this picture carved in chlorite or the beautiful reproduction of it as given by Dr. Coomaraswamy will admit that there is nothing in it peculiarly Buddhist, which may confirm Mr. Swarup's identification.

There is another representation, known as the "Archery Scene," which Mr. Swarup considers to be the illustration of an incident from *Śarabhaṅga Jātaka* (*op. cit.*, p. 87). Buddha, though he was without any previous training, is said to have defeated all his competitors in an archery competition. Among the local people this sculpture is said to illustrate the shooting of arrows by Paraśurāma. In the Hindu sacred books there is mention of an incident referring to Paraśurāma's reclaiming land from the sea-bed by shooting arrows. Whether the mound or projection in the sculpture which the arrows are represented as piercing through is meant for a sea-side cliff or is due merely to a wrong idea of perspective is more than what can be asserted with confidence. As instances are not wanting of representations of purely secular incidents—such as hunting scenes—among the Konarak sculptures there need be no objection in taking this at least as a secular feat in archery. Among these sculptures some have been identified as pictures of *Pauranic* incidents such as marriage of Sita and killing of Mahiṣaśura and accepted as such without cavil even by Mr. Bishan Swarup. A number of images of Hindu deities such as Bishnu, Śūrya, Gaṅga, Bālagopala and Brihaspati, &c., have also been discovered among the ruins. It does not seem therefore probable that among Hindu *Pauranic* sculptures of this description, illustrations of Buddhist *Jātaka* stories would also find a place in a scattered disconnected sort of way. Mr. Bishan Swarup identified one of these stone-carved pictures as Buddha with Muchalinda the Serpent God (*op. cit.*, p. 87) and the two small female figures standing on two sides were declared to be Sujātā the wife of the rich *Srestha*, who brought the Enlightened One food after his prolonged abstinence, and her maid-servant Punna. Mr. Swarup's objection to the group being a Hindu Vaishnavite image lies in the fact that ordinarily Viṣṇu is depicted as lying on the Ocean of Milk with the serpent Śeṣha or Ananta spreading its hoods over his head.

In the catalogue of exhibits published on the occasion of the centenary of the Indian Museum, 1913, there is a description of an authentic Buddha and *Muchalinda* image (No. 6290 of the Catalogue). It is noticeable that in this sculpture Buddha is represented as seated on the head of the Serpent God. Serpent hoods are found also on the head of the image of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkara Pārśvanātha. It does not seem quite safe, therefore, to classify an image as Buddhist merely from the accompanying serpent symbol. In his comprehensive work on Hindu Iconography, Mr. T. A. Gopinātha Rao describes a Viṣṇu image of the *Bhogaśthānaka* order, in which the god is shown in a standing posture with the serpent's hood over his head, flanked on two

sides by the figures of Lakshmi (Goddess of Wealth) and Prithvi (The Earth Goddess). In a silver statuette of Vishnu discovered in the village of Churāi in Bengal (given in plate No. 24, of Mr. R. D. Banerji's *History of Bengal*) the god is shown as standing upright and has over his head a sort of arch which seems to be made of hoods of serpents. While there may be still some doubt as to the definite classification of this so-called Muchalinda sculpture, the statement that it is an image of Buddha cannot be held to have been established. On the lintel of the beautifully carved chlorite doorway of the temple well-known as a memorable production of Orissa art, is depicted the image of *Śrī* or *Mahā Lakshmi*, a fact which is sought to be made one of the strongest proofs of the theory of the Buddhist origin of Konarak ruins. The goddess *Śrī* has been described in the *Matsya Purāna* in the chapter dealing with the Sun God and other minor gods and goddesses (Chap. 26, Slokas 40 to 46) and it mainly agrees with the noticeable features of the deity ordinarily depicted in the sculptures.⁷ As Mr. B. C. Majumdar has shown in one of his learned articles in the Bengali magazine, *Sāhitya* (*Sāhitya* 1312 B. S., p. 131-138), these *Śrī* images are identical with Kamalātmikā, one of the Daśamahāvidyās of the Hindu Pantheon. It will appear from Mr. M. Chakravarty's learned notes on Dhauli and the caves of Udayagiri and Khandagiri (Calcutta, 1903), that the images of *Śrī*, *Gaja-Lakshmi* or *Mahālakshmi* and pictures of trees, &c., are common alike to Hindus, Buddhists and Jainas. Even to this day trees, are represented in Jaina places of worship and Kalpadruma of the sacred lore⁸ has by no means fallen into oblivion. *Śrīmūrtis* are not peculiar only to Buddhist *stūpas* at Sanchi, but reproductions of these figures are met with in Orissa as in the Lakshmi temple in Jagannātha enclosure, Puri.

Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar, in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle*, 1904, gives an interesting account of the Hindu temple of Narasimha Nātha situated in another part of the province of Orissa. The temple which he ascribes to 9th century or to an earlier period has got a chlorite door-frame somewhat resembling the one at Konarak and in the lintel is depicted the image of Lakshmi and two female attendants bearing flyskips and over the head of the goddess are represented two elephants holding aloft two water-jugs in their trunks. Professor Bhandarkar referring to plate No. 1, and p. 71, of Fergusson and Burgess's *Cave-Temples of India*, observes : "It is no wonder that Lakshmi image should be found on the lintel of the temple—as these are met with alike in the ancient caves of Katak and the temples of Southern Orissa." Like the *Svāstika*, *Śrī* or *Kamalātmikā* figure seems to have been looked upon as a beneficent symbol and as such came to be adopted as a sort of conventional decoration by Hindu architects, especially in connection with sacred places of worship.

The erotic sculptures at Konarak—the likes of which are also found in other Orissa temples—have also been brought into requisition in the attempt to establish the Buddhist claims. These pairs of human figures in various attitudes (*bandhas*) are taken to be due to the influence of the *Tāntriks* of the *Left Path School*. The pro-Buddhist

⁷ शिखं देवीं प्रेक्षयामि नव वयसि संस्थिताम् ।
सुखीवनां पीनगण्डां रक्तोष्ठां कुक्षितभ्रुवश ॥ ४० ॥
पादौ तस्याः स्त्रियः कार्प्याश्चानरं ब्रह्मपापयः ।
पद्मासनीपविष्टा तु पद्मसिंहासनस्थिता ॥ ४१ ॥
करिम्बां स्थापयामासौ भृङ्गाराभ्यां ननेकशः
प्रक्षालयन्ती करिणी भृङ्गराभ्यां तथापरी ॥ ४२ ॥
नस्यपुराणे प्रतिमालक्षणं नानेकपट्टपथिकद्विधाततमोऽप्यार्ये

⁸ In Khāravela's inscription there is mention of a Kalpa Tree (in gold) given away by the Emperor with leaves on (*JBORS.*, December 1917, p. 463). Mr. K. P. Jaysawal refers to Hemādri's *Chaturvarga Chintāmani* for description of this *Mahādāna* (*Dānakhaṇḍa* 5), a fact which seems to show that ceremonies of this kind like the conception of the tree itself were essentially Hinduistic in character.

arguers assert that the union of these erotic pairs is a crude way of representing the union of Buddha and *Prajñā* (wisdom) (*Konarka*, p. 63). In direct contradiction to this theory it has been stated by a writer in a vernacular journal that the object of these carvings was to prevent the austere devotees of Buddhism from approaching the neighbourhood of the temple. This view may be dismissed without much comment as under some of its degraded *Tāntrik* forms, a good deal of license seems to have been allowed to followers of the faith. Sir J. G. Woodroffe in his preface to Mr. M. Ganguly's book on Orissa, has referred to Dr. Maeterlink's mention of the occasional existence of a type of erotic representation on the walls of Gothic cathedrals. It has been justly held that mere sentimental or spiritual explanation of these sculptures do not explain away their bearing as a natural land-mark in the evolution of human faith and morality, and one is reminded of Kraft Ebbing's well-known dictum that "sexual feeling is really the root of all ethics and no doubt of aestheticism and religion" (*Psycho. Scr.*, p. 2). Messrs. Stephen and Catherwood in the course of their explorations in Central America discovered ruins of huge edifices in the cornices of which were found depicted symbols of an erotic character 'membra conjuncta in coitu' (Squier's *Serpent Symbols*, p. 48). Mr. Westropp, mentions having met with the symbol in temples and public buildings at Panuco (*Primitive Symbolism*, p. 33). It is interesting to observe that like the sculptors illustrating the descriptions in *Kāmāsāstra* on the steps of *Mahāmāyā* or *Rāmcandra* temple, and on the porch of the Sun Temple at Konarak, he explains these pictures as representing in various manners the union of two sexes. Another remarkable feature of similarity in religions so diverse as Mexican and East Indian is the worship of the Sun God in Mexico, which appears to have been interconnected with the worship of the Phallic symbol. Representations similar to those which Dulaure found carved or painted at Panuco were observed by Bortram on the sacred edifices at Tlascalla, where among the local creek tribe heliolatry was strongly in evidence. No connection has yet been established between the religious cults of India and Mexico and what appears to have been a stage in the natural evolution of human faith or as it has been called—a 'cosmic process,' should not be hastily ascribed to a degraded form of any particular religion. One is therefore inclined to hold that these erotic figures by no means establish the Buddhist origin which is claimed for Konarak. It may be stated in this connection that according to Hindu works like *Utkalakhayana* (Chap. XI) sculptures of this description are carved with a view to prevent the buildings being struck by lightning (*Vajrāpātādi-bhūtyādi-vāraṇārtham*, वज्रपातादि-भीत्यादि वारणार्थः &c.). Mr. V. Smith whose attention seems to have been drawn to such Sanskrit texts has also remarked that "such sculptures are said to be a protection against evil spirits and so serve the purpose of lightning-conductors" (*History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 190, foot-note). In the *Agnipurāṇa* also, we find directions regarding the representations of these human couples in certain parts of sacred buildings (*Agni*, Vol. 1, p. 356, Ed. *Biblioth. Ind.* Ch. 104—30. *Mithunai pādavarṇābhi Śākhāśeṣam vibhāṣayet* मिथुनैः पादवर्णानिः शाखा शेषं विभूषयेत्). It has also been asserted that according to the *Śilpa Śāstras*, it was customary to depict on the temple buildings scenes portraying the nine principal sentiments (*Rasa*) and the erotic passion or *Śringāra Rasa* being the first in the category, has naturally come to occupy a more prominent place. These explanations coming as they do from Hindu sources, certainly go to show that carvings of this kind were not the hall-mark of any particular creed. Not content with the so-called indirect evidence of once prevailing Buddhism, an attempt has been made to silence all dissentients by making a bold assertion to the effect that there is an image of Buddha at Puri which can be traced to Konarak. The image of Sun in the Sun Temple at Puri is said to have been removed from the Konarak temple and there is also

a tradition recorded in the Palm-Leaf Temple annals (*Mādlā Pañji*) which lend support to this. In the Sun Temple there is another partly mutilated image which the *Pāṇḍās* or the custodians of the temple declare to be that of Indra, the Hindu Jupiter Pluvius. Mr. Swarup declares this image to be that of Buddha (*Konarka*, p. 84), an identification which would naturally lend a strong support to his own theory. Mr. Swarup's opinion in this matter cannot, however, be accepted as final as we find that a very different view has been put forth by an independent scholar, after a minute and careful personal inspection. In an article in the *Modern World*, July 1913, Mr. Himangshu Sekhar Banerji, B.L., who took careful measurements of the altar at Konarak and the pedestal of the images in the Puri Sun-Temple, has described the similarity of the so-called Buddha, with that of the Moon-god, in the Navagraha frieze at Konarak and in view of the tradition that the Moon was also worshipped there along with the Sun, he is inclined to hold that the image in question is that of the Moon. If there had been anything peculiarly Buddhistic about the image which was likely to lead to a satisfactory identification, the fact would hardly have escaped the attention of modern researchers. Mr. M. Ganguly, whose work on Orissa is probably the latest of its kind from the pen of an Indian scholar, has also been careful not to hazard such a guess. Mr. Swarup's identification can therefore only be regarded as 'proven' under the circumstance.

Some of the Indian writers are so much obsessed with 'Buddhist' theories that we find in a vernacular work on Puri Shrines (*Puri Tirtha*) by Mr. Nagendra Nath Mitra, a statement to the effect that there are big images of Buddha on the pyramidal roof of the Konarak porch or Jagmohan. We had an opportunity of inspecting these images at close quarters, having risked a climb to the roof with the help of the local *chowkidar*. Being four-headed they are popularly believed to be representations of Brahman. Mr. Swarup with Mr. Longhurst of the Archaeological Survey (*Arch. Survey Report, E. Circle*, 1906), so far differs from the popular identification as to take these images for representation of Śiva or Mahośvara, the matted locks being considered a fifth head on the strength of certain passages quoted from Hindu Texts. The author of "Konarka" monograph seems to be under no illusion that these images were made to represent the founder of Buddhism in any of the varying attitudes (*Mudrā*), but Mr. N. Mitra seems to go a step further even than other theorists of this school. Mr. Swarup, in view of his own peculiar views, seems to be anxious to relegate the Solar cult to a very subordinate position, and enunciates the view that it could never make a stand as a distinct or separate creed having subsequently become absorbed in the Saivite faith—the Sun God coming to be regarded as one of the eight forms of Śiva or Rudra. To an unsophisticated person the obvious object of this assertion would appear to be that if Sun-worship were reduced to a mere 'subsidiary cult,' it would be easier to attribute the building of this famous fane to a once flourishing and widely prevalent faith like Buddhism. Heliolatry seems to have once been fairly established in this land—from the temple of Martand⁹ in Kashmir in the far north to that of Konarak in the southern shore. In Punjab, Multan (Mulasthn) on the Chenab (Chandrabhāgā) was an ancient seat of Sun-worship. (Cunningham's *The Ancient Geography of India*, p. 232). Mr. N. N. Vasu quotes *Varāha Purāṇa* (178, 49-55) to show that Sun images were consecrated by Śambu, the Pauranic founder of the cult at Muttra, Multan, and Ujjain (Introd. to *Vraja Parikramā*), and in *Vaishya Purāṇa* also there is mention of Multan and Chandrabhāgā in connection with heliolatrous rites (*Viaṇavism, Saivism, &c.*, by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, p. 153). In Central India the shrines of the Sun God were not quite a negligible factor (*Report Arch. Survey, W. India*, Vol. IX, pp. 73-74, one of the interesting remains of early

⁹ Built by king Lalitāditya in the 8th century between A.D. 24 to 760.

heliolatry in the Gwalior inscription of Mihirakula, now *in situ* in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, which records the erection of a Sun temple by this blood-thirsty son of the White Hun Toramana, in the 15th year of his reign, i. e. about A. D. 530. (Fleet No. 37.) Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar in his interesting progress report of the *Archæological Survey, W. Circle*, 1905-06, pp. 51-52, describes a 7th century Sun temple at Basantgaḍh in Sirohi, and a 8th century one at Osiah in Jodhpur State, both of which are rich in artistic sculptures. M. Langlès describes a Sun God in the peristyle or verandah of the cave at Ellora Djenouassa (Jânwâsâ)—a Śaiva cave which may be ascribed to 8th or 9th century (Le toit du verandah ou peristyle sur les murailles du quel on a sculpté . . . Souria (le soleil) tracée dans son char par sept chevaux, p. 89, Tome II).

There is an old Sun Temple at Gaya to the north of the Vishnupâda Temple, the sacred fane which contains according to Hindu belief the foot-print of Vishnu.¹⁰ The Sun in this temple is as usual shown as being drawn in a seven-horse car. The image is important in the sense that the sculptor has followed the description of the God as given in the Hindu scriptures instead of taking for his model the standing figure with two archer companions said to be an adoption of Greek Apollo found on an Aśoka railing in Bodh-Gaya, to which reference has already been made.

If the Apollo model had no influence in determining the nature of the image at Gaya itself, it is not likely that it would have any influence on the 13th century artists at Konarak. Gaya is not the only place in Bihar containing traces of Solar worship. In an open courtyard inside the temple of goddess Pattaneśvarī, the guardian deity, according to the local Hindus of the city of Patna, was found a big image of the Sun God.¹¹

A twelfth century chlorite Sun image found at Rajmahal on the border of Bengal, has been thought deserving of a notice in Mr. V. Smith's *History of Fine Art and Sculpture*. In Bengal itself instances are not unknown of the Sun God being worshipped under a totally different name as the result of forgetfulness or misconception on the part of local inhabitants.¹² Mr. Brajendra Nath Banerji in the *Journal of the Sâhitya Parishad*, describes the so-called image of Shasthī (the guardian goddess of infants) worshipped at Chinsurah which is in reality an image of the Sun God with the usual top-boots and lotuses in both hands (*Journal of the Bangiya Sâhitya Parishad*, Vol. XVIII, p. 193). Mr. Nikhil Nath Roy in his history of Murshidabad, describes an image of a Sun God seated on a horse known as *Gangâditya*, which is still worshipped in the village Amarakuṇḍu, lying not far from Berhampore, the headquarters of the Murshidabad district. In the Kandi subdivision in the same district the Sun God is regularly worshipped at Jemo Rajbati, and also at Gokarṇa, Pâtândâ, under the name of Kuśaditya (*Journal of the Sâhitya Parishad*, Vol. XIV, p. 144). Not long ago the late Dr. Bloch discovered at Maldah the image of a Sun God of the Âditya class. Some of the Sen Kings of Bengal—who flourished before the Mahomedan conquest—were Sun-worshippers and Keśava Sena in the Edilpur Grant (*JASB.*, Vol. X, 1914, p. 103),

¹⁰ The shrine evidently belongs to Buddhist times, and proves that Sun-worship as a distinct cult was even then in vigorous existence. Inside the temple is an inscription in the era of Buddha's Nirvâna, year 1813. (*List of Ancient Monuments of Bengal*, p. 280. Above Vol. X, p. 341.)

¹¹ The image is no longer worshipped and was lying neglected when the writer of this note visited the shrine with some delegates to the last Bengali Literary Conference held at Bankipur.

¹² It is interesting to note that lingering traces of heliolatrous rites are still to be observed in the *Chhat* (Sansk. *Chhata* ?) festival of Bihari and up-country women.

describes himself as *Parama Saura*. The Solar cult which was once so wide-spread and has left such important archæological evidence of its influence cannot be called a 'subsidiary' one, and there appears to be no proper foundation for the idea that at Konarak the Sun worship had flourished like a parasite on the ruins of a once popular Buddhist place of worship.

It is not the place to discuss the relative merits of the theories as to whether the Sun worship ultimately got merged or incorporated in Narayanic or Vaishnavic cult or in the Saivaic one, though certain facts are certainly in favour of the former supposition. It is worthy of note that at Vrindaban, one of the principal seats of modern Vaishnavism, Sun is even now worshipped in a temple on the *tîlâ* of twelve Adityas, and at Muttra another sacred place of Vaishnavite pilgrimage there is a Sun temple on the Surya Ghât or Surya tirtha where according to Hindu belief Bali, the lord of the Pâtâla regions, obtained from the Sun God the jewel Chintâmani as a reward of the austerities practised by him. In the copper-plate grants of Kesava Sena, and Viśvarûpa Sena (*JASB.*, Vol. LXV, Pt. I, p. 9), after the opening words *Namo Nârâyāṇya* नमो नारायणाय (Salutation to Nârâyāṇa) occurs the *śloka* (*vande Arabindabana-vândhabam*==*andhakâra-kârâṇi-baddhabhubanatrāyamuktihetum*) वन्दे अराविन्दवन बान्धवमन्धकार कारानिवद्धुवनत्रयमुक्तिहेतुम् । Salutations to Thee Thou friend of the lotus plants and deliverer of the three worlds from the prison of darkness, &c. That the stanza is to be taken as referring only to the Sun God hardly requires any comment. In reference to the Martand temple is also mentioned 'the local name of Vishnu as the Sun God.' In popular parlance the Sun God is even to this day referred to in Bengal as Sûrya Nârâyāṇa. A carved stone in the Indian Museum—known as Sûrya Nârâyāṇa Śilâ—on the top of which is sculptured the lotus symbol of the Sun seems to bear convincing testimony to the union of the two tenets. At any rate, so far as Konarak is concerned, there seems to have been no such clashing of rival Hindu sects and the claims now rashly advanced on behalf of Buddhism restricts the discussion to the actual influence, if any, exercised in this part of Orissa by the Buddhist faith alone. In the *Arch. Survey* reports there is no mention of any Buddhist remains found at Konarak. Nowhere on the temple do we find any representation of the characteristic Buddhist symbol of *Tri-ratna*. Messrs. Vincent Smith and Havell in their well-known works on Indian Art and Sculpture have made no observations on this point. Mr. R. D. Banerji, now Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, who had on more than one occasion studied the Konarak remains on the spot declared to me that nothing Buddhistic has yet been found on the site in the course of excavations made by the officers of the Archaeological Survey. Mr. M. Ganguly also maintains a discreet silence and does not commit himself to the views enunciated by Mr. Bishan Swarup.

As we have shown above the so-called evidence adduced in support of the pro-Buddhist theory is exceedingly unsatisfactory, as Dr. Rājendra Lāla Mitra himself admits,¹¹ and so long as no new results of archæological or epigraphical discoveries are forthcoming to corroborate such statements no accurate or scientific writer should speak of Buddhism or Buddhistic influence in connection with the Konarak ruins.

¹¹ "The evidence available is certainly exceedingly in agree and unsatisfactory, but without the assumption of previous sanctity and celebrity it becomes difficult to account for the selection of a sea-beach for the dedication of so costly and magnificent a temple as the Black Pagoda" (*Ant. Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 148). As regards the inaccessibility or loneliness of some of the wellknown sacred places of the Hindus, one is tempted to quote from the beautiful lay-sermon of Sir Rabindranath Tagore "What is Art?" (*Personality*, p. 28-29 & 32), in justification of the selection of such beautiful sites.

SAMĀJA.

BY N. G. MAJUMDAR, Esq., B.A.; CALCUTTA.

PROFESSOR D. R. BHANDARKAR in his discussion on Aśoka's Rock-edict I in which the king condemns the *samāja* but shows his leaningness towards a particular kind of it, has culled from many sources various references to the word *samāja*.¹ He has clearly shown from Brahmanical and Buddhistic literature that there were two kinds of *samāja*, and that the great monarch wanted to taboo that particular kind in which, animals out of number, were, as a rule, slaughtered and "the meat formed one of the principal articles of food served." Regarding this point I do not think any reasonable doubt can possibly be entertained. But what was the second kind of *samāja*. Prof. Bhandarkar has shown good reason to suppose that in this *samāja* "the people were entertained with dancing, music, and other performances," which according to Rock-edict I was considered *Sādhumatā* or excellent by king Aśoka?

The above theory of Prof. Bhandarkar, I am glad to say, is strongly confirmed by the following evidence. First, I want to point out that the word *samāja* in the sense of theatrical performance has been used by Vātsyāyana in his *Kāmasūtra* where he describes it as a sort of *religious observance*. The passages which refer to it are translated below :²

"On the day of a fortnight or month, sanctioned by prevailing custom (*prajñāte*) those who are attached to (the service of) the temple of the Goddess of Learning must hold a *samāja*."

"Actors coming from other places should give them a performance (*prekṣaṇakam*)."

"On the second day (after their performance) (the actors) should invariably receive marks of honour from those (engaged in the service of the Goddess of Learning)."

"Then they might repeat the performance or be discharged according to the taste (of the audience)."

"And in adversity or in festivity they (should) help one another."

"And honour and help to the itinerant (actors) who have (already) entered into the covenant is the duty of a Gaṇa."

From the above quotations it appears that *samāja* meant a sort of theatrical performance. We further notice that it had great religious importance inasmuch as it was customary to hold it in templos of Sarasvatī who was no doubt considered to be the presiding deity of the dramatic art.

In the *Jātaka* also *samāja* has been used in the above sense. From the *Kaṇaverajātaka* (No. 318) it appears that in those days there were companies of itinerant actors (*naṭa*) whose business it was to move from place to place and show their performances, which are called *samāja*, in villages (*gāma*), towns (*nigama*) and cities. A courtesan, in the above *Jātaka*, is in deep love with her husband who has run away. In order to trace him back she calls together some professional actors, and addresses them thus : '*Tumhākam agamanatthānam nāma n'atthi, tumhe gāma-nigama-rāiadhaniyo gantvā samajjam katvā samajja-maṇḍale paṭhamam eva imaṃ gātaṃ gāyeyyāthā* ('*ti naṭe sikkhāpenṭi paṭhamam gātham vatvā*), etc. *Te Bārāṇasito nikkhamitvā tattha tattha samajjam karontā paṭhamam eva gītakaṃ gāyissu*.'" ³ In this passage *samāja* must mean theatrical performance and *samajjā-maṇḍala*, the stage.

The *samāja* which is described in the *Kāmasūtra* and to which there are references in the *Jātaka* would correspond to the second kind of *samāja* as described by Prof. Bhandarkar. But this is not the only sense in which the word has been used in the *Jātaka*. Turning to Fauboll, VI, 277 we come across the passage *Passa malle samajjasmin*

¹ *Ante*, 1913, 255-58.

² *Kāmasūtra*, Chowkrambā Sanskrit Series, 49-51.

³ Fauboll, *Jātaka*, III, 61-2.

pothen'ti digunai bhujam. We further learn that this *samāja* was *mañchâtimañcha* which the commentator explains as *mañchânâm upari baddha-mañcha*. This word must mean, therefore, here at any rate, a stage for the purpose of a wrestling combat. It should be noted also that a stage can but occasionally serve this purpose for which alone, however, open space is always preferable. The commentator explains no doubt, *samājjasmin* by *malla-raṅga*, but that meaning cannot be the only meaning for reasons just noted—a conclusion which is forced upon us from a comparison of the two instances of the *Jātaka* referred to above. In the first of these as I have already shown *samāja* cannot, of course, mean a *malla-raṅga* for the simple reason that *naṭas* play on it.⁴

Prof. Bhandarkar has noticed that *raṅga* and *prekshāgāra* are used synonymously with *samāja*. I have not the least doubt that here *samāja* means the place where plays are enacted just like 'theatre' which has a double meaning. '*Prekshāgāra*' is the same as '*prekshāgriha*,' the construction of which is described at length by Bharata in his *Nāṭyaśāstra* (II, 8, etc.). In the description of *samāja* in the *Kāmasūtra*, as we have already seen, the word *prekshanakam* means a performance. From these the conclusion becomes unavoidable that *samāja* was primarily a technical word for *theatre*. I do not doubt, however, that games, contests of animals, etc., were also exhibited in a *samāja* which practice is common even now. A stage, therefore, serves two objects, primarily, the enactment of a drama, and secondarily, the exhibition of games. These were also what *samāja* used to serve in Ancient India.

But the question that arises here is : which of the above two senses would suit the *samāja* which a king like Aśoka considers excellent ? Dr. Thomas takes it in the sense of 'a celebration of games or rather contests' (*JRAS.*, 1914, 393-4). But then, why should Aśoka show a special predilection for it in one of his own religious writs ? There is no evidence to prove that the celebrations of games was looked upon as a *religious observance* in his days. On the other hand there is evidence to prove that *samāja* in the sense of theatrical performance was really looked upon as religious. I have already referred to the testimony of Vātsyayana to this point. But this is not all. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, e. g., the theatre is pre-eminently looked upon as a sign of prosperity of a country (*rāshṭravardhana*). In the following passage it has been said, that in a kingless country *utsavs* and *samājas* which delight the actors and dancers never flourish :

Nārājakē janapade prahrishṭanatanartakāḥ.

utsavāścha Samājāścha vardhante rāshṭravardhanāḥ. —*Ayodhyā*, c. 67, 15.

It follows, therefore, that the king patronized the theatre which was regarded no doubt as an instrument of educating the people.

In view of what is stated above, we are now in a position to understand Aśoka's liking for this particular kind of *samāja*, and this explains why he was so eager to record his sympathy with it. It may be noticed here that if our interpretation is correct it is the first inscriptional evidence of a king supporting the stage in India. Besides this there are in record two other inscriptional evidences proving the same fact, viz., the Nāsik Cave inscription of the 19th year of the reign of Vāsishṭhiputra Fuḷmāyi and the Hāthigumphā inscription of the Emperor Khāravēla. M. Senart in editing the former inscription, took *samāja* in the sense of 'assembly'.⁵ But that word has to be interpreted in a different sense now. In l. 5 of the Hāthigumphā inscription, it has been recorded that the king, who was himself a master of music ('*gandhava-veda-budho*'), entertained his capital, in

⁴ As to the fact that *samāja* was sometimes celebrated on the top of a hill which was first pointed out by Prof. Bhandarkar and the which Dr. Thomas has again drawn our attention, we may cite the case of the Jogimārā cave at Rangarh Hill which according to the late Dr. Bloch was the site of a theatre flourishing there at least about the second century B. C. — *Archaeological Survey Report*, 1903-4.

⁵ *Epi. Ind.*, VIII, 61.

the third year of his reign, by ' *Usava-samāja*,⁶ just like Puṣumāyi. It was worth noticing here, that in the record *danpa* (?) *nala-gita-vādita-saṃdasaṇāhi* is mentioned over and above *Usava-samāja-kārāpanāhi*. This makes clear that in those days *samāja* or theatre did not merely consist of dancing and music.⁷ These are then instances to show that the Hindu theatre began to receive State support from very early times.

MISCELLANEA.

HĀTHIGUMPHĀ INSCRIPTION.

MESSRS. K. P. JAYASWAL and R. D. BANERJI have placed the students of Indian Antiquity under a deep obligation by having made accessible to them, for the first time, a reliable version of the very important inscription of King Khāravela at Hāthigumphā (*JBORS.*, 1917, pp. 425-507). Mr. Jayaswal has further increased the value of his publication by adding a learned introduction and various notes for clearing up the subject, and it may be confidently expected that ere long the contents of this valuable inscription will be fully utilised for studying the history of the period. Before this can be done, however, we must arrive at a definite understanding about the date of this record. I propose, therefore, to discuss this point in some detail in the following pages.

The various theories entertained on the subject have been summarised by Mr. R. D. Banerji, on pp. 488-489, in his note. They may be divided into two classes. According to one, there is a direct reference to a date in line 16 of the record; according to the other, there is no date in line 16 but there are references to some events elsewhere (ll. 6 and 11) in the record from which an idea of its approximate date may be formed.

Both Mr. Jayaswal and Mr. R. D. Banerji have endorsed the first of these theories, and have unhesitatingly pronounced that the record does contain a date in line 16,—"In the time of king Muriya [Chandragupta] which had elapsed by hundred and sixty-five years" according to Mr. Jayaswal (pp. 449, 451) and "in the era of the Maurya kings, one hundred and sixty years increased by five . . ." according to Mr. Banerji (p. 492). In spite of this difference of interpretation, which, by the way, is not insignificant, both the scholars take their stand upon the same reading, viz. "Pān-antariya-saṭhi-vasa-sate Rāja-Muriya-kāle." The correctness of this reading (with slight unimportant modifications) have hitherto been conceded even by those (e.g. Dr. Fleet)⁸ who were not disposed to look upon it as containing a date, for there seemed to have been

very little ground of doubt in the facsimile given by Pandit Bhagwān Lal Indrajī. Now that an impression has been prepared on approved scientific method, it is time to examine closely the original words as they stand in the record. Fortunately, Mr. Banerji has taken a separate impression of the 'dated portion' (see Plate IV) and it may be hoped, therefore, that we have here the best mechanical estampage of the portion that we may ever hope to obtain.

Now any one who even cursorily glances at Plate IV must at once come to the conclusion that the letters read as "Saṭhi-va-sa" are far from clear. In the first place the second letter can be hardly read as 'tj', This may be verified by a comparison of the other 'tj'a's in the record, e.g. that of 'Choya (or ? ā) tja' in the same line 'Rābhikā' in l. 6, and 'Athame' in l. 7. The next letter read as 'va' looks like 'ta' for its lower limbs are not joined and there is no sign that they were ever so joined. The third letter, read as 'sa', looks more like 'pa' than anything else: the left limb of 'sa' is entirely wanting for we cannot suppose that the same stroke served both as the right limb of 'ta' (or, va) as well as the left limb of 'sa'.

It thus appears to me, that, so far at least as the facsimile goes, there is no justification for the reading 'sathivasa-sate'. In the absence of this reading, there remains no trace whatsoever in the inscription, of any direct reference to a date.

Now, conceding for a moment, that the record really contains the date 165, of the era of Muriya [Chandragupta] or of the Maurya kings as contended by Mr. Jayaswal and Mr. Banerji, and is to be placed in about 161 B.C. let us see what result follows. The record, as interpreted by these two scholars, mentions in line 6, that king Khāravela, in his fifth year, brought into the capital the canal excavated by king Nanda three centuries before. As, Mr. Banerji has shown (p. 498), this would mean that a king Nanda was master of Kāśī in about 465 or 469 B.C. Mr. Banerji would identify

⁶ *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, 1917, 455.

⁷ To show further that it was really a full-fledged theatrical performance in the sense that actual dramas were enacted on the stage, I should like to draw the attention of scholars to the occurrence of the word *nṛpa*, i. e. drama, in the *Jātaka* (IV, 105).

⁸ Fleet no doubt suggested some alterations, but he fully admitted the possibility of this reading. See his reading quoted by Mr. Banerji on p. 491.

him, not with the earliest ruler of the Nanda Dynasty, but with the earliest king of the Pauranic list whose name contains or is supposed to contain the adjunct Nanda, i.e. Nandivardhana. We leave out of consideration, for the moment, the fact that the name is given as Nandivardhana in all the authentic *Purāṇas*, that the corrupt *Bhaviṣhya Purāṇa* alone gives the name as Nandavardhana, that none of the *Purāṇas* count him or his successor among the Nanda kings and that there is no justification therefore to dub him as Nanda I. as Mr. Banerji has done on the authority of Mr. Jayaswal. We take for granted that Nandavardhana, or Nandivardhana, of the Śiśunāga dynasty was on the throne in 465 B.C. (taking the later date). This would place Ajātasatru's reign, according to Mr. Jayaswal's calculation, between 568 and 534 B.C., or rather earlier, as we may justly suppose that king Nandivardhana was for some years on the throne of Magadha before he could excavate a canal in Kaliṅga. Now this not only runs counter to the present accepted view about the date of the death of Buddha but is also opposed to the orthodox view, accepted by Mr. Jayaswal, that the Buddha died in the 8th year of Ajātasatru's reign (see, e.g., the Synchronistic table of Mr. Jayaswal in Appendix C of his paper on the Saisunaka and Maurya Chronology, etc., published in *JBORS.*, Sept. 1915. Reprint p. 49). The date of the Hāthigumphā inscription, as interpreted by Mr. Jayaswal and Mr. Banerji, thus upsets the accepted date of the Gautama Buddha and therewith the whole chronological system based upon it. Such far-reaching conclusions can be accepted only on the basis of clear and positive evidence. But as has been seen above, the line 16 of the record which is the keystone of the whole structure is far from being clear and positive.

Attention may be drawn in this connection to the ways in which idioms expressing dates have been interpreted by these scholars. We have three such expressions, viz., *ti-vasa-sata* in line 6, *terasa-vasa-sata* in line 11, and the alleged *sañhi-vasa-sata* in line 16. They have taken the first two in the sense of 300 and 1300 respectively, but have interpreted the last as 160, while it is clear that, to be consistent, they should have explained it as 6,000. According to the usual meaning the first two expressions ought to be taken in the sense of

113 and 103, respectively. These would upset many theories started by Mr. Jayaswal. Thus, for example, there would be no basis for the suggestion that we have in line 11 a reference to the Kaliṅga hero who flourished at the time of Mahābhārata war, or that there was a careful chronicle in Orissa at the time of Khāravela which could go back 1,300 years. But by far the most important results would follow if we take *ti-vasa-sata* to mean 103 on the analogy of the so-called *sañhi-vasa-sata*. For then we have to place a Nanda King in Kaliṅga in the year 54 of the Maurya era, and this by itself would go far to prove that there is something wrong in the system of chronology adopted by the authors of the paper.

Mr. Banerji has maintained that even apart from the question of the true reading of line 16, Dr. Fleet's views about the date of the record were grossly inconsistent in themselves. In this I cannot follow him, and it is but due to the memory of the illustrious scholar that his case should be fairly represented. As shown by Mr. Banerji (p. 494) Dr. Fleet concluded from some details in line 11 that the eleventh year of Khāravela fell in the 113th year after the conquest of Kaliṅga by Aśoka, and that Khāravela therefore ascended the throne of Kaliṅga, 111 years after the anointment of Aśoka. Mr. Banerji then adds, "Now, according to Dr. Lüders, Khāravela caused an aqueduct, that had not been used for 103 years since king Nanda or since the Nanda kings, to be conducted into the city, in the 5th year of his reign. This view is also shared by the late Dr. Fleet." (P. 494). It becomes easy of course to show that the two views are incompatible with each other. The fact, however, is that there is *no reason* to suppose that the particular view of Dr. Lüders was also shared by the late Dr. Fleet. His published writings on the subject, referred to by Mr. Banerji, contain no such thing and Mr. Banerji should have given full reference before advancing such a charge against the late lamented scholar. He was too critical a scholar for such inconsistencies and I maintain that his view, so far as it goes, is perfectly consistent in itself. It may be mentioned in this connection that Mr. Banerji has fallen into similar error in his criticism of Lüder's view. Khāravela, according to it, would not be four years of age, as Mr. Banerji maintains in l. 22, p. 496, but 11 years of age when Aśoka died.

THE WIDE SOUND OF E AND O IN MARWARI AND GUJARATI.

BY DR. L. P. TESSITORI ; BIKANER.

I HAD already dealt with the subject of the present paper in a note published in appendix to my "Progress Report on the work done in connection with the Bardic and Historical Survey of Rajputana during the year 1915",¹ and had hoped that I had therein given the genesis of the wide sound of *e* and *o* in Marwari and Gujarati, as distinct from the narrow sound, with sufficient lucidity and documentation to convince everybody. But in this I was mistaken and a contradictory article by Mr. N. B. Divatia, recently appeared in this *Journal*,² now obliges me to take up the same subject again and remove some shades of doubt which it has cast on my conclusions.

In the note to which I have just referred, I had shown that every *è, ò* (wide)³ of Marwari and Gujarati is derived from an *ai, au* of the Old Western Rajasthani, whereas every *é, ó* (narrow) is derived from O. W. Rajasthani *e, o*, or, in some few cases, O. W. Rajasthani *i, ea, ú, oa*. With regard to the former change I had pointed out that the manuscripts indicate that it was effected through a process of contraction, that is, through suppression of the hiatus, the intermediate step being the diphthongs *ai, au*, (ऐ औ). Thus O. W. Rajasthani *ai*, through *ai*, gave Marwari-Gujarati *è*, and similarly O. W. Rajasthani *au*, through *au*, gave Marwari-Gujarati *ò*. Seeing that the spelling *ai, au* is found in most, if not all, of the earliest manuscripts of Marwari and Gujarati, and that it is still used by accurate Marwari writers to represent the wide sounds *è, ò*,⁴ and at the same time considering that this *ai, au* spelling is not only etymologically accurate but also very significant in that it graphically represents the genesis of the sounds themselves, I had suggested that it might be adopted, or rather readopted, in Gujarati to distinguish the wide sound (*è, ò*) from the narrow sound (*é, ó*). It is known to everybody that one of the deficiencies of modern Gujarati orthography is the use of a unique sign to indicate both *è, ò* and *é, ó*.

Shortly before the publication of my note Mr. Divatia had in this same *Journal*⁵ proposed a theory according to which the *è, ò* of Gujarati was devolved from O. W. Rajasthani *ai, au*, not through *ai, au*, but through *aya, ava* (*ay, av*). In reply to this, I had in

¹ *Jour. As. Soc. of Beng.*, N.S., XII, 1916, pp. 73 ff.

² *The Wide Sound of E and O with Special Reference to Gujarati*. Vol. XLVI, pt. DLXXXIX, 1917, and Vol. XLVII, pts. DXCI and DXCII, 1918.

³ I use a grave accent (`) to represent the wide sound and an acute accent (´) to represent the narrow sound.

⁴ I give below a specimen which I have taken at random from a manuscript about 50 years old containing the "Khyāta" of Bikaner by Siṅghāyaca Dayāla Dāsa (MS. No. 1 of *Descr. Cat. of Bard. and Histl. MSS.*, Sect. i, pt. ii): ठाकर वैरीसालजी आदमीयां रौ धून कर इलाकै बाबलपुर रै मै गया जिय रै हान री सैतीष दिजी रै रजीडंस साहब बाहावर ने गुजराई स० १८८६ फाल्गुण शुद्ध १० ने और मुफसल हान हिंदुमलजी जबांनी जाहर कीयो तिय पर साहब मौसूफ बाबलपुर रै बांन ने ताकीरी री लिबावट भेजी तारां बांन पण ठाकर ने आप रै इलाकै सू बाबर कीया तह ठाकर इलाकै असलमेर रै मै गया उठै कितीएक आदमी जमा कीया तथा पूग[ल] राव रामसिंहजी वैरीसालजी री साजस ने ता सू असलमेर रावल गजसिंहजी बनै गया तहै गजसिंहजी कीया १ सांना आय ने राव ने ले गया अठ रावलजी पूरी पातरी कर मस्त रौ इकन कीयो etc. (pp. 342b—343a).

⁵ *A Note on Some Special Features of Pronunciation etc. in the Gujarati Language*, Vol. XLIV, pts. DLII and DLVI, January and May 1915.

my note given some reasons which, I believe, conclusively dismiss Mr. Divatia's explanation, but he has not been persuaded by them and in his new article on the subject still clings to his theory and not only maintains that \dot{e} , \dot{o} are derived from *aya*, *ava*, but also that the result of the contraction of *aī*, *aū*, if this contraction ever takes place, is not \dot{e} , \dot{o} , but \acute{e} , \acute{o} .

Naturally, in the beginning of his new article Mr. Divatia examines the arguments given by me against his theory and tries to dismiss them, but how! Instead of removing them from his path, he simply walks round them and gets beyond. One of my arguments is that there are no sure instances of any *aī*, *aū* of the O. W. Rajasthani having changed to *aya*, *ava* in any stage of this language. To prove the contrary, my opponent splits the vocal compounds *aī*, *aū* into their two elements and fetches instances of isolated *i*, *u* having passed into *ya*, *va* in the later stage of the O. W. Rajasthani if not in Gujarati itself! The only instances of the pretended change *aī* > *aya* which Mr. Divatia is able to quote, are *vayara*,⁶ *payasāra*, *bayaṭhaū*, and *payaṭhaū*. I had already explained these forms as incorrect readings due to the habit of the scribes to write *ya* for *i*. But Mr. Divatia does not accept this explanation and ransacks some O.W. Rajasthani texts in search of examples like *niṣcāī*, *uvajhāi*, *Rāmāira*, etc., which in his opinion prove that the scribes instead of showing a tendency to write *ya* for *i*, show a tendency to write *i* for *ya*. But *i* is the regular spelling in all these cases and does not represent a tendency of the scribes, but a tendency of the language! The fact is that the tendency of the scribes to write *ya* for *i* is not only indisputable but also much more widely established than Mr. Divatia imagines, for it is found in Prakrit manuscripts as well. To cite only one case. Of the two manuscripts collated by Prof. H. Jacobi for the edition of his *Māhārāṣṭrī Erzählungen*, A and B, the former reads *gayam* for *gāim* (p. 73) and *payasārio* for *pāisārio* (p. 63), and the latter *kayavaya* for *kaivaya* (p. 61) and *vayara* for *vāira* (p. 60).⁷

Another of my arguments was that it is not admissible that a language which possesses a tendency to *samprasāraṇa* even greater than Apabhraṃśa itself, should at the same time possess a tendency to anti-*samprasāraṇa*, to use Mr. Divatia's expression. In other words, it is not admissible that the O. W. Rajasthani after changing *kavaṇa* into *kaūna* should have reversed the process and changed *kaūna* into *kavaṇa* back again. Mr. Divatia clings to this example and discovers that Apabhraṃśa *kavaṇa* is derived from Prakrit *kaūṇa* < *ko-ūna* < Skt. *kaḥ punaḥ* (!), and that the O. W. Rajasthani form *kaūṇa* itself is only a return to the old Prakrit form! This is of course all in perfect accordance with Mr. Divatia's principle

⁶ Also *vayarāgt*, evidently a *tutsama* in part modelled on *vayara*.

⁷ These examples probably show that the O. W. Rajasthani scribes who wrote *vayara* and *payasāra* were not thereby introducing a change in the regular spelling, but only perpetuating an inaccuracy which had become traditional. From the grammatical point of view these forms with *aya* are no less foreign to the O. W. Rajasthani than they are to the *Māhārāṣṭrī*, and if they do not represent an actual change in the case of the latter, much less can they represent an actual change in the case of the former. They are evidently anomalous spellings which for reasons difficult to detect were more frequently used in the case of some particular words than in the case of others. Had it been the case of an actual change these spellings would apply to all words alike. Mr. Divatia has not ignored this objection, but being unable to remove it, he has contrived to discredit it by admitting the possibility of the impossible. According to him it is quite natural that *aya* should be found "only in certain words," for "changes in a language cannot proceed on regular lines of uniform march; some forms will linger, some progress, go backwards and forwards, till a final settled state is reached." Thus *vayara*, *payasāra* and the like are only instances of words which felt the change that was beginning to come, in advance of the others. Needless to say, this theory of precocious and tardy words and of pendulum-like oscillations backwards and forwards is new and would require to be proved.

that languages "go backwards and forwards", but the generally accepted principle is very different from this.⁸

My third and last argument was that when the Marwari and Gujarati scribes found that the spelling *ai*, *au* no longer corresponded to the actual pronunciation, they did not alter it into *aya*, *ava*, but into *ai*, *au*. Evidently, by the time when *ai*, *au* were introduced into use—about the sixteenth century A.D.—the two elements in the vocal compounds *ai*, *au* had been blended together into diphthongs and were then pronounced as diphthongs. This is, perhaps, the strongest and most decisive of all my arguments in that it proves that during the period of transition from O. W. Rajasthani to modern Marwari-Gujarati, if not earlier, the tendency of the language was to fuse the two elements in the groups *ai*, *au* into one, not to divaricate them further by amplifying them into *aya*, *ava*. But Mr. Divatia easily disposes of this argument by refusing to believe that early Gujarati manuscripts contain the spelling *ai*, *au*. Even if this was the case, it would suffice to know that the spelling is found in Marwari manuscripts, but that it is found in Gujarati manuscripts as well is a matter that can be easily ascertained by Mr. Divatia himself if he only cares to complete his researches, which, as he states, are "limited in extent in this respect."⁹

In conclusion, none of Mr. Divatia's replies to the arguments given by me against his theory, does really hit the point, much less can these replies demolish my criticism. However, Mr. Divatia has satisfied himself if no others, and thinking that he has cleared his path of all obstacles, proceeds on. I shall not follow him into all his details, but will confine myself to examining the two or three main points in his discussion and conclusions. He begins by suggesting that if *aya*, *ava* (as developments of *ai*, *au*) were not actually written, except in a few cases, "they were potential developments as precedent conditions requisite for the production of the wide sound (*ê*, *ò*) which comes on the final *a* being lost through want of accent

⁸ The other examples with which Mr. Divatia tries to show that a *va* of the Apabhraṃśa after becoming *u* in O. W. Rajasthani can revert to *va* in Gujarati, are: *deśāura* > *deśāvura*, *deula* > *devula*, and *deura* > *devara*. Here the reversion of the *samprasāraṇa* is only apparent. In several old Marwari manuscripts (e.g., MS. No. 15 of *Descr. Cat. of Bard. and Histl. MSS.*, Sect. ii, pt. i, Samvat 1615-34), I have found the spelling *vu* for *u* coming after a long vowel. Thus: *rāvu* for *rāu*, *rāvuta* for *rāuta*, *rāvula* for *rāula*, *vāvuli* for *vāuli*, *Sekhāvuta* for *Sekhāuta*, etc. Evidently, we have here insertion of *va*-*śruti* between *u* and the preceding long vowel, and it is this *va*-*śruti* that has given rise to the modern *va*. Thus O. W. Rajasthani *deula* first becomes *devula*, through insertion of *va*-*śruti*, and then, by dropping the *u*, *devula*. There is no question of reversion of *samprasāraṇa* here.

⁹ Not only is the spelling *ai*, *au* found in early Gujarati manuscripts, but it is very often found side by side with the old spelling *ai*, *au*, a circumstance that shows better than anything else that the former spelling is the immediate successor of the latter and that there are no intermediate steps like *aya*, *ava* between them. Here is an illustration of the above-mentioned case, taken from the first page of a manuscript in my possession, written, apparently, towards the middle, if not the end, of the seventeenth century A.D. and containing a Gujarati *śālavabodha* to a "Jambucaritra," a Jain work: **श्रेष्ठिक राजा एहवो उपदेश बैडो**
सोमने छह तिहार एक देवता महलिक भगवंत नई बाईई . . . बाई प्रभ करई माहरी देवजोकई िवडां केतलो
आउखो छह . . . , etc. It will be noticed that in the above extract, *ai*, *ai* are used side by side, whereas *au* is constantly represented by *o*. This is not a mere graphic peculiarity of the manuscript, but it is a general fact that while early Gujarati manuscripts as a rule always represent *ê* by *ai*, they very seldom represent *ò* by *au*, but either use the old form *ai* or the newer form *o*. Marwari manuscripts are more consistent in this respect and use both *ai* and *au*. The Gujarati manuscript cited above is only one of many I could cite in which *ai* is used side by side with *ai*. Indeed, the practice of writing *ai* is so prevalent in early Gujarati manuscripts that I am very much puzzled to explain how a Gujarati scholar can assert that he has never come across any instance thereof!

thus giving *ay*, *av* as the causative principle of the broad sound." Translated into practice, this means that O. W. Rajasthani *karai* to become modern Marwari-Gujarati *karè*, had to pass through the stages : *karaya* > *karay*, the entire process being as follows :

(1) *karai* > (2) *karaya* > (3) *karay* > (4) *karè*.

There is no room for the *karai* of the manuscripts here, but this is no stumbling-block for Mr. Divatia as he has already disposed of the inconvenient form *karai* by denying its existence. Anyhow, one would like to ask, in what does *karay* differ from *karai* ? For it is clear that it must differ in something, otherwise the third phase would represent no progress in respect to the first. My opponent's reply to this question can hardly be expected to be any other but this : that the last letter of *karai* is a distinct *i* separated by hiatus from the preceding *a*, whereas the last letter of *karay* is an indistinct *i* attached to and forming one syllable with the preceding *a*. Well, if it is so, is this not tantamount to admitting that the second syllable of *karay* is a diphthong ? And if it is a diphthong, is not *ai* its proper expression ?

I think I can guess whence Mr. Divatia's idea of the intermediate phase *aya*, *ava* has sprung from. He has seen that in modern Gujarati the *ai*, *au* of *tat-samas* (e. g. *daiva*, *gaurava*) is pronounced differently from the *è*, *ò* of *tadbhavas*, while on the other hand *aya*, (*ava*) of *tatsamas* and semi-*tatsamas* (e. g. *samaya*, *paya*, *nayana*, *kavai*) is pronounced very much like *è*, *ò*, and has concluded that *aya*, *ava* are akin to *è*, *ò*, and *ai*, *au* remote from it. If this was Mr. Divatia's line of thought, he has made here a double mistake : firstly in assuming that *tadbhava ai*, *au* were necessarily pronounced in exactly the same way as *tatsama ai*, *au*,¹⁰ and secondly in imagining that *aya*, *ava* are correctly written in all cases when they are pronounced *è*, *ò*. Forms like *samaya*, *paya*, *nayana*, etc., as are commonly met with in O. W. Rajasthani and modern Marwari-Gujarati, are really incorrect spellings for *samāi*, *paī*, *naīna* or *samāi*, *paī*, *naīna*, respectively. In my article mentioned above I had suggested that in the case of all these *tatsamas* or semi-*tatsamas* the transition of *aya* to *è* must have taken place through the intermediate step *aī*, but I had been unable to adduce any instances of this passing of *aya* into *aī* then, as up to the time of writing that article I had met with none in the manuscripts I had examined. Since then I have found many instances of *aī* < *aya* in the *Rāu Jāita Sī raū Chanda* by Vīthū Sūjō, a Dīngalā poem, whereof a copy dated Samvat 1629 is preserved in the Darbar Library in the Fort of Bikaner,¹¹ and in a few other manuscripts.

Continuing, Mr. Divatia quotes some etymologies which in his opinion prove that O. W. Rajasthani *aī*, *aīi* when accented on the *a*, give *aya*, *ava* and hence *è*, *ò* in Marwari-Gujarati, and when accented on the *i*, *u*, give *é*, *ó*. Unfortunately, a large proportion of these etymologies are incorrect, and some instead of proving what they are intended to prove, prove exactly the contrary. To point out only a few inaccuracies :

anerū is not from *anāiraū*, but from *anṇaerū* (Ap.),

the resultant of *maṅgaḷa* is not *mégaḷa*, but *mēgaḷa*,

verè does not come from *vāiraī* but from **viaraī* (Ap.) > **vīraī*, *veraī* (O. W. Raj.),

Rāthōra is not from *Rāṭhaūṛa*, but from *Rāṭhaūṛa*.

¹⁰ Probably they were pronounced in a way similar to the *ai*, *au* of Hindi.

¹¹ See *Descr. Cat. of Bard. and Histl. MSS.*, Sect. ii, pt. i, No. 15. The instances include : *paī* (< *paya*), *haī* (< *haya*), *maṅgaḷa* (< *mayagaḷa*), *haṅvara* (< *hayavara*), *viṅai* (< *viṅaya*), and other similar forms. Forms like these are also met with in the adesoptic *Jāita Sī raū Chanda*, whereof a copy dated Samvat 1672 is likewise found in the Darbar Library at Bikaner.

It is not exactly clear what Mr. Divatia means by the accent which he thinks is always present on the one or the other element of *ai*, *au*. He can hardly mean the old Sanskrit accent, for his accent does not fall on the same syllables on which the Sanskrit accent would fall, besides, the Sanskrit accent does not always support the theory that *ai*, *au* give *ê*, *ô* only when accented on the *a*.¹² What he probably means by accent is a stress or greater emphasis possessed by one of the two vowels in contradistinction from the other, but if he means this stress, he has a very peculiar way of defining and locating it. In some places he speaks of the "preponderance" of one vowel over the other. From the examples he gives of the preponderance of *i* or *u* over the preceding *a*, it appears that he finds the reasons of this preponderance in the fact that the *i*, or *u*, is "guru," i. e., prosodically long either by in nature or by position. Thus in *Uttarâra* > *Uttôra* it is an *u* long by nature that predominates, whereas in *Paṇṇaullî* > *Paṇṇaûlî* > *Pânôlî* it is an *u* long by position. Now, this is all very well, or at least it would be if the etymologies given were all correct, but these are examples of *au* > *ô*, not of *ai* > *ê*!

I have noted that several of the *i*'s and *u*'s which Mr. Divatia understands as predominating, belong to the initial syllable of a suffix or of the second member of a nominal compound. This is probably a mere coincidence which my opponent possibly has not even noticed, but should he ever think of this and come out some day with a new theory according to which an *i* or *u* forming part of the initial syllable of a suffix or of the second member of a nominal compound predominates over the terminal *a* of the word to which it is appended and gives rise to *ê*, *ô*, I think I have better forestall him now by quoting a few etymologies which show that such is not the case:

Skt. *upa-viśati* > Ap. *uwa-isaï* > O. W. Raj. *ba-isaï* > Marw.-Guj. *bêcê* "Sits down",
 Skt. **pra-bhūtakah* > Ap. **pa-huttaü* > O.W.Raj. *pa-hutaü* > Marw.-Guj. *pôhtô* "Arrived",
 Skt. *pra-hara-* > Ap. *pa-hara-* > O. W. Raj. *pa-hura* > Marw.-Guj. *pôhra* "A watch of the day",

Skt. **dvā-saptati* > Ap. **bā-hattari* > O.W.Raj. *ba-hutari* > Marw.-Guj. *bôhtara* "Seventy-two",

Skt. *su-bhāṭa* > Ap. **su-bhaṭa-* > O. W. Raj. *su-haṭa* > Marw.-Guj. *sôhaṭa* "A warrior",

. O.W. Raj. *kabaṇa-ūta* > Marw.-Guj. *kabâṇṭa* "A bowman",

. O.W.Raj. *pâkhara-ūta* > Marw.-Guj. *pâkharṭa* "An armoured horse",

Skt. *sva-jana-* > Ap. *sa-(y)ana-* > O. W. Raj. *sa-yaṇa* > Marw.-Guj. *sôṇa* "A relative or friend",

Skt. *Siṃha-putra-* > Ap. *Siṃha-putta-* > O. W. Raj. *Siṃha-ūta* > Marw.-Guj. *Sihôta* ¹³ "Son or descendant of Sihô",

Skt. **Lābha-pura-* > Ap. **Lāha-pura-* > O. W. Raj. *Lāha-ūra* > Marw.-Guj. *Lâhōra* ¹³ "Lahor."

¹² Cfr. the cases following:—

Skt. *kari'ra-* > O. W. Raj. *kayara* > Marw.-Guj. *kêra* "Capparis Aphylla",
 Skt. **nâgara-* < Ap. **na(y)ara-* > O. W. Raj. *na(y)ara*, **nâra* > Marw.-Guj. *néra* "City of . . .",
 Skt. *viśayâ-* > Ap. *viśa(y)a-* > O. W. Raj. *viśaya*, *viśai* > Marw.-Guj. *viṣê* "Victory",
 Skt. *śatâ-* < Ap. *sa(y)a-*, *sai* > O. W. Raj. *sai*, *sai*, > Marw.-Guj. *sê*, *sô* "Hundred",
 Skt. *samayâ-* > Ap. *sama(y)a-* > O. W. Raj. *samaya*, *samâi* > Marw.-Guj. *samê* "Time, epoch."

¹³ Patronymics in *ôta* and names of towns or villages in *ôra* are often pronounced narrow nowadays, but the evidence of old manuscripts shows that the *o* in these terminations was in origin wide. In fact, the manuscripts exhibit in these cases both the *ô* and the *ô* spelling (e.g. नागौर and नागोर), but the former is perhaps the more frequent in old and accurate manuscripts, and, anyhow, the fact that the manuscripts, though often writing *ô* for *ô*, never write *ô* for *ô*, is a sufficient reason for concluding that the *o* in these terminations must necessarily have been wide in origin.

I have remarked above, incidentally, that some of the etymologies which Mr. Divatia produces in order to show that *aī, aū* gave *é, ó*, and *aya, ava* gave *è, ò*, are incorrect and instead of proving what they are intended to prove, prove exactly the contrary. My opponent will no doubt be surprised to learn this, and still more to learn that his theory is not only fallacious, but is the perfect reversion of the truth. Guided by "the perception of the ear," Mr. Divatia asserts that *è, ò* can only be the result of *aya, ava*, and that the contraction of *aī, aū* can only give *é, ó*. The real facts are precisely the contrary: *aī, aū* gives *è, ò*, and *aya, ava* gives *é, ó*. Of the former change I need give no illustrations as I believe I have sufficiently proved it in my note to which I have referred above, and which as I have tried to show, has not been in the least impaired by Mr. Divatia's adverse criticism. I shall therefore confine myself to show how *aya, ava* contracts into *é, ó*. One of Mr. Divatia's examples is *ghaṇerū*, and another *kasoti*. The correct etymology of these two words is as follows:

Skt. *ghana-taram* > Ap. *ghaṇa-(y)arū* > O. W. Raj. and Guj. *ghaṇerū* "Plentiful",

Skt. *kaṣa-paṭṭikā* > Ap. *kaṣa-vaṭṭi(y)ā* > O. W. Raj. and Guj. *kaṣa-vaṭṭi* > Marw.-Guj. *kasoti* "Touchstone."

Here we have a real instance of the change of *aya* to *é* and of *ava* to *ó*. Mr. Divatia represents the change as having taken place through an intermediate step *aī, aū*, and thus makes the two examples agree with his theory, but these *aī, aū* are not the regular *aī, aū* of the O. W. Rajasthani, but merely hypothetical forms which have no more reality than Mr. Divatia's potential steps *aī* > *aya*, *aū* > *ava*, supposing that the latter were justifiable. Two other instances of *aya* > *é*, *ava* > *ó*, which are unconsciously given by Mr. Divatia himself, are the following:

Skt. *ava-yava-* > Ap. *ava-(y)ava-* > O. W. Raj. and Guj. *avéva* "Limb",

Skt. **Parṇa-pallikā* > Ap. **Paṇṇa-valliyā* > O. W. Raj. *Pāna-vali* > O. W. Raj. and Guj. *Pānóli* "N. of a place."

I now proceed to give some additional instances of my own:

Skt. **Phulla-taṭākakaḥ* > Ap. **Phulla-taḍḍāū*, **Phulla-(y)aḍḍa(y)aū* > O. W. Raj. *Phúlélāu* > Marw.-Guj. *Phúlélāva* "N. of a tank."

Skt. **(ut)tuṅga-paṭṭikā* (?) > Ap. **(ut)tuṅga-vaṭṭiyā* > O. W. Raj. **tuṅga-vaṭṭi* > Marw.-Guj. *taṅgóṭi* "A small tent",

Skt. *dvāra-paṭṭa-* > Ap. *bāra-vaṭṭa-* > O. W. Raj. *bāra-vaṭṭa* > Marw. *bāróṭa* "Door-panel"
 O. W. Raj. *bāja-vaṭṭāū* > Marw.-(Guj.) *bājóṭò* "A footstool",

Skt. **dēsa-vṛttakāḥ* (?) > Ap. **dēsa-vaṭṭāū* < O. W. Raj. *dēsa-vaṭṭāū* > Guj. *dēsa-vaṭṭò* > Marw. *desóṭò* "Banishment",

Skt. *kara-patṭra-* > Ap. *kara-vatṭa-* > O. W. Raj. *kara-vaṭṭa* > Marw.-Guj. *karóṭa* "A saw",

Skt. *nanāndr-pati* > Ap. *ṇaṇandu-vaṭṭi* > O. W. Raj. **naṇanda-vaṭṭi* > Marw.-Guj. *naṇadóṭi* "Husband's sister's husband",

Skt. *pra-vayati* > Ap. **pra-vaṭṭi* > O. W. Raj. *prói*, > Marw.-Guj. *pói* "Pierces, strings",

. O. W. Raj. *hara-vaṭṭa* > Marw.-Guj. *haróṭa* "Vanguard",

Skt. **Phala-vardhikā* > Ap. **Phala-vaddhi(y)ā* > O. W. Raj. *Phala-vaḍḍhi* > Marw.-Guj. *Phaḷódḍhi* "N. of a place."

It will be noticed that in all the above examples the *ya* or *va* which combines with a preceding *a* to form *é* or *ó*, is initial in the second member of a nominal or verbal compound. This is a very important circumstance, because it contains in itself the reason why the *ya* or *va* in all these cases did not undergo *samprasāraṇa*. I have said above that *samprasāraṇa* is one of the most marked features of the O. W. Rajasthani, and that every *ava* of the Apabhraṃśa is changed into *au* in the former language. But when *va* is initial in a word or comes immediately after a prefix, *samprasāraṇa* does not take place. Thus Ap. *vāira* remains *vāira* in O. W. Rajasthani, and similarly *a-vasa* remains *a-vasa*, but *ṇavamai* becomes *naūmai*. Mr. Divatia has made the mistake of overlooking the fact that initial *va* cannot undergo *samprasāraṇa* and has given a series of etymologies in which he presupposes two conditions incompatible with one another: the existence of a stress or accent on a *va* or *ya* initial in the second member of a compound, and the weakening of this *va* or *ya* into *u*, *i*. It is obvious that so long as the *va* in *kasa-vaṭi* retains the stress or emphasis which naturally falls on the initial syllable of every word, it can never undergo *samprasāraṇa*. The form *kasauṭi* can only be possible, if at all, when the word *kasa-vaṭi* has ceased to be considered as a compound and the *va* has lost its stress or has transferred it to another syllable.¹⁴ As a matter of fact, this has happened in the case of *kasavaṭi*, and we have of this word two parallel developments: (a) *kasa-vaṭi* > *kasóṭi*, and (b) *kasavaṭi* > *kasauṭi*¹⁵ > *kasòṭi*.

In all the examples of the change *aya* > *é*, *ava* > *ó* which have been given above, the *ya* and *va* are initial, a condition which is essential in O. W. Rajasthani for the production of the narrow sound. But if we step out of the boundaries of the O. W. Rajasthani into the domains of Apabhraṃśa and Prakrit, we find that here the change *aya* > *e*, *ava* > *o* is not confined to cases when *ya* and *va* are initial, but extends to other cases as well. Thus we find *leṇa* (< Skt. *layaṇa*), *loṇa* (< Skt. *lavaṇa*), *ohi* (< Skt. *avadhi*), etc. I need not give more examples of this kind because the reader can see them for himself in Pischel's *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*, §§ 153-4, but what I wish to remark here is that the change *aya* > *é*, *ava* > *ó* is not a peculiarity of the O. W. Rajasthani, but rather the continuation of a process which was already in operation in the early Prakrit-Apabhraṃśa stage.

But to revert to the *è*, *ò* sound. Certainly I need not waste time to emphasize the absurdity of Mr. Divatia's suggestion that this sound was probably matured under the influence of certain Arabic and Persian words. Mr. Divatia must be very little persuaded of the plausibility of his own derivation of this sound, if he finds it necessary to supplement it with such hypotheses. No, Arabic and Persian could not be responsible for the birth of *è*, *ò* in the least, and to accuse them of sharing the paternity of these sounds is ridiculous, just as ridiculous as it would be to impeach English, because it possesses words, like "hat", and "hot", whereof the vowels are pronounced much like the *è*, *ò* of modern Gujarati! But why, instead of going so far in search of foreign influences, why not lay greater stress on the analogy of the *è*, *ò* of Marwari-Gujarati with the *ai*, *au* of Hindi? The latter sounds are identical with the former, except that they represent a slightly earlier stage, the very same

¹⁴ Cases of this kind are not unheard of. Cfr. *taruara* (< *taru-vara*), and *hēmara* < *hēmvara* (< *haya-vara*).

¹⁵ I have found the form *kasauṭa* used once in Somasundarasūri's *bāṭavabodha* to Dharmadāsa's "Uvāśamālā", 473. Its derivative *kasòṭi* is used in Hindi (Bates, p. 111). Mr. Divatia cannot possibly claim this form *kasauṭi* as evidence in support of his theory that an *a* followed by an accented *u* gives *ò*, because, as I have remarked above, the *u* in *kasauṭi* cannot be accented.

stage, I believe, of the Marwari-Gujarati diphthongs *ai*, *au* as they must have been pronounced previous to their transition into the wide vowels *è*, *ò*.

I cannot conclude this note without a remark on the pronunciation of *è*, *ò*. As I had already pointed out in my former note on the subject, there is in modern Marwari-Gujarati a marked tendency to pronounce *è* and *ò* less wide when they are final, than in other cases. Here under the term final I comprehend also an *è* or *ò* forming part of the penultimate syllable of a plurisyllable ending in a quiescent *a*. In some cases, the vowel is actually heard as narrow, thus the words : *âvè-lâ* " will come ", *rôvè* " is crying ", *Bhaṭanèra* " Bhatner ", *ghôṛò* " horse ", *karò* " do ! ", *Nâgòra* " Nagor ", *Râṭhòra* " Rathor ", *Riṇamalòta* " a son or descendant of Riṇamala ", are generally pronounced : *âvêlâ*, *rôvé*, *Bhaṭnér*, *ghôró*, *karó*, *Nâgór*, *Râṭhór*, *Riṇmalót*. Here etymology and the evidence of the old manuscripts are our only guide for recognizing in all these vowels which are now heard as narrow, an originally wide vowel whereof the value has subsequently been modified. Were we to rely only on the " actual perception of the ear " and disregard the evidence of the manuscripts and of etymology, we should incur into the same error as Mr. Divatia who misunderstood *vére* for *véré*, *Râṭhòra* for *Râṭhóra*, and *Guhilòta* for *Guhilóta*. The " actual perception of the ear " is often most fallacious, but etymology is a faithful guide, and so are old manuscripts in this special case. In fact, accurate Marwari manuscripts always maintain with scrupulous accuracy the distinction between *é*, *ó* and *è*, *ò* by representing the former by the signs ए, ओ, and the latter by the signs ऐ, औ.

In this connection I may here reiterate the practical suggestion which I had already made in my previous note : that when the question of revising the present imperfect spelling of Gujarati comes to be reconsidered, the signs ऐ, औ—which were formerly used in Gujarati and are still used in Marwari—should be readopted to represent the wide sound of *e* and *o*. Etymology and manuscript tradition show that the above-mentioned signs are the only legitimate and correct ones and their readoption in Gujarati would have, besides others, the great advantage of better conforming the orthography of this language with that of Hindi and making it more easily intelligible in other parts of the country.¹⁴

¹⁴ I have purposely refrained from alluding in the course of this note to a misinterpretation of a passage in my former note which my opponent makes and emphasizes as if in order to condemn me with my own words. A reply to this point might have been interpreted as a personal controversy. In my former note I had taken the opportunity of correcting an inaccuracy into which I had fallen in the first chapter of my " Notes on the Grammar of the Old Western Rajasthani, etc. ", by representing the result of O. W. Rajasthani *ai*, *au*, as *è*, *ò* in Gujarati and *ai*, *au* in Marwari. This means that, misunderstanding the use of the signs *ai*, *au* in Sir George Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. IX, Pt. ii, to indicate the *è*, *ò* sound of Marwari, I had concluded that this sound does not exactly correspond with the *è*, *ò* of Gujarati, which in the modern writing is inaccurately represented by ऐ, औ, and only after coming to India I discovered that the *è*, *ò* of Marwari and the *è*, *ò* of Gujarati are exactly the same and identical sound. But Mr. Divatia misinterprets my words so as to take them to mean that " Dr. Tessitori . . . thought Mâr-avâḍī did not possess even the narrow *è*—*ò* as evolutes of अइ, अउ, much less the wide *è*—*ò* " (!), and in another place, referring to " Dr. Tessitori's gracefully (*sic*) frank admission ", says that " when he wrote his " Notes " the wide sound of *e* and *o* . . . was never present before his mind, and he states there that अइ and अउ became *è* (ऐ) and *ò* (औ) narrow " (!) Here evidently Mr. Divatia assumes that in my " Notes " I had used *è*, *ò* to represent the Gujarati narrow sound, but how arbitrary this assumption is is shown by the fact that in my " Notes " I have never indicated in writing the distinction between the wide and narrow sound of *e*, *o* in Gujarati, but following the modern Gujarati spelling, I have represented both by *è*, *ò*.

VÂRTTĀ—THE ANCIENT HINDU ECONOMICS.

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Stray expressions of thought in ancient Europe on the material interests.

Though the science of economics is essentially modern, stray expressions of thought on the material interests may be traced back in Europe to the time of Hesiod (8th century B.C.), whose *Works and Days*¹ is a long versified dissertation embodying directions for practical guidance in the material concerns of life, such as the making of ploughs, sowing, planting, reaping, threshing, supervision of slave-labourers, weaving of cloths, management of dogs, horses, oxen, etc., shearing of sheep, felling of wood, sea-trade. The European writers subsequent to Hesiod were occupied in a very large measure with thoughts about political constitutions. In spite of this feature, we meet with economic precepts and anticipations of later economic researches in some of the writings.

Plato (429 or 427—347 B.C.)

Plato has given us a few economic thoughts and analyses, some of which are correct even according to modern criticism. These may be gathered from the *Republic*, *Laws*, and the dialogue called *Sophist*. The *Eryxias*, a short dialogue, treats of wealth; but it is considered spurious and does not go deeper or farther than the aforesaid works. Plato recognizes the economic basis of political society, the importance of the division of labour and also of the primary occupations such as agriculture, cattle-rearing and artisanship, domestic exchange of commodities, foreign commerce, and currency; and touches the subjects of distribution of property, money-lending, interest on loans and overdue accounts, and such other topics. Though many of his ideas are crude and unscientific, they furnish germs of much serious thought to later writers. His economic speculations, however, are found in mixture with his treatment of political and ethical questions which occupy the primary place, and are not disintegrated yet as a separate subject.²

Xenophon (circa 430-357 B.C.)

Xenophon's *Economics* treats of the management of the household consisting of the family with its dependants and requiring property for its maintenance. Incidentally, he touches the subjects of agriculture, manufactures, trade, foreign commerce, nature of money and some other kindred topics. His precepts for the management of private property show much sense and sagacity,³ but his views on the subjects just mentioned are not in advance of his times except in one or two instances.⁴

Aristotle (384-322 B.C.)

It was Aristotle who first reached the conception of a special science or art of wealth, though he never treated it apart from ethical and political considerations. He used the word *chrematistike* sometimes as equivalent to *ketike*, i.e., acquisition in general, and some-

¹ See T. Cooke's translation of the poem in three books, and J. K. Ingram's *History of Political Economy*, (enlarged ed., 1915), p. 9.

² *Dictionary of Political Economy* (edited by R. H. I. Palgrave) under 'Plato,' and Ingram, *op. cit.*, pp. 12, 13.

³ Xenophon's work on the revenues of Athens contains some practical suggestions for their improvement.

⁴ Palgrave, *op. cit.*, 'Xenophon,' and Ingram, *op. cit.*, pp. 13, 14.

times in the narrower sense of that kind of acquisition that is rendered possible by exchange and money. The appended table ⁵ of the divisions of acquisition will show that he divided wealth into three classes, natural, intermediate, and unnatural. Hunting of wild animals or of slaves,—the “living tools”, is considered a “natural” mode of acquisition as also the first division of *chrematistike*, on account of their having the same relation to the household as mother’s milk to the young, or ordinary food to the graminivorous or carnivorous animals. The “intermediate” acquisition is thought to be somewhat removed from nature and hence its name. This gulf reaches its farthest limit in the “unnatural”, with exchange for its instrument. Wealth is defined to be “a number of instruments to be used in a household or in a state.” None of the modes of acquisition should be pursued immoderately, as domestic economy is not identical with amassing wealth, nor statesmanship with finance. The foundations of an “art of acquisition” quite apart from the “art of household management” were thus laid. ⁶ The term *oikonomike* continued to denote as before ‘household management’, *chrematistike* (or *kletike*) being used to stand for the predecessor of modern economics. “Political economy” as the name of the science of wealth was first used by a French author in the title of his work *Traité de l’Economie Politique* published in 1615. ⁷ Aristotle dwells on diverse topics of economics which I need not reproduce. Suffice it to say that with him originated the conception of a distinct ‘science or art of wealth’.

Stray expressions of thought in the ancient East on the material interests.

The Chaldæans reached a high degree of excellence in agriculture making the soil yield a good many raw products. Their methods were first transmitted to the Greeks and afterwards to the Arabs, and practised long after the disappearance of the Chaldæan civilization. The people of Irak under the Abbaside Caliphs followed those methods while the

⁵ The art of acquisition (*kletike*; but *chrematistike* is sometimes used in this wide sense).

I. Hunting (a) of wild beasts, (b) of those who are ‘by nature slaves.’

II. *Chrematistike*, the science or art of wealth.

(1) *Natural*, including

(a) keeping of cattle, flocks, &c.

(b) agriculture (including cultivation of fruit-trees)

(c) bee-keeping.

(d) keeping of fish.

(e) keeping of birds.

(2) *Intermediate*,

(a) wood-cutting.

(b) mining.

(3) *Unnatural* (= *metabletike*, exchange).

(a) trade (commerce and retail trade).

1st, ship owning.

2nd, carrying trade.

3rd, shop-keeping.

(b) money-lending (usury).

(c) labour for hire.

1st, of the skilled artisan.

2nd, of the unskilled.”

—Jowett’s *Politics of Aristotle* (Oxf. 1885), vol. II, p. 35, as quoted in Palgrave, *op. cit.*, ‘Aristotle’.

⁶ Palgrave, *op. cit.*, ‘Aristotle’, and Ingram, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-17.

⁷ Ingram, *op. cit.*, p. 45. ‘Economia’ meant but ‘domestic management’ according to Bacon.

work entitled *Nabataean Agriculture* of Ibn Wahshiyah (the Nabataeans being an Arab people on the east and south-east of Palestine) preserves according to one body of opinion, a reflection of those methods. In the opinion of E. Renan, "It is possible that the method which is taught in them goes actually back, as far as the processes are concerned, to the most ancient periods of Assyria; just as the *Agrimensores latine*, so recent in regard to the editing of them, have preserved for us customs and ceremonies which can be explained only by the 'Brahmanās' of India and which are consequently associated with the earliest ages of the Aryan race."⁸ Agricultural treatises on clay were deposited in one or other of the sacred libraries in which the priests of each city used to collect documents of all kinds.⁹

China.

Dr. Chen Huan-Chang's "Economic Principles of Confucius and his School" makes it clear that in the writings of Confucius (552-479 B.C.) and his disciples were imbedded remarks bearing on the administration of wealth, its relation to the various social sciences, the principles that should underlie the production, distribution and consumption of wealth, and public finance. It should not be thought that there was a separate systematic exposition of all the principles. They are, on the contrary, found scattered throughout their sacred writings and require to be scraped together to show that Confucianism is a great economic in addition to being a great moral and religious system, containing many an early "anticipation of the accepted economic teachings of today."

India: *Vārttā* emerges as a branch of learning in the epic period.

In India, the subject treating of wealth emerged very early as a special branch of learning under the name *Vārttā*. It is implied in the use of the expression *tisrah-vidyāḥ* in the *Rāmāyana*¹⁰ which points to the inference that *Vārttā* crystallized as a branch of learning most probably in the epic period. A few *Purāṇas*¹¹ record that the group of occupations signified by the word came first into existence in the *tretā* age, and we find its appearance as a branch of learning in the *Rāmāyana*, the great epic of that age.

The relation of *Vārttā* to *Arthasāstra* in the *Kauṭīliya*.

In the *Kauṭīliya*, *Vārttā* is mentioned as dealing with 'wealth and loss of wealth' (*arthānarthau*)¹² while the scope of the *arthasāstra* is laid down thus: "*artha* (wealth or 'goods') is the object of man's desire; the inhabited land (or country) is *artha*; that science which treats of the means of acquiring, preserving, and developing the said land or country is *Arthasāstra* (science of man's material concerns)."¹³ *Arthasāstra* deals with wealth, but as good government is the *sine qua non* of peaceful acquisition of wealth, it treats of polity also. *Arthasāstra* thus concerns itself with the economic development of the country but

⁸ *Memoir upon the age of the work entitled "Nabataean Agriculture"* (in French), p. 38, as quoted in G. Maspero's *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 770, fn. 5.

⁹ For the information in the paragraph, see G. Maspero, *op. cit.*, p. 770.

¹⁰ *Rāmāyana*, *Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa*, ch. 100, ślk. 68, mentions three divisions of learning of which one is *vārttā*.

¹¹ *Vāyu-Purāṇa*, ch. 8, ślk. 134; *Matsya-Purāṇa*, ch. 140, ślks. 1—3; *Brahmaṇḍa-Purāṇa*, ch. I, ślk. 107; ch. 8, ślk. 195; ch. 63, ślk. 4 (same as *Matsya-Purāṇa*, *loc. cit.*)

¹² *Kauṭīliya*, Bk. I, *vidyāsamuddesaḥ*, p. 7—"Dharmādharmau trayyām. Arthānarthau vārttāyām. Nayānaya dandānityām." Cf. *Agni-Purāṇa*, ch. 238, ślk. 9; *Kāmandakya*, ch. 2, ślk. 7.

¹³ *Ibid.*, Bk. XV, *tantrayuktayaḥ*, p. 424.

has to do in a large measure with polity (*daṇḍanīti*) which helps to create and maintain the condition precedent of economic development.¹⁴ The relation between *vārttā* and *Arthasāstra* appears therefore to be that the former is the general name of the branch of learning that treats of wealth alone while the latter deals with it in combination with polity, and other subjects having more or less intimate connection with *vārttā* and *daṇḍanīti*.¹⁵

Arthasāstra a sub-type of *Itihāsa-Vedā*; how far this is additional clue to the time of emergence of *Vārttā*.

Having noticed the relation of *Vārttā* to *Arthasāstra* we are led to enquire whether the sub-sumption of the latter under *Itihāsa-Veda* as done by Kauṭilya¹⁶ can furnish any clue to the time of emergence of the subject and thereby that of *Vārttā*, for *Itihāsa* is mentioned in the *Atharva-Veda*,¹⁷ *Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa*,¹⁸ *Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa*¹⁹ and various other Vedic works²⁰ as a branch of learning. The implication of the term as given by the commentators is not expressly in favour of its inclusion of the six sub-types of learning as represented in the *Kauṭīliya*. Moreover, the Vedic texts themselves mention very often *Purāṇa* and *Itihāsa* side by side as a compound expression, which seems not to support their relation to each other as genus and species; for if the words bore the meaning given in the *Kauṭīliya* the mention of *Itihāsa* would have obviated the necessity of citing *Purāṇa* separately. We are not therefore in a position to say that the denotation of the word *Itihāsa* in the aforesaid Vedic passages is the same as that of the *Kauṭīliya*. It may be supposed that the word *Itihāsa* may be found in use in post-Vedic Sanskrit²¹ or Pāli²² and Jaina²³ literature with the denotation it bears in Kauṭilya's treatise, but so far as I see, the evidences in the light of their current interpretations do not favour the supposition.

Thus the aforesaid meaning of *Itihāsa* in the *Kauṭīliya* stands alone unless it be said that the meaning should be read into the word in the passages of works chronologically

¹⁴ Cf. *Kauṭīliya*, Bk. I, p. 9. "Ānvikshakī-trayi-vārttānām Yogakshemasādhano daṇḍaḥ."

¹⁵ The contents of the *Kauṭīliya Arthasāstra* lead us to infer that the subjects of administration of justice, polity including art of war and inter-statal relations, building of forts, town-planning, &c., formed part of the *Arthasāstra* in view of their bearing on polity and economics though of course those subjects, that had a comparatively distant connection with them, received proportionate attention and space in the working up of the treatise.

¹⁶ *Itihāsa-Veda* includes (1) *Purāṇa*, (2) *Itivṛtta*, (3), *Akhyāyikā*, (4) *Udāharaṇa*, (5) *Dharmasāstra*, and (6) *Arthasāstra*.—(*Kauṭīliya*, Bk. I, *viddhusaṇṇi* *yogah*, p. 10.)

¹⁷ *Atharva-Veda*, XV, 4.

¹⁸ *Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa*, III, 12, 8, 2.

¹⁹ *Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, XI, 5, 6, 4-8; XIII, 4, 3, 3 ff.; XIV, 5, 4, 10; 6, 10, 6; 7, 3, 11.

²⁰ E.g., *Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka*, II, 9 and 10; *Śāṅkhāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra*, XVI, 2, 2 ff.; *Āśvalāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra*, X, 7, 1 ff.; *Śāṅkhāyana-Grihya-Sūtra*, I, 24, 8; *Āśvalāyana-Grihya-Sūtra*, III, 3, 1-3; *Hiranyakerin-Grihya-Sūtra*, II, 19, 6. Cf. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upanishad*, II 4, 10; IV, 1, 2; 6, 11; IV, 5, 11; *Maitrāyaṇī-Upanishad*, VI, 33; *Chhândogya-Upanishad*, III, 1-4.

²¹ E.g., *Gautama*, VIII, 6; *Vishṇu*, XXX, 38; LXXXIII, 16; *Baudhāyana*, II, 5, 9, 14; IV, 3, 4; *Manu*, III, 232; *Vāyu-Purāṇa*, ch. I, ślk. 200. *Vishṇu-Purāṇa*, Pt. I, ch. 1, ślk. 4. *Agni-Purāṇa*, ch. 271, ślk. 10. *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*, Skandha I, ch. 4, ślk. 20.

²² E.g., *Sutta-Nipāṭa*, *Mahāvogga* (*Selasutta*) [SBE., vol. X], p. 98 mentions *Itihāsa* as the fifth Veda; *Pārāyanavagga* (*vattugāthā*) [SBE., vol. X], p. 189. *Questions of Milinda* [SBE., vol. XXXV], pp. 6, 247.

²³ *Kalpa-Sūtra* [SBE., vol. XXII], p. 221 mentions *Itihāsa* as the fifth Veda.

anterior or posterior to the *Kautiliya*. In that case also the separate mention of *Purāṇa* will present difficulty in the way of accepting the signification *in toto*. The relation therefore of *Arthaiśāstra* or *Itihāsa* as set forth in Kautilya's work does not furnish us with any additional clue as to the time of emergence of *vārttā*.

The process of emergence of *Vārttā*. Its use to denote certain occupations and trade.

Side by side with the signification of *vārttā* as a division of learning (*vidyā*), we find its use as a collective name for the occupations of the third caste,²⁴ the Vaiśyas, viz., roughly speaking, agriculture, cattle-rearing and trade. The allotment of distinct means of livelihood to each caste must have preceded the raising of the *vṛtti* or means of livelihood of the Vaiśyas to the status of a division of learning for greater specialization in the same in order to make it more effective for the fulfilment of the objects it sub-served. This use of *vārttā* as signifying certain occupations and trade is found in Sanskrit works from the *Rāmāyaṇa* downwards. A few instances are cited in the foot-note.²⁵

The elements of *vārttā* in this sense are agriculture, cattle-rearing and trade according to certain texts; ²⁶ while, according to others, money-lending is added to them as the fourth item.²⁷ *Vārttā* formed the means of subsistence of the third caste, which *Manu* ²⁸ details as agriculture, cattle-rearing, trade, and money-lending which are further detailed in subsequent passages: "A Vaiśya must know the respective value of gems, of pearls, of coral, of metals, of (cloth) made of thread, of perfumes, and of condiments. He must be acquainted with the (manner of) sowing seeds and of the good and bad qualities of fields and he must perfectly know all measures and weights. Moreover, the excellence and defects of commodities, the advantages and disadvantages of (different) countries, the (probable) profit and loss on merchandise, and the means of properly rearing cattle. He must be acquainted with the (proper) wages of servants, with the various languages of men, with the manner of keeping goods and (the rules of) purchase and sales." It will be seen that these details of works are necessitated by the three or four principal duties of the Vaiśyas mentioned above. In the *Kautiliya*,²⁹ however, *vārttā* denotes only agriculture,

²⁴ *Vārttā*, according to the *Kautiliya*, is also the means of livelihood of the Śūdras (*Kautiliya*, *vidyā-samuddeśaḥ*, p. 7).

²⁵ *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Ayodhyā-Kāṇḍa*, ślk. 47. *Mahābhārata*, *Śānti-Parva*, ch. 68, ślk. 35; *Sabhā-Parva*, ch. 5, ślk. 79. *Bhāgavat-gītā*, XVIII, 44; *Kautiliya*, *vidyā-samuddeśaḥ*, p. 8. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, ch. 8, ślks. 128, 130, 134; ch. 24, ślk. 103. *Vishṇu-Purāṇa*, ch. 6, ślk. 20, 32; *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*, Skanda 7, ch. 11, ślk. 15; Skanda 10, ch. 24, ślks. 20, 21; Skanda 11, ch. 29, ślk. 33; *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa*, ch. 8, ślk. 130 (same as *Vāyu-Purāṇa*, ch. 8, ślk. 134); ch. 26, ślk. 14 (same as *Vāyu-Purāṇa*, ch. 24, ślk. 103); *Līnga-Purāṇa*, ch. 39, ślk. 43; ch. 21, ślk. 16 (same as *Vāyu-Purāṇa*, ch. 24, ślk. 103); *Bhaviṣhya-Purāṇa*, *Brahma-Parva*, ch. 44, ślk. 10; *Nārāyaṇa-Purāṇa*, *Atri-Saṃhitā*, ślks. 14, 15.

²⁶ *Kautiliya*, Bk. I, *vidyā-samuddeśaḥ*, p. 4,—*kṛishi-pāsupālyo vaṇijyā cha vārttā; dhānya-pasuhi-rānya-kupya-viṣṭi-pradānādarpa-kāriki* (i.e., agriculture, cattle-rearing and trade constitute *vārttā*; it is useful in that it brings in grains, cattle, forest-produce, labour, &c.). Cf. *Kāmandakiya*, ch. 2, ślk. 14; and *Questions of Mitrinda* (*SBE.*, vol. xxxv), p. 247 (IV, 3, 26).

²⁷ Nilakantha's commentary on *Mahābhārata*, *Śānti-Parva*, ch. 6, ślk. 79 (with commentary); *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*, Skanda 10, ch. 24, ślk. 21—

kṛishi-vāṇijyā-gorakṣā kusidam turyamuchyate.

Vārttā chaturvidhā tatra vayan govṛittayo nisaṃ.

²⁸ *Manu*, I, 90; cf. *Mahābhārata*, *Śānti-Parva*, ch. 63, ślk. 1; *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*, Skanda 7, ch. 11, ślk. 15.

²⁹ *Manu* (*SBE.*), iv, 329-332. The various duties contemplate their performance by various sections of the Vaiśyas and not by every individual Vaiśya.

cattle-rearing, and trade, money-lending being omitted. In addition to this difference, there is another between Manu's law-code and the *Kauṭīliya*, viz. that the former makes the serving of the three higher castes the only occupation of the Śūdras, while the latter adds to it *vārttā* and *kārukusilavakarma* (professions of artisans and bards).³⁰ The separate mention of *vārttā* and *kāru-karma* may suggest that the various arts and crafts did not fall within the limits of *vārttā* in its primary sense. This seems to be confirmed by the *Vishṇu-Purāṇa* which appears to make a distinction between "*vārttopāya*" and "*karmajā hastasiddhi*",³¹ the latter expression referring to arts and crafts involving manual labour and dexterity. But as a branch of learning, its scope was much widened. We shall return to this point shortly.

***Vārttā* as a branch of learning is posterior to the allotment of particular occupations to the Vaisya caste.**

The raising of *vārttā* to the status of a branch of learning so important as to be classed with its three other principal branches, viz., *Ānvikṣhiki*, *Trayi* and *Dāṇḍanīti*, is as old as the *Rāmāyaṇa*, though of course its attainment of the literary status must have been posterior to the allotment of agriculture, stock-rearing, trade, and money-lending to the third caste, the Vaisyas. Previous to the emergence of *vārttā* as a Śāstra requiring systematic study, the occupations and trade must have developed haphazardly; but subsequent to its conversion into a type of learning, agriculture, cattle-rearing, trade, and money-lending may be inferred to have received a careful attention and perhaps a conscious direction. The questions put by Rāma to Bharata in the *Rāmāyaṇa*³² and by Nārada to Yudhishṭhira in the *Mahābhārata*³³ regarding the people engaged in agriculture and other occupations and the application of *vārttā*, point to the same inference.

A few texts in which *Vārttā* is mentioned as a branch of learning.

The scope of *Vārttā*.

Some of the Sanskrit texts in which *vārttā* is impliedly or expressly mentioned as a branch of learning are given below.³⁴ The topics that came within its scope were naturally those means of subsistence that were embraced by *vārttā* in its primary sense, viz. agriculture, cattle-rearing, trade, and money-lending. Its scope was not, however, limited to these four subjects but became much wider. Such a widening of scope is not uncommon; for the secondary sense of a word is not often shackled by the

³⁰ *Kauṭīliya*, Bk. I, *vidyā-samuddesaḥ*, p. 8. Cf. *Kāmandakiya*, ch. 2, ślk. 21.

³¹ *Vishṇu-Purāṇa*, pt. I, ch. 6, ślk. 20, verse 2.—*Vārtt-opāyam tataś = chakrur = hastasiddhiḥcha karmajām*.

³² *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa*, ch. 100, ślks. 68, 47.

³³ *Mahābhārata*, *Sabhā-Parva*, ch. 5, ślks. 76-79.

³⁴ *Rāmāyaṇa* *Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa*, ch. 190, ślk. 68 (*vārttā* implied); *Mahābhārata*, *Vana-Parva*, ch. 150 ślks. 30, 31; *Sānti-Parva*, ch. 18, ślk. 33. and ch. 59, ślk. 33; *Harivaṃśa*, ch. 40, ślk. 39 (*vārttā* implied) with commentary; *Manu*, VII, 43; *Yājñavalkya*, I, 311; *Kauṭīliya*, Bk. I, *vidyā-samuddesaḥ*, pp. 6, 7; *Agni-Purāṇa*, ch. 225, ślks. 21, 22 (same as *Manu*, loc. cit.); ch. 237, ślk. 5; ch. 238, ślk. 9 (same as *Kauṭīliya*, Bk. I, p. 7, lines 1 & 2); *Vāyu-Purāṇa*, ch. 61, ślk. 167; *Matsya-Purāṇa*, ch. 215, ślk. 53 (same as *Manu*, loc. cit.); ch. 145; ślk. 36; *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*, Skanda III, ch. 12, ślk. 44; *Vishṇu-Purāṇa*, pt. I, ch. 9, ślk. 119; pt. II, ch. 4, ślk. 84; pt. V, ch. 10, ślks. 26-30; *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa*, ch. I, ślk. 107; ch. 64, ślks. 25, 32; ch. 65, ślk. 36; *Brahma-Purāṇa* ch. 20, ślk. 85; ch. 179, ślk. 40; ch. 187, ślks. 43-46; *Devī-Purāṇa*, ch. 37, ślks. 60, 61 *Śiva-Purāṇa* (*Vāyaṇīya-Saṃhitā*), pt. I, ch. I, ślk. 22.

primary. In the *Devī-Purāṇa*,³⁵ *vārtā* as a branch of learning appears to include *kurmānta*, i.e. manufactures. Though trade is omitted in the *śloka*, the inclusion of trade within *vārtā* does not admit of any doubt in view of the many evidences already cited. The subsumption of manufactures under *vārtā* or, in short, any occupation or accomplishment that had an economic value follows from the fact that *vārtā* was not merely a sub-class but the highest class of learning dealing with wealth. *Arthaśāstra*, according to the *Prasthānabhedah*³⁶ of Madhu-sūdana Sarasvatī, is an *Upa-Veda*³⁷ and includes *nītiśāstra* (political ethics, or morals), *āśva-śāstra* (veterinary science), *śilpa-śāstra* (mechanical and fine arts), *sūpakāra-śāstra* (cooking), and *chatuḥśaṣṭīkalā śāstra* (sixty-four³⁸ *kalās*, i.e., practical, mechanical or fine arts).³⁹ But as *vārtā* is the highest category of learning relating to the material interests, *arthaśāstra* in its economic aspects cannot but fall under the same. The whole field of human knowledge is, as we have already pointed out, divided among four categories of knowledge, viz., *ānvikṣhikī*, relating to philosophy and reasoning, *trayī* to the *Vedas*, i.e., to theology, *dandanīti* to polity, and *vārtā* to wealth both public and private.⁴⁰ Hence *vārtā* was the branch of learning of ancient India devoted to the systematic study of the material interests of the people with a view to their acquisition, preservation and development.

³⁵ *Devī-Purāṇa*, ch. 37; ślk. 61—

Paśvādi-pālanāddevi kṛishi-kurmānta-kāraṇāt.

Varttanād vāraṇād vāpi vārtā sā eva gīyate.

³⁶ The *Prasthānabhedah* of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī in *Indische Studien*, vol. 1, pp. 2, 13. [A Bengali translation of the piece together with the Sanskrit text appeared in the *Sarvātha-Pārācandra* (7th *Saṃkhyā*, A.D. 1855, pp. 217-224) edited by Advaitya Charan Aṅghya.] The eighteen divisions of learning are 4 *Vedas* + 6 *Āṅgas* + 4 *Upāṅgas* + 4 *Upa-Vedas*, viz. *Āyurveda*, *Gāndhārva-Veda*, *Dharm-Veda*, and *Arthaśāstra*. The texts that mention the divisions as fourteen leave out of account the four *Upa-Vedas*. For the mention of the divisions either as fourteen or eighteen, see *Śiva-Purāṇa* (*Vāgaviya-Saṃhitā*, pt. 1, ch. 1, ślks. 22, 23; *Brahma-Purāṇa*, ch. 179, ślk. 40; *Skanda-Purāṇa* (*Vishṇu-khaṇḍa*), ch. 9, ślk. 54; ch. 11, ślks. 15-20; ch. 32, ślk. 21; ch. 38; ślk. 68; ch. 46, ślk. 11; *Kāśī-khaṇḍa*, ch. 2, ślk. 100; ch. 9, 49.

The highest categories of learning are generally mentioned as four, of which *vārtā* is one. In this case, the whole Vedic lore falls under *Trayī*. *Āpastamba's* law-code [11, 11, 29, 11 and 12 (*S.B.E.*)] says, "The knowledge which *Śūdras* and women possess is the completion of all study. They declare that this knowledge is a supplement of the *Atharva-Veda*." The footnote following the commentator (see also Bühler's *Introduction*, XXXII) adds that "men ought not to study solely or at first such *Śāstras* as women or *Śūdras* also learn, but at first they must study the *Veda*. The knowledge which women and *Śūdras* possess is dancing, music, and other branches of the *Arthaśāstra*." The last sentence makes a confusion between *Gāndhārva-Veda*, which like *Arthaśāstra* is also an *Upa-Veda*, but treats of dancing, music, &c., while *Arthaśāstra* treats of quite different matters. The expression "other branches" wrongly conveys the implication that dancing and music are also branches of *Arthaśāstra*.

It will be noticed that the position of *Arthaśāstra* as an *Upa-Veda* has been put here as proceeding from its relation to the *Atharva-Veda*, but according to the *Kautilīya*, its position as such comes from its relation to the fifth, i.e., the *Itihāsa-Veda*.

³⁷ Cf. *Vishṇu-Purāṇa*, pt. III, ch. 6, ślks. 28, 29.

³⁸ Jayamaṅgala, the annotator of the *Kāmasūtram* of Vātsyāyana, computes *kalās* with their sub-division to be as many as 518, and refers to a set of them called *Pāñchālīkī* (see Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtram*, pp. 32, 40).

³⁹ Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, *op. cit.*, pp. 10, 13, 22.

⁴⁰ Prof. H. H. Wilson writes the following note on "*vārtā*" in his translation of the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* [Bk. I, ch. 9, ślk. 119 (= vol. I, p. 148, Hall's ed. 1864)]: "*vārtā* explained to mean the *Śilpa-Śāstra* (mechanics, sculpture, and architecture); *Āyur-Veda* (medicine); &c.

The learners and teachers of *Vârttâ* or its branches.

The application of the principles of *Vârttâ* within the state by competent men was the look-out of the sovereign.⁴¹ In view of this exigency, the sovereign had to learn *vârttâ* with perhaps special attention to its more useful sub-divisions, viz. agriculture, cattle-rearing and trade from teachers having special knowledge thereof.⁴² Kauṭilya includes *vârttâ* in the course of study prescribed for the prince, the subject being taught by superintendents of government-departments (*adhyakshâh*) having not merely a theoretical but also a thorough practical knowledge of the same and who were in charge of various agricultural, industrial and commercial operations of the state.⁴³ The prince also learnt *arthaśâstra* from competent professors.⁴⁴

It seems that the two higher castes, eligible as they were to the study of all the branches of learning, could learn *Vârttâ* like the Vaiśyas either in order to have a merely general knowledge of the subject or, according to particular needs, to have a special knowledge of some or all of its branches. The Brāhmaṇas learnt the subject sometimes perhaps for the sake of making their education all-round, and sometimes for the purpose of teaching it to their pupils; for the Brāhmaṇas were teachers not merely of theology and philosophy but also of economics, polity including even the art of warfare and use of weapons, as also the practical or fine arts, and accomplishments. Only a few instances will suffice. Râma and his cousin were taught the use of some weapons by Viśvâmitra, the Pândavas the military art along with the use of weapons by Droṇâchâryya. The various branches of learning together with the sixty-four *kalâs* were learnt by Kṛishṇa from his preceptor Sâmdipani. Thus the members of the first caste were often masters and teachers of the practical arts, though of course it should be admitted that the knowledge and practice of *vârttâ* were the special obligation of the Vaiśyas, just as the knowledge and practice of *daṇḍanîti* (polity) the special charge of the Kshattriyas. The members of the fourth caste were, as it appears from several Sanskrit texts, debarred from literary or scientific culture, but, according to Kauṭilya, they were eligible to the means of subsistence included in *vârttâ* and had therefore at least the practical knowledge required for the purpose and transmitted from one generation to another through apprenticeship of some form or other.

Manner of treatment and extant literature.

The manner of treatment of *vârttâ* or its sub-topics in the treatises on the subjects, so far as we can judge it from the evidences at our disposal, was rather concrete, though, of course, general maxims and wise saws, the generalizations that were the results of long experience were not wanting in them. The economic treatises of the ancients whether of Greece or India could not be like their namesakes of the present day. The aim of the works on *vârttâ* was more or less practical, their primary object being the guidance of the traders, agriculturists, cattle-rearers, artisans, artists, and directors of industries, and the concrete mode of treatment of the subjects in those books was determined by this practical purpose. I have appended at the end of this discourse names of extant treatises on the various arts

⁴¹ *Râmâyana*, *Ayodhyâ-kāṇḍa*, 100, ślôk. 68; *Mahâbhârata*, *Sabhâ-Parva*, ch. 5, ślôks. 76-79.

⁴² *Manu*, VII, 43—

Traividyebhasirayim vidyâddandantim atha śâśvatim,
Ânvikshikim châtnavidyâm vârttârambhân ōcha lokatah.

—of. *Yâgñavalkya*, I, 311; *Agni-Purâṇa*, ch. 238, ślôk. 8.

⁴³ *Kauṭilya*, Bk. I, *Vṛiddhasam-yogaḥ*, p. 10.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

and crafts and such other subjects as are classed under *vārttā* in two *Lists*, the first of which contains the names of *manuscripts*, and the second names of *printed works*. So far I have not come across any work entitled *Vārttā-Nāstra* dealing with the entire subject in a general way. The absence of such a book in the *Lists* cannot be a bar to the recognition of the other works mentioned therein as appertaining to *vārttā* in view of what we find in regard to the three other divisions of learning *Āvīkshikī*, *Trayī* and *Dandānīti*; for I do not think there are any works entitled *Āvīkshikī* or *Trayī* though there are admittedly hundreds of works on philosophy and theology. Similarly in framing the list of more than 150 works on *Dandānīti* or its sub-topics, which I have collected and published elsewhere, I have not come across any book with the title *Dandānīti*. It is not essential that books must always be named after the divisions of learning to which they belong, and it is not a fact that books named otherwise cannot appertain to those divisions of learning. Most of the works named in the lists are on one or other of the sub-topics of *vārttā* or on a group thereof, treating of architecture, sculpture, painting, examination of precious stones, agriculture, nourishment of plants, treatment and cultivation of trees, laying out of gardens, cow-keeping, handicrafts, construction of carriages and ships, &c. We do not expect to find in these works an attempt to elicit economic laws by an inductive and deductive study of man and his diverse activities in relation to the utilisation of nature. The analogy of the handling of polity in the available treatises on the subject points also to the same inference. We find in them details as to the duties of various government-servants from the Viceroys to the lowest menial, how the State-departments should be administered, how war is to be waged and inter-statal relations maintained, and so forth, and not any abstract discussions of the origin and development of State, nature and seat of sovereignty and such-like.

(To be continued.)

A NOTE ON THE YAJVAPĀLAS OR JAJAPELLAS OF NARWAR.

BY M. B. GARDE, B.A.; GWALIOR.

IN his *Coins of Medieval India* (p. 90) Sir A. Cunningham gives the following genealogical table of a family of kings whom he calls 'Rajputs of Narwar'.

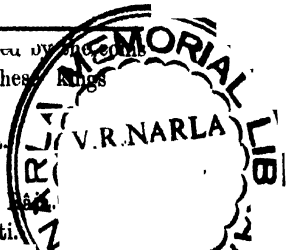
Accession.				Dates from inscriptions and coins.
SAMVAT.	A.D.			
		Malaya Varmma Deva	S. 1280, 1282, 1283, 1290.	
1294	1237	Chāhaḍa Deva	S. 129-, 1303, 1305, 1306, 1311.	
1312	1255	Nrivarman .. ..	....
1312	1255	Āsalla Deva	S. 1327, 1330.	
1335	1278	Gopāla	S. 1337.	
1347	1290	Gaṇapati	S. 1348, 1355.	

This list was compiled from the inscriptions and coins furnished by the kings and other sources known to Cunningham. Four inscriptions² relating to these kings mentioned by him, namely:—

- No. 1. At Rai, dated S. 1327 = A.D. 1270, in the time of Āsalla Deva.
- No. 2. At Dahi, dated 1337 = A.D. 1280, mentioning Gopāla Rāja.
- No. 3. At Surwaya, dated 1348 = A.D. 1291, in the time of Gaṇapati Rāja.
- No. 4. At Narwar, dated S. 1355 = A.D. 1298, in the time of Gaṇapati.

¹ Cunningham gives another defective list of these kings in his *A. S. Reports*, Vol. II

² *Coins of Medieval India*, p. 90.



As none of these inscriptions mentioned the family name of the kings or supplied any clue to the identification thereof, Cunningham contented himself by calling the dynasty 'Rajputs of Narwar.' And this vague appellation or its equivalent "princes of Narwar" has been given to this dynasty in books on chronology, numismatics and history published since.

Recently however, five more inscriptions of this dynasty have been discovered by me, two of which are valuable as supplying the hitherto unknown name of the dynasty and further as clearing away certain misconceptions about Châhaḍa of Narwar, the founder of the dynasty.

A stone³ inscription on a Jaina Temple at Bhimpur about 3 miles from Narwar dated in V. S. 1319 in the reign of Āsala Deva contains the following verses :—

यजवपाल इति सार्यकनामा संबभूव वसुधाधववंशः ।
 सर्वतः कलितकीर्तिविकूलच्छत्रमेकमसृजद् भुवने यः ॥
 कुले किलास्मिन्नजनिट् वीरचूडामणिः श्रीय (प ?) रमादिराजः ।
 [धूरच्छिद्र ?] भस्तिस्तारकश्रीः स्कंदोपि नास्कंदति येन साम्बम् ॥
 तत्र नाकद्रुवतिस्तनस्थलीपत्रवह्निधनडंबरस्पृशि ।
 चाहः प्रतिनैर्द्रकाननद्वेषसावशिखिर्गतिरुद्यौ ॥ etc., etc.

The facts of historical importance gleaned from this passage are that there was a race of kings named Yajvapāla ; that in that race was born Śrī Ya(pa)rdmâdirāja ; and that he was succeeded by Châhaḍa.

In another stone³ inscription found in the *kacheri* at Narwar, dated in V. S. 1339 in the reign of Gopāla, occurs the following text :—

गम्बो न विद्वेषिमनोरथानां रथस्वयं भानुमती निरुधन् ।
 वासः सतामस्ति विभूतिपात्रं रम्बोदयो रत्नगिरिगिरिर्द्वारः ॥
 तत्र सौख्यमयः कश्चिन्निर्मितो महरुडया ।
 जयपालो भवन्नाम्ना विद्विषां दुरतिक्रमः ॥
 वसाख्यया प्राकृतलोकहृदैरुच्चार्यमाणः शुचिकर्जितश्रीः ।
 बलवशानाजितकांतकीर्तिर्वंशः परोभुजजपेक्षसंज्ञः ॥
 तत्राभवत्पतिरुग्रतरप्रतापः श्रीचाहडस्त्रिभुवनप्रथमानकीर्तिः ।
 होदैर्द्वेषमिभरेण पुरः परेभ्यो येनाहता नलगिरिप्रमुखा गरिष्ठाः ॥ etc., etc.

This passage tells us that Châhaḍa of Narwar was born in a noble family which was called after a legendary hero named Jayapāla ; that the current popular form of the family-name was Jajapella ; and that Châhaḍa captured from enemies Nalagiri, i.e., Narwar, and other big towns.

On combining the information supplied by these two records we learn that the family name of the kings of Narwar hitherto known by the rather vague title 'Rajputs of Narwar' was Jajapella. The alternative form 'Yajvapāla' specified in the Bhimpur inscription appears to be a learned Sanskritised form of the popular Jajapella. We further learn that Châhaḍa's immediate ancestor was Śrī Yaramâdirāja or Paramâdirāja and not Malaya Varmma⁴ as supposed by Cunningham (*Coins of M. India*, p. 90). Yaramâdirāja however does not appear to have ruled over Narwar for we learn from the Narwar *kacheri* inscription that it was Châhaḍa who conquered Narwar from enemies.

³ These stones have now been deposited in the State Museum at Gwalior.

⁴ A copper-plate inscription of this Malaya Varmma dated V. S. 1277 has been lately discovered at Kurethā in Gwalior State, from which it is clear that Malaya Varmma did not belong to the Jajapella mily of Narwar but was a Pratihāra.

The new historical information noticed above is important as it clears away the obscurity that hitherto hung over the history of the Châhâḍa Deva of Narwar.

A Muhammadan historian named Maulânâ Minhâju-d-dîn informs us that in A. H. 631 or 632 (= A. D. 1234 or 1235) the forces of Shamsu-d-dîn Altamsh defeated at Ranthambhor a powerful ruler of the name of Rânâ Châhâḍa Achârî who sustained another defeat in A. H. 649 (= A. D. 1251) near Narwar at the hands of Ulugh Khân.⁵ According to Cunningham, Raverty held that two different Hindu chiefs were intended here. But Mr. E. Thomas thinks them to be one and the same.⁶ Cunningham says 'Major Raverty's opinion is not without support, but I am inclined to agree with Thomas. I found my conclusion on the title of Achârî which is given to Ranthambhor Châhâḍa in this account and to the Narwar Châhâḍa Deva in all the accounts.'⁷ Recently Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni in his article on the Rataul plate⁸ of the Châhamâna Châhâḍa Deva (of Ranthambhor) supports the identification of the Châhâḍa of Ranthambhor with his namesake of Narwar. His conclusion is based on three arguments:—

(1) The type of characters used in the Rataul plate inscription of the Châhamâna Châhâḍa fits in very well with the time of the Châhâḍa of Narwar.

(2) His second authority is the historian Minhâju-d-dîn referred to above.

(3) His third argument is afforded by numismatic records. The coins of Châhâḍa discovered at Narwar and other places are of two kinds, namely, those issued by him as an independent ruler and secondly those struck by him as a tributary to Altamsh. The coins of both these kinds are of the bull and horseman type like those of the Châhamâna rulers, and what is more, those of the first kind also bear on the reverse the legend of Asâvari Śrī Sâmantâ Deva which occurs only on the coins of the Châhamâna Sômesvara and his son Prithvirâja.

Now this identification of the Châhamâna Châhâḍa of Ranthambhor with his namesake of Narwar, which was generally favoured by writers on the subject in the light of facts hitherto known, is clearly refuted by our newly found inscriptions of Bhimpur and Narwar *kacheri*, which as already noticed inform us that the Châhâḍa of Narwar was a Yajvapâla or Jajapella and not a Châhamâna.

The arguments adduced by previous writers in favour of the identification of the two Châhâḍas are also not unimpeachable. Let us examine them:—

(1) The palæographical argument afforded by the Rataul plate can show nothing more than that the Châhamâna Châhâḍa was a contemporary of the Châhâḍa of Narwar and not that they were identical.

(2) As for the statement of the historian Minhâju-d-dîn it is seen from Cunningham's remarks quoted above, that opinion is divided as to whether the two accounts of the historian really refer to one and the same Hindu chief. It is just possible that the two Châhâḍas were contemporary of each other and the historian identified them through oversight.

(3) The numismatic evidence also is not convincing. Coins of the Narwar Jajapellas Châhâḍa, Âsala or Âsalla, and Gaṇapati have been found hitherto. The coins of the two latter princes are represented by only one type⁹ showing on the obverse a rude figure of a horseman and on the reverse, a legend specifying the name of the prince preceded by the word

⁵ Cunningham, *Coins of Medieval India*, pp. 90-91, where the authority quoted is *Raverty's Translation of Tabqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 731 and 824. See also Duff's *Chronology of India*, pp. 184 and 194.

⁶ *Pathan Kings of Delhi*, p. 67.

⁷ Cunningham, *C. M. I.*, p. 91.

⁸ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pp. 223-24.

⁹ Cunningham, *C. M. I.*, p. 73, Nos. 8-10.

rimat, and a date below. Of the coins of Châhaḍa three different types have been traced :—

No. 1. This type¹⁰ is exactly similar to that of the coins of Âsala and Gaṇapati mentioned above.

No. 2. This type¹¹ bears on the obverse a figure of a horseman and the legend *Sri Châhaḍa Devâ*, and on the reverse, a bull and the legend *Asâvari Sri Sâmantâ Deva*.

No. 3. This type¹² is similar to type No. 2 with one difference, namely, that the legend on the reverse is replaced by *Asâvari Sri Somasoraladeva*.

The definite find places of these three different types of Châhaḍa's coins have not been recorded. It is likely that coins found elsewhere have been confounded with those found at Narwar. To me it appears that the coins of type No. 1 alone belong to the Châhaḍa of Narwar as they resemble the known coins of his descendants Âsala and Gaṇapati. While types Nos. 2 and 3 are to be referred to the Châhamâna Châhaḍa of Ranthambhor as they are copied from the Châhamâna type. This view is supported also by Cunningham's remark¹³ that the title *Achâri* (or *Asâvari*) does not appear on the Narwar coins. The title *Asâvari* is absent only in type No. 1 of Châhaḍa's coins which alone, to judge from Cunningham's remark, must have been found at Narwar.

If this view is correct the title *Achâri* (*Asâvari*) rightly belongs only to the Châhamâna Châhaḍa of Ranthambhor. And the assignment of that title to the Châhaḍa of Narwar by Muhammadan historians is probably due to confusion arising from the fact that the two Châhaḍas were nearly contemporary.

Having thus explained away the arguments adduced by previous writers in favour of the identification of the two Châhaḍas we may safely conclude on the authority of the Bhimpur and Narwar *kacheri* inscriptions that the Châhaḍa of Narwar and the Châhaḍa of the Rataul plate or of Ranthambhor were two different persons. The former was a Yajvapâla or Jajapella and the latter was a Châhamâna.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

SPREAD OF HOBSON-JOBSON IN MESOPOTAMIA.

WITH reference to the words quoted by Sir Richard Temple (*ante*, p. 196) from Mr. Edmund Candler's article in the (London) *Observer* of 12th May 1918, I may give here some further examples of Hobson-Jobson from an article in the *Daily Telegraph* of 14th March 1916 by the same writer.

1. *Kellek*. Ar. *kelek*, a large skin raft.
2. *Mahaila*. Ar. *mahayatah*, a large river sailing boat. "These local river craft make a picturesque fleet, with their high-forward-sloping masts, huge rudders, lateen sails, and cut-away prows, pointed and barbed. They are painted like the Chinese junk, but with Arab designs and characters, the star and crescent and figures like the signs of the Zodiac, generally white on a point of green, or red, or yellow. Each boat carries a large clay oven like an antheap, and the poop is boarded over for the

crew. They have been compared to the Nile *dahabiyah*, but I am told that they are more after the pattern of the 'nugger' of the Soudan . . . The *mahaila* carries anything from fifteen to seventy tons. She can make ten miles a day, towed against the current, and four to six miles [*sic*] knots an hour with a following wind."

3. *Bellum*. Ar. *belam* (see *ante*, p. 196). "The Arab name for the long, narrow, canoe-shaped boats of the country, the gondola of Basra . . . It is punted or paddled, according to the depth of the water."

4. *Gufar*. Ar. *guffah*, a river tub. "Another boat indigenous to the Tigris is the cauldron-like *gufar* of Baghdad . . . It is made of reed backed with wooden uprights plastered over with pitch from the bitumen wells of Hitt."

A. G. ELLIS.

¹⁰ Cunningham, *C. M. I.*, p. 73, Nos. 5 and 6. See also Thomas, *Pathan Kings of Delhi*, p. 75 No. 45. This type is ignored by Rai Bahadur Daya Ram (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 224).

¹¹ Cunningham, *C. M. I.*, p. 92, No. nil. Thomas, *Pathan Kings of Delhi*, p. 70, No. and V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Ind. Mus.*, pp. 262-63.

¹² Thomas, *Pathan Kings of Delhi*, p. 70, No. 40; Cunningham, *C. M. I.*, p. 92, No. 4.

¹³ Cunningham, *C. M. I.*, pp. 91-92.

THE STRATAGEM USED BY ALEXANDER AGAINST PORUS ALLUDED TO IN THE *ĀIN-I-AKBARĪ*.

By VINCENT A. SMITH.

MR. H. BEVERIDGE has drawn my attention to two passages in the *Āin-i-Akbarī* as translated by Jarrett (vol. iii, pp. 330, 392), which allude to a stratagem practised by Alexander against Porus. Neither passage specifies the nature of the operation. The earlier one states that Alexander 'by stratagem put him (Porus) to rout.' The second, an allusion in Akbar's 'Happy Sayings', intimates that Akbar did not believe the story, his words being reported as: 'The legend of Alexander's stratagem against Porus does not carry the appearance of truth.' Evidently the tale must have been of a marvellous, incredible character. Jarrett, commenting on the later passage, suggests that the allusion must be to the ruse by which Alexander succeeded in crossing the Hydaspes. That suggestion cannot be correct, because the Persian and Muslim traditions treat the Macedonian invariably as a legendary personage. They never betray the slightest knowledge of the authentic accounts of the Indian campaign, except in so far as that the name 'Fūr' may be taken as the equivalent of Porus. I have looked through Captain H. Wilberforce Clarke's translation of Nizāmi's *Sikandar-nāma* (London, Allan, 1881), which gives the Sikandar legend at immense length in cantos xlvi-xlvi. Alexander is there represented as having invaded China through 'Tibat', and as having advanced even into Russia. Those absurd stories are supported by a mass of fictitious correspondence, but the poem does not mention the 'stratagem' which forms the subject of this note.

Mr. Beveridge holds that the allusions in the *Āin* refer to the tale related by 'Abdullah bin al Moqaffa in his preface to the Arabic version of *Kalila and Dimna*, and mentions that Silvestre de Sacy pointed out at p. 49 of his edition of that work (Paris, 1816) that it had been used by Abu-l Faḡl. Silvestre de Sacy's book apparently is wanting in the Oxford libraries, but is in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society. Mr. Beveridge has been good enough to communicate the French text from page 15. It is unnecessary to print that extract, because I have found in the Monier Williams collection at the Indian Institute at Oxford a rare English work which serves the purpose more conveniently and seems to be little known. The title is:—

'*Kalila and Dimna, or the Fables of Bidpai*, translated from the Arabic by the Rev. Wyndham Knatchbull, A.M., Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, and Rector of Westbeere in the Country of Kent. Oxford, printed by W. Baxter, for J. Parker; and Messrs. Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, London. 1819.' Knatchbull was a pupil of de Sacy.

Page 1 gives

'The Preface of Ali, the son of Alschah Faresi [i.e., Alshâh Fârisî, the Persian; also known as Bahnûd بنود son of Sahwân].

'Alexander, having overcome the kings of the West, turned his arms toward the East.....Afterwards directing his course towards China, he in his march summoned Four, at that time King of India, and renowned for his wisdom and great power, to declare himself his vassal; but Four on the contrary made immediate preparations for resistance.....Alexander....determined to call to his aid the experience which he had acquired, and to employ stratagem to secure his success. For this purpose

he began by ordering an intrenchment to be formed round his camp.....in the mean-
 'time he ordered the artificers in his train, many of whom he had taken from the different
 'cities on his march, to make hollow figures of brass [*nahās* نحاس]¹ representing horses
 'and men, caparisoned and equipped in a manner to give them the appearance of regular
 'cavalry and to be filled with naphtha and sulphur, and placed in front of his line, intending
 'that the combustible materials should at the very commencement of the battle be set on fire...
 'Four had placed his elephants in the front rank, which, advancing to meet the figures of brass
 'which were simultaneously pushed on, no sooner touched them with their trunks, than,
 'being rendered furious by the heat, they threw down those who were on their backs, and
 'then suddenly turning round, took to flight, and trod under their feet and crushed all they
 'met.'

Four and Alexander then engaged in mortal combat. 'Alexander, taking advantage
 'of the moment when he was off his guard, struck him a blow, which made him fall from his
 'horse, and with a second laid him dead at his feet. The Indian army renewed the combat
 '.....but finding at length all resistance to be ineffective, they accepted the terms which
 'the conqueror offered them.'

Another version of the story is given by Firdausi in the *Shāhnāma*. Mohl's abstract
 in French is reprinted by Dowson in Appendix A to vol. vi (p. 476, note 2) of *The History of
 India as told by its own Historians*. According to the poet the horses and riders, exceeding
 a thousand in number, were constructed of iron, the joints being soldered and rivetted with
 copper. Note 1 on the same page states that a similar tale was related concerning the
 mythical Prester John of Abyssinia, who adopted the expedient against the son of Chingiz
 Khān. It is not worthwhile to pursue the variations of the legend through other books.

It is impossible to doubt that Mr. Beveridge is right in maintaining that the story,
 as related in the Arabic and Persian works named, is that referred to by Akbar and Abu-l-
 Fazl. Akbar showed his good sense in rejecting the fantastic legend.

NOTES ON KĀLIDĀSA.

By PROF. H. B. BHIDE, M.A., LL.B.; BHAVNAGAR.

(1) Early References.

References to Kālidāsa may be direct or indirect. By direct reference I mean the
 mention of the name of Kālidāsa or his work. By indirect reference I mean the mention
 or indication of, or the reference to, a story or the incidents in a story, or any other
 peculiar feature found in the works of Kālidāsa.

Bāṇa is the earliest writer who directly refers to Kālidāsa. The following couplet from
 the *Harshacharita* is well-known:

निर्गतास्तु न वा कस्य कालिदासस्य सूक्तिषु ।
 प्रीतिर्नधुरसान्द्रास्तु नक्षत्रीष्विव जायते ॥

But it is not so well-known that the *Harshacharita* contains another, though indirect,
 reference to Kālidāsa. On the death of Prabhākara-vardhana, his elder son Rājyavardhana
 consoles Harsha in the following words amidst others:—लोकचक्रातरि मान्धातरि हृते किं कृतं
 पुरुकुत्सेन, भूलतादिटाटादृशद्वि विलीये वा रघुना, महासुरसमन्मन्त्रावितविद्वारये द्यारये वा रामेन, गोप्य-
 कीकृतचक्रुरुद्वन्ते दुष्यन्ते वा भरतेन । (p. 179).² In this passage all the references except the first

¹ De Sacy translates by 'bronze,' but 'brass' seems to be correct.

² The edition used is the Nirṇayasāgara edition.

are the personages that figure in Kālidāsa's works. Of these the most significant is the reference to Dilīpa and Raghu. Raghu is said to be the son of Dilīpa and this relationship between the two rests solely on the authority of the *Raghu-vaṃśa*; it is not affirmed by the *Rāmāyaṇa* or by the *Purāṇas*. We may therefore reasonably conclude that Bāṇa relies upon the *Raghu-vaṃśa* when he makes Raghu the son of Dilīpa. Thus this constitutes another and indirect reference to Kālidāsa by Bāṇa.

There are some other passages in the *Harshacharita* which may show that Bāṇa is influenced, perhaps unconsciously, by Kālidāsa's works. These passages are given below :—

- (1) अपि च . . . महावृक्षां जन्ममह्वोपायः पितरौ । प्रजाभिस्तु बन्धुमन्तो राजानः । p. 158

Compare with this the following :—

स पिता पितरस्तासां केवलं जन्महेतवः ।

Raghu. I. 24.

येन येन विदुष्यन्ते प्रजाः स्निग्धेन बन्धुना ।

स स पापादृते तासां दुष्यन्तः . . . ॥

Śākuntala VI.

- (2) न च शक्नोमि हृदयस्य भर्तुर्दार्यपुत्रविरहिता रतिरिव निरर्थकान्प्रलापान्कर्तुम् । p. 167.

May it be that Bāṇa had in his mind Canto IV of the *Kumārasambhava* when he put these words in the mouth of Yaśomatī ?

- (3) अनाद्यं च तं मुक्त्वा . . . केषां मनसुसरःसु राजहंसा इव परशुरामपराक्रमस्तुतिकृतो न कुर्व्यदार्यगुणाः पक्षपातम् । p. 188.

This reminds us of the following lines from the *Meghadūta* :—

प्रालेखाद्वैरुपतप्तमतिक्रम्य तौस्तान्विशेषान्

इसद्वार भृगुपतियज्ञोवर्त्म यत्क्रौञ्चरन्ध्रम् ।

तेनोदीर्घां दिशमनुसरेः

- (4) इव न कश्चित्कृताभयया मलिनया म्लानतराः कोकिलया काका इव कापुरुषा हतलक्ष्म्या विप्रलम्बमानमात्मानं न श्वेतयन्ते । p. 190.

The idea here may be traced to the following lines from the *Śākuntala* :—

प्रागन्तरिक्षगमनास्त्वमपत्यजात-

मन्वैर्हिजः परभृताः खलु पीषयन्ति ।

- (5) न च स्वमदृष्टनटेष्विव क्षणिकेषु शरीरेषु निबध्नन्ति बन्धुबुद्धिं प्रबुद्धाः । p. 192.

Compare with this :—

किमप्यहंस्वस्तव चैन्मतोऽहं यदाःशरीरे भव मे ह्यखलुः ।

एकान्तविध्वंसिषु महिषानां पिण्डेष्वनास्था खलु भौतिकेषु ॥

Raghu. II. 52.

I now come to a predecessor of Bāṇa.

Generally Bāṇa is supposed to be the earliest author who refers to Kālidāsa. But there is a still earlier writer whose work contains references to Kālidāsa. As will be seen later on, these references are indirect in the sense I have explained above. The writer I mean is Subandhu, the author of the romance *Vāsavadattā*. He is believed to be a predecessor of Bāṇa. Dr. Satishachandra Vidyabhushan supposes him to be a contemporary of Bāṇa. Without entering into a controversy on the point here, I may state that the grounds he advances do not appear to me to be conclusive and that I therefore associate myself with the scholars who hold that Subandhu preceded Bāṇa.

Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā* is a wellknown work. It seems to have served as a model to Bāṇa who much improved upon his model in his great work *Kādambarī*. Subandhu's work contains unmistakable references to certain episodes and incidents in the *Raghuvamśa* and the *Śākuntala*. These references occur in three passages. In two of them, the story of Dilīpa as given in the *Raghuvamśa* is referred to, while in the third are referred to the incident of the curse of Durvāsas which plays such an important part in the *Śākuntala* and the *Svayamvara* of Aja and Indumatī described in the *Raghuvamśa*. Let me quote the passages :

- (1) दिलीप इव सुदक्षिणानुरक्तो रक्षितगुम्भ . . . (राक्षसिन्तामणेः) तमयः कन्वर्पकेर्तुर्नाम
pp. 16-17. ²
- (2) किं नोपासिता बह्वयः किमधिसिना भूरशः किं न प्रदक्षिणीकृताः सुरभयः किं न कृतं शरणेष्वभयमिति
बहुविधं विलपन् &c. p. 134.
- (3) अहो प्रजापते रूपनिर्माणकौशलम् । . . . इयैव इमबन्ती नलस्य कृते वनवासवैशसमवाप
मुधैवेन्दुमती महिष्याप्यजानुराणिणी बभूव । अफलमेव दुष्यन्तस्य कृते शकुन्तला
दुर्वाससः शापमनुबभूव । p. 80.

In (1) the name of Dilīpa's wife occurs, and it is given only by Kālidāsa. What is more important is the word रक्षितगुम्भ; therein we see the reference to the episode so beautifully described in Canto II of the *Raghuvamśa*. The reference in (2) will be understood from the following verses which occur in Canto I of the same epic. The context is that *Vaiśiṣṭha* is explaining to Dilīpa the reason why Dilīpa was without a son :—

पुरा शकुमुपस्थाव तयोर्वी प्रति वास्यतः ।
आसीत्कल्पतरुच्छायाभाभिता सुरभिः पथि ॥ ७५ ॥
धर्मलोपभयाप्राज्ञीमृनुस्नातामिमां स्मरन् ।
प्रदक्षिणकिबार्हीतां तरुणां त्वं साधु नाचरः ॥ ७६ ॥
अवजानासि मां यस्मादतस्ते न भविष्यति ।
मत्प्रसूतिमनाराध्य प्रजैति त्वां शशाप सा ॥ ७७ ॥

It is clear that this part of the story is referred to in (2). In (3), the allusions are to two incidents, one in the *Raghuvamśa* and the other in the *Śākuntala*. The first is to Indumatī's choice of Aja which is the subject-matter of Canto VI. The second is to the incident of the curse of Durvāsas on which hinges the plot of the *Śākuntala*.

In some places, Subandhu uses words and phrases which may point to his acquaintance with some of Kālidāsa's works. A few such cases may be illustrated.

- (4) When describing the morning time he says आसन्नमरणास्तिव जीवितेषापुराणिमुखीषु...
... कामिनीषु (p. 28). The idea here, and especially the word जीवितेषापुराणिमुखीषु at once puts us in mind of the following verse :—

राममन्मथशरेण राक्षिता दुःसहेन हृदयेन निशाचरी ।
गन्धर्वदुषिरन्धनोक्षिता जीवितेषावसति जगाम सा ॥

Raghu. XI. 20.

- (5) Again, see

नृस्यत्कबन्धे सुरसुन्दरीसमागमोत्सुकचारुभटाहङ्गारभीषणे समरसागरे (कन्वर्पकेतोः)
सङ्गो रराज । p. 24.

² The references to pages are from the edition of *Vāsavadattā* by Jivananda Vidyasagar.

It brings to our mind these verses from Canto VII of the *Raghuvamśa* :—

कश्चिद्विषस्त्वङ्गहतोत्तमाङ्गः सद्यो विमानप्रभुतामुपेत्य ।
 वामाङ्गः संसक्तवराङ्गः नः स्वं नृस्यत्कबन्ध समरे ददर्श ॥ ५१ ॥
 परस्परं कृतयोः प्रहर्षोरुत्क्रान्तवाग्धोः समकालमेव ।
 अमर्त्यभावेऽपि कबोधिदासीदेकाप्सरः प्रार्थितयोर्विवाहः ॥ ५३ ॥

(6) Lastly, in सरागेणापि निर्वाणं कुर्वता नयनयुगलेन भूषितां (कब्यकामपदस्यस्वमे) (p. 32), the peculiar meaning of the word निर्वाण is worth notice. In this clause the word has two meanings: one is मोक्ष (liberation) and the other निर्वृत्ति (highest felicity). If we take the former, there is an apparent विरोध which is removed if we take the word in the latter sense. In the former sense the word निर्वाण is used in the *Sākuntala*. Dushyanta, on seeing *Sākuntala* exclaims: 'अवे लब्धं नेचनिर्वाणम् ।' Kālidāsa is perhaps the only writer of the early times who has used 'निर्वाण' in this sense; Subandhu who was ever on the look-out for an opportunity to use श्लेष might have picked up the word whose other meaning enabled him to employ the विरोधाभास.

As regards the question of Subandhu's indebtedness to Kālidāsa whose priority in point of time to Subandhu is consequential thereupon, the last three quotations may not be looked upon as a conclusive proof of it, but the first three are clearly so; because the references they contain are to incidents which are narrated nowhere except in the works of Kālidāsa. Therefore, in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, we may conclude that the original source of these allusions is the works of Kālidāsa. In this light their importance cannot be too much emphasised. They form a very important landmark, earlier than any hitherto known, in arriving at the date of the premier poet of India—a vexed question with which I shall deal some other time.

(2) Kālidāsa and Bhāravi.

Bhāravi is one of the earliest Sanskrit authors. From his *Kirātārjunīya* I adduce a few passages which find a close parallel in the works of Kālidāsa.

BHĀRAVI.

कृतारिषड्गर्जनेन मानवी-
 मगम्यरूपां पद्मीं प्रविस्तुना ।
 विभज्य नक्तन्दिशमस्ततान्द्रिणा
 वितन्त्यते तेन नयेन पौरुषम् ॥

I. 9.

असक्तनाराधयती यथायथं
 विभज्य भक्त्या समपक्षपातया ।
 गुणानुरागादिव सख्यमीषिवान्
 न बाधतेऽस्य भिगणः परस्परम् ॥

I. 11.

KĀLIDĀSA.

नृपस्य वर्णाश्रमपालनं यत्
 स एव धर्मो मनुना प्रणीतः ।

Raghu. XIV. 67.

भतःसोऽभ्यन्तराभित्यान्
 षड्गर्जनयद्विपून् ।

R. XVII. 45.

रात्रिन्दिवादिभागेषु
 यदादिष्टं महीक्षितान् ।
 तस्तिषेवं नियोगेन
 स विकल्पपराङ्मुखः

R. XVII. 49.

न धर्ममर्थकामाभ्यां
 बबाधे न च तेन तौ ।
 नार्ये कामेन वा कामं
 सोऽर्थेन सवृषाक्षिण् ॥

R. XVII. 57.

गुणा गुणानुबन्धिस्वात्
 तस्य सप्रसवा इव ।

R. I. 22.

वसुनि वाञ्छन् वशी न मन्त्रुना
स्वधर्म इत्येव निवृत्तकारणः ।
शुकपाद्वेन रिपी ह्येऽपि वा
निहन्ति वण्डेन स धर्मविग्रहम् ॥

I. 13.

स्वयं प्रदुग्धेऽस्य गुणैरुपहृता
वसुपमानस्य वसुनि मेहिनी ।

I. 18.

महीभृतां सचरितैश्चरेः क्रियाः
स वेद निःशेषमघेयितक्रियाः ।
महोदयैस्तस्य हितानुबन्धिनिः
प्रतीकते धातुरिवेहितं फलेः ॥

I. 20.

अनुरागेण शिरोभिरुद्यते
मराधिपैर्नास्त्वनिवास्व शासनम् ।

II. 21.

जनयन्त्याधिराज सम्पदा-
मवशास्ते खलु चापलाभवम् ।

II. 41.

अपरागसमीरनेरितः
क्रमशीर्षाकुलमुलसन्तातिः ।
सुकरस्तरुवरसहिष्णुना
दिपुरुष्मूलाविष्टुं महामपि ॥

II. 50.

वाल्मीकान्वह्य सुकृतं दिनस्ति शेषः ।

VII. 15.

प्रेम पश्यति भवान्मपरेऽपि ।

IX. 70.

न युगः खलु कोऽन्वयं त्रिषांशुः
स्थलति ह्यत्र यथा मनो भृशं मे ।
विमलं कलुषीभवच्च येतः
कथयत्येव द्वितीयं रिपुं वा ॥

XIII. 6.

स्थित्ये वण्डवती वण्ड्याम्
परिणेतुः प्रसुतये ।
अप्यर्थकामौ तत्त्वास्तां
धर्म एव मनीषिणः ॥

R. I. 25.

विदेशे वेतनं तस्मै
रक्षासदृशमेव भूः ।

R. XVII. 66.

क्षितिरभूत्फलवत्त्वजनन्दने
शमरतेऽमरतेऽजाति पार्थिवे ।

R. IX. 4.

तस्य सद्यस्तमन्वस्य
गूढाकारेऽपि तस्य च ।
फलानुमेयाः प्रारम्भाः ।

R. I. 20.

न तस्य मण्डले राज्ञी
न्यस्तप्राणिधिसिधितेः ।
अवृद्धमभवत्किञ्चित् ।

R. XVII. 48.

भञ्जमुक्याः समारम्भाः
प्रत्यवेक्ष्या निरत्ययाः ।
गर्भशालिसधर्माणः
तस्य गूढं विप्रेधिरे ॥

R. XVII. 53.

पुरापवर्जितच्छत्रै-
स्तस्याज्ञां शासनार्पितान् ।
युः शिरोभिर्भुगालाः ।
... भिन्नः सन्मयशेषकृतं
स्वभावलोलेत्यायद्यः । . . .

R. VII. 41.

अधिराधिततराज्यः
शत्रुः प्रकृतिष्वकहमूलत्वात् ।
नवसरोहणसिधिल-
स्तरिष्व सुकरः समुद्रतुम् ॥

Ma. I. 8.

एको हि शेषो गुणसन्निपाते
निमज्जतीन्द्रोः किरणेष्विषाङ्गः ।

K. I. 3.

अतिशयः पापशङ्की ।

S. IV.

असंशयं क्षमपरिमहसना
वशार्थमस्त्वानिनायि मे मनः ।
सतां हि सन्नेहपरेषु वस्तुषु
प्रमाणमन्तःकरणप्रवृत्तयः ॥

S. II.

(3) A difficulty in the Meghadūta.

The several commentators and annotators of the Meghadūta have failed to satisfactorily solve the difficulty of reconciling the following three passages:—

- (१) आषाढस्य प्रथमदिवसे (प्रथमदिवसे) मेघमाश्रितस्तानु
वक्रकीडापरिणतगजप्रेक्षणीयं दृष्ट्वा । V. 2.
- (२) प्रत्यासत्ते नभसि द्युतिता जीवितालम्बनार्थी
धीमूलेन स्वकुशलनर्षी हारयिष्यन्मृदुतिम् । V. 4.
- (३) चापान्तो न भुजगशयनादुत्थिते साङ्गर्षपापी
शेषान्मासान्गमय चतुरो लोचने नीलचित्वा । V. 116.

Both the readings in the first passage are open to objection as being difficult to be reconciled with the other two passages. The reading प्रथम० is objected to on two grounds. (A) In v. 4, *Śrāvāṇa* is said to be प्रत्यासन्न, i.e., proximate. Such, however, would not be the case if the Yaksha had seen the Cloud on the first day of *Āshāḍha*, because, the whole of *Āshāḍha* had to elapse before *Śrāvāṇa* commenced. (B) Secondly, we are told further on that the remaining period of exile was few months and that the curse was to come to an end on the eleventh Tithi of the bright fortnight of *Kārttika*. If we count from the first day of *Āshāḍha*, the period upto the eleventh Tithi of the bright fortnight of *Kārttika* comes to be four months and ten days, that is, ten days in excess of the period mentioned. These considerations lead Vallabha, one of the commentators, to reject the reading प्रथम० and approve of प्रक्षम०. This word literally means 'on the ending day': but it can be taken to mean 'on one of the last days.' This reading no doubt enables us to get rid of the first objection urged against प्रथम०; because *Śrāvāṇa* then becomes proximate, as required by verse 4. But the second objection reappears in a new form. With the reading प्रथम० there was an excess of ten days; with the reading प्रक्षम० there will be found, on calculation, a deficiency of about fifteen days, even if we construe the word most literally and take the day to be the tenth Tithi of the dark fortnight of *Āshāḍha*. Thus we are left to choose between an excess of ten days over or a deficiency of about fifteen days in the required period.

Mallinātha who prefers the reading प्रथम० tries to refute the objections brought against it in the following manner. As regards the first objection, he says that what is intended by प्रत्यासत्ते is proximity in general of the months of *Āshāḍha* and *Śrāvāṇa*, so that the proximity of *Śrāvāṇa* to *Āshāḍha* may be construed to mean the proximity of *Śrāvāṇa* to any day of *Āshāḍha* and to the first day in particular in the present case (केचित् . . . 'प्रथमदिवसे' इति पाठं कल्पयन्ति तदसङ्गतम् । नभोवासस्य प्रत्यासत्यर्थमित्युक्तमिति चेन्न । प्रत्यासत्तिमात्रस्य नासप्रत्यासत्त्यैव प्रथमदिवसस्यानुपपत्तेः)। As to the second objection, he says that the reading प्रक्षम० being equally liable to a similar objection, it is better to select the reading प्रथम० (कथं तर्हि नासचतुष्टयस्यावशिष्टयोक्तिर्नद्यादिवसाधिक्यादिति चेत्स्वपक्षेऽपि कथं सा विंशतिदिवसैर्न्यूनत्वादिति सन्तोषः । तस्मादीयस्यैवमविवक्षितमिति सुदृक् 'प्रथमदिवसे' इति ।) In short, the expression चतुरो मासान् is not to be construed too literally but we are to have four months approximately.

So far as I know no attempt has been made to meet these difficulties by offering a better and more satisfactory explanation. I venture to offer one and it may be taken for what it is worth.

Let us clear the ground before we proceed with the explanation. Let us consider the data supplied by the text, so that the problem may be clearly grasped. The data are four. (1) On a certain day of *Āshāḍha* the Yaksha saw the Cloud to whom he entrusted a message to be conveyed to his beloved. This day is to be fixed by us bearing in mind the two readings प्रथमं and प्रथमं. (2) *Srāvana* was proximate to that day. (3) The curse was to come to an end on the eleventh *Tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Kārtika*. (4) Lastly, the period from the day on which the cloud was sent to the last day of the curse was four months. These data are given and we are required (a) first to determine the day on which the message was delivered to the Cloud by the Yaksha and (b) secondly to prove the correctness of one of the two or both readings accordingly.

Here it is best to proceed from the conclusion to the beginning. We are told that the curse was to end on the eleventh *Tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Kārtika*. If we count four months backwards from this day, we see that the day on which the Yaksha saw the Cloud must have been the eleventh *Tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Āshāḍha*.

This, however, apparently lands us in a great perplexity. Neither of the readings प्रथमं and प्रथमं fits in with our calculation and we know of no third reading. The word प्रथमदिवसे may mean either 'on the first day' or 'on one of the first days' of *Āshāḍha*, but the eleventh *Tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Āshāḍha* is not the first day of the month, nor any stretch in the meaning of the word प्रथम makes it 'one of the first days' of the month. I think it is too much to take the first day of *Āshāḍha* to extend beyond the first ten days. In neither case, again, can *Srāvana* be said to be *pratyāsanna* to that day. Similarly, the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of *Āshāḍha* cannot be the *prāsamadivasa* *Āshāḍha* in either of the two senses which we have explained above. Under these circumstances, only two alternatives seem possible; either the expression चतुर्दशमा should not be construed too literally or the poet should be taken to have overlooked the inconsistency. Is there no getting over this dilemma?

I think there is one way out of the difficulty thus created. As has just been made clear the difficulty arises because the eleventh *Tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Āshāḍha* cannot be made the प्रथमदिवस or प्रथमदिवस of *Āshāḍha* and प्रत्यासन्न to *Srāvana*. This difficulty is bound to remain insurmountable so long as the arrangement of months is taken to be what Fleet calls southern³ or *Amānta* ('ending with the conjunction') arrangement in which the bright fortnight precedes the dark fortnight of the month. If however we proceed on the basis of the *Pūrṇimānta* ('ending with the Full Moon') arrangement, the difficulty will be seen at once to vanish; at least one reading, प्रथमं, will be found to give intelligible sense. The eleventh *Tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Āshāḍha* can then be taken to be a प्रथमदिवस in the sense that it is one of the last days of *Āshāḍha* because the bright would then be the second fortnight of the month and only four days after the next month *Srāvana* would commence. Thus *Srāvana* would also be *Pratyāsanna* to that day. In this manner the lines quoted in the beginning of this note can be satisfactorily reconciled and explained. And looked at from this point of view, the reading प्रथमं will have to be preferred to प्रथमं;

³ See *Gupta Inscriptions*: Introduction, p. 70.

the latter remains unintelligible whichever of the two arrangements of months we take as the basis of our calculation.⁴

Can we conclude from this that in Kâlidâsa's days the *Pûrṇimānta* arrangement was the one generally current and not the *Amānta* one?

(4) Second difficulty.

I have met with another difficulty, not in the *Meghadûta* but in the *Raghuvamśa*. I have not been able to solve it and I wish to bring it to the notice of scholars with a hope that some one will be able to do it.

In the ninth *Sarga* of the *Raghu* the poet is describing the Spring. The description opens with this verse:—

अथ समावृत्ते कुसुमेनैवेस्तमिव सेवितुमेकनराधिपम् ।
यमकुबेरजलेन्धरवाजिणां समधुरं मधुरञ्चितविक्रमम् ॥ २४ ॥

The difficulty occurs in the verse which follows.—

जिगमिषुर्धनसाध्युषितां दिशं रथयुजा परिवर्तिता वाहनः ।
दिनमुखानि रविर्हिमनिमहैर्विलयन्मलयं नगमत्यजन् ॥ २५ ॥

I give Mr. Nandargikar's translation of this verse: "Desirous of going to the quarter presided over by the Lord of Wealth (Kubera) the Sun, having his horses turned back by his charioteer, left the Malaya mountain brightening the dawn by removing the frost." The same phenomenon is similarly described in the 3rd *Sarga* of the *Kumâra-sambhava*. The poet says:—

कुबेरमुखां दिशमुत्तरद्वीपौ गन्तुं प्रवृत्ते समयं विलङ्घ्य ।
दिग्दक्षिणा गन्धर्वहं मुखेन ध्यलीकनिम्बासनिदीप्तासज्ज ॥ २५ ॥

⁴ A second explanation of प्रथम° is suggested. It is proposed to take the word प्रथम in the sense, 'the best,' i.e., the holiest. In *Aśhāḍha*, the eleventh day of the bright fortnight is the only day which is observed as a holiday and a very sacred one; that should, therefore, be taken as the प्रथम दिवस of *Aśhāḍha*. In this rendering one difficulty is got rid of; v. 2 is certainly rendered consistent with v. 116. But the other difficulty remains; the month *Śrāvaṇa* is not *pratyāsanna* to the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of *Aśhāḍha*, unless as I have suggested the arrangement of months is *Pûrṇimānta*.

In the case of प्रथम° also another interpretation is suggested. It is to be explained thus:—प्रकटः शमः अस्मिन्त प्रथमः । प्रथमश्चासौ दिवसश्च तस्मिन् । *Śama* is to be taken in the sense of 'coolness', so प्रथम° will mean 'on a cool day'. Even this explanation, however, is no way better in that it does not avoid the one or the other of the two difficulties. Even if the 'cool day' be the eleventh *Tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Aśhāḍha*, *Śrāvaṇa* is not *pratyāsanna* to it. To avoid this if we take that day to be towards the end of the month, the period of four months as mentioned in v. 116 falls short of fifteen days at least. If however, the *Pûrṇimānta* scheme be accepted, this interpretation may be allowed by supposing that the eleventh day of the bright fortnight was perhaps cool when the Yaksha saw the Cloud, but then the necessity of assigning this meaning no longer exists as the ordinary meaning taken by Vallabha serves the purpose equally well or perhaps better.

It will be observed as regards these other meanings of प्रथम° and प्रथम° that whatever the meaning they are taken to have they do not render the verses consistent unless the *Pûrṇimānta* arrangement is accepted. I lay emphasis not so much on the meaning of the words प्रथम° and प्रथम° as on the fact that the verses yield consistent sense only when construed in a way such as I have suggested.

In these passages the poet seems to mean that with the commencement of the Spring (ऋतुः समावृत्ते) the *Dakshinâyana*, i.e., the Sun's southward journey, came to an end and the *Udagayana*, i.e., the Sun's northward march, commenced. The Sun is said to be desirous of going to the North (जिगमिषुः) and therefore to have had 'his horses turned back' (परिवर्तितवाहनः). In the verse from the *Kumâra*, the Sun is said to be 'ready to proceed' towards the North (गन्तुं प्रवृत्ते). All this clearly shows that according to the poet the time of the commencement of the *Udagayana* coincided with the time of the commencement of the Spring. Now if we look to the Indian Calendars we see therein that the *Dakshinâyana* ends on some day in the month of *Pausa*; this day which is called the मकरसङ्क्रमण day (the day of the Sun's entering the *Makara Râsi*) generally corresponds to the 13th or 14th January every year. This is the conventional ending of the *Dakshinâyana*. Actually it ends on the 23rd of December every year, i.e., about 21 days earlier than the supposed *Makara-saṅkramaṇa*. Next, the Spring (वसन्तर्तु) really begins with the मीनसङ्क्रमण (the Sun entering the *Mina Râsi*), i.e., about two months after the *Makara-saṅkramaṇa*; this generally takes place in the month of *Phâlguna*.⁵ How are we then to reconcile what Kâlidâsa says with the present-day facts as we observe them?

A similar discrepancy is visible in the description of the hot season (ग्रीष्म). In the 16th *Sarga* the poet describes the *Grishma* and the following are the opening verses:—

अथास्य रत्नप्रयितोत्तरीयमेकान्तपाण्डुस्तनलाम्बिहारम् ।
निःश्वासहार्योशुकमाजगाम धर्मः मित्रादेशं निवोपरेद्भुम् ॥ ४३ ॥
अगस्त्याचिह्नाद्यनात्समीपं दिशुस्तदा भास्वति सनिवृत्ते ।
आनन्दशीतानिव बाष्पवृष्टिं हिमक्षुतिं हेमवतीं ससर्ज ॥ ४४ ॥

The first verse describes the advent of the *Grishma*. For our purpose the second verse is more important; it is thus translated by Mr. Nandargikar:—"The Sun having come back near from that side of the Equator which is marked by Agastya, the northern quarter began to produce the oozing of snow on the mountain Himâlaya as though it were a flow of tears cool with joy." The point to be noted here is this: When the *Grishma* set in (धर्मः आजगाम), the Sun came back (सनिवृत्ते) near (समीपे) the North from the South in which the star Canopus rises and sets (अगस्त्याचिह्नाद्यनात्). What is meant by the Sun coming back near the North is that the Sun came nearer the Celestial Equator, to the South of it, and was about to cross it after a month or so. So far as the poet himself is concerned, he is consistent in these two descriptions of the *Vasanta* and the *Grishma*. To reach the Equator from the Vernal Equinox the Sun takes three months. If according to the poet the advent of the *Vasanta* coincides with the commencement of the *Udagayana*, it is clear the *Grishma* will commence one month before the Sun crosses the Equator; because the *Vasanta* lasts two months. Thus the poet can very well say that the Sun is near the North when the *Grishma* sets in. When the Equator is crossed the Sun will be in the North. If we now turn to the Indian Calendar we find that the *Grishma* commences one month after the Sun has crossed the Equator. Of the six months that the Sun takes for the northward journey, the first two constitute the *Śiśira* season; the next two the *Vasanta* and the last two the *Grishma*. The Equator is crossed during the *Vasanta*, one

⁵ I have calculated on the basis of the *Amānta* arrangement of months. *Pāṇimānta* arrangement will involve slight changes; but it will not affect my point, namely, that the Spring commences two months after the *Udagayana* begins.

month after its advent; and one month after the crossing the *Grishma* commences. The northernmost point of the journey is reached (that is to say the *Udagayana* ends) at the end of the *Grishma*.⁶

Thus in the case of the *Grishma* also as in the case of the *Vasanta*, a difference of two months is to be seen. According to the poet the *Grishma* begins two months after the *Udagayana* begins; while according to the Calendar it begins four months after the beginning of the *Udagayana*.

The question is how to explain this discrepancy.

I should like to have one point made clear for those who may attempt to solve the question. It may be thought that the discrepancy can be explained away by taking into consideration the effects of the Precession of the Equinoxes and then calculating the difference that has crept in during the period intervening between Kālidāsa and the present generation. But so far as I can see the question appears to be insoluble on purely astronomical and mathematical calculations, simply because of the wrong assumptions which the poet seems to have made. The following are my reasons.—The phenomenon of seasons does not depend upon and therefore is not produced by the Precession of the Equinoxes. Seasons are caused by the variations in the severity of the heat generated by the rays of the Sun, and this depends exclusively on the Sun's position relative to the Earth alone. When the Sun reaches the southernmost point (that is, when the *Dakshināyana* ends) the Sun's rays produce the minimum amount of heat; therefore about that time there must occur the cold seasons. In other words, the two months preceding the Sun's reaching the Vernal Equinox and the two months following are bound to be cold months; and these correspond to the *Hemanta* and the *Sisira* seasons of the Indian Calendar. The preceding two months comprise the *Hemanta* and the following the *Sisira*. The Precession of the Equinoxes does not affect the heat-producing capacity of the Sun's rays. What it does is that it causes an apparently retrograde movement on the part of the Sun along the Celestial Equator. This no doubt leads to a change in the time of the commencement of the seasons but indirectly and in a way having no bearing of the question before us. For instance, about 6000 years before, the *Vasanta* might have been beginning in the month *Mārgaśīrsha*, whereas it now begins in *Phālguna*; but then there must have been a corresponding change in the time for the end of the *Dakshināyana* and the beginning of the *Udagayana*, which must have been occurring two months earlier, *i.e.*, in the month *Āśvina*. So that even then a period of two months must be intervening between the close of the *Dakshināyana* and the advent of the *Vasanta*. I therefore think that in this instance Kālidāsa cannot be justified on purely mathematical grounds. On what other ground he can, if at all, be justified I leave to scholars to decide; I only hope this our premier poet of India does find some justification at the hands of some able scholar.

A few other astronomical allusions that may throw light on the question I propose to discuss in the next note.

(To be continued.)

⁶ Of course all this is according to the conventions of the Indian Calendars. Accurate calculations will show that the beginning of the *Vasanta*, the crossing of the Celestial Equator by the Sun and such other events, will have to be antedated by about 21 days in each case. But as I have said above this change will not affect my argument, as the change will have to be made throughout and its effects in one place will be neutralised by those in the other.

VÂRTTÂ — THE ANCIENT HINDU ECONOMICS.

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(Continued from p. 241.)

Conclusion.

Thus it appears that a branch of learning for the study of wealth developed in India, the time of its emergence being roughly indicated by the fact that it is first referred to in the *Râmâyana* and was posterior to the allotment of particular occupations to the *Vaiśya* caste. In Greece, it was Aristotle who first reached the conception of a special science or art of wealth in the fourth century B.C., though stray thoughts on the material concerns of life had commenced to be expressed by earlier writers. The emergence of *Vârttâ* in India as a distinct branch of learning was very probably earlier than Aristotle's conception of a similar branch of learning in Greece. The Chaldeans had reached a high degree of excellence in agriculture and their methods had been transmitted to the Greeks and Arabs; and it is likely that they left in their libraries clay treatises on agriculture which are all lost to us. The "Nabatean Agriculture" appears to be the only work that seems to contain a reflection of the methods of agriculture. We have, however, no evidence to show that the Chaldeans had developed a branch of learning devoted to the study of the material interests of the people. As to China, Dr. Chen Haun-Chang's work makes it clear that many economic concepts and principles were imbedded in the writings of Confucius and his disciples, but he does not make out that the great philosopher was the originator of a distinct subject of study, conducive to the preservation and improvement of the material concerns of life. In India, this branch of learning developed early on the soil and was intended to give a scientific direction to the economic activities of the people. This literary type taking its rise in the triple occupation of the *Vaiśya* caste included at first within its scope three occupations alone, viz., agriculture, cattle-rearing, and trade. References to this branch of learning lie scattered not only in Sanskrit literature from the epics downwards but also in Buddhist and Jaina works which point to the wide currency acquired by the subject in early times. In the *Kalpa-Sûtra*, for instance, the Arhat Kishabha "during his reign taught, for the benefit of the people, the seventy-two sciences, . . . the sixty-four accomplishments of women, the hundred arts, and the three occupations of men."⁴⁵ The three occupations are evidently the well-known triplet "agriculture, cattle-rearing, and trade," which we find expressly mentioned in the *Milinda-Pañha* as "kasi, vanijjâ, gorakkhâ";⁴⁶ and the teaching of these occupations implies that *vârttâ* in its primary sense had risen to be a division of learning.

The scope of this science of wealth after its fullest expansion came to embrace all the branches of knowledge bearing on wealth and stood side by side with the three other divisions of human knowledge,—*Ânviksiki*, *Trayi* and *Dandânîti*. These four literary types

⁴⁵ *Kalpa-Sûtra* (SBE., vol. xxii), p. 282. Prof. H. Jacobi commenting on the passage says: "The arts, as those of the potter, blacksmith, painter, weaver, and barber, each of which five principal arts is subdivided into twenty branches, are inventions and must be taught; while the occupations, agriculture, trade, &c., have everywhere developed, as it were, of themselves" (the italics are mine). The last remark in this passage does not seem to be justified; for "the three occupations of men" mentioned by the *Kalpa-Sûtra* refer evidently to "agriculture, cattle-rearing and trade."

⁴⁶ *Milinda-Pañha* (Trenckner's ed.), p. 178.

divided among themselves the whole field of human knowledge, and may, from this stand-point, be considered as standing on the same level of importance; but from the other view-point, from which Kautilya looks at them, viz., the creation of conditions that make the pursuit of learning possible, *Dandanīti* (Polity) is given the first place on account of the peace and order it brings about in the State and thereby makes it possible for the people to pursue the other branches of learning.⁴⁷

Epigraphic confirmation of the existence of *Vārttā* as a branch of learning and its teaching by professors in a college comes from a South Indian Inscription⁴⁸ which records that in the *Sthāngundūru agraḥāra* "were professors skilled in medicine, in sorcery (or magic), in logic, in the art of distorting people by incantation, in poetry, in the use of weapons, in sacrificing, . . . and in the art of *cooking* to prepare the meals. While its groves put to shame the groves of Nandana, such was the glory of that great *agraḥāra* that all the surrounding country prayed to be taught in the four Vedas, their six *vedāṅgās*, the three rival divisions of *mīmāṃsā*, the *tarka* and other connected sciences, the eighteen great *purāṇas*, the making of numerous verses of praise, the art of architecture, the arts of music and dancing, and in the knowledge of all the four divisions of learning which were possessed by the Brāhmins of the *Sthānagundūru agraḥāra*." The four divisions of learning mentioned in the passage imply *vārttā* as one of them, and some of the arts that have already been classed under *vārttā* have also been separately mentioned as being taught in the *agraḥāra*. The inscription belongs probably to the 12th century A.D. and testifies to the fact that up to that time at least, *vārttā* as a branch of learning did not yet become in India the unfamiliar or obsolete subject of later years.

[NOTE.—Some of the important Catalogues of manuscripts have been consulted first-hand instead of through Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* in view of the definitive and descriptive details that such consultation can furnish.

There are chapters in the *Purāṇas* and other Sanskrit works like the *Vishṇudharmottara* devoted to various topics of *Vārttā*. As these chapters do not require any special mention, they have been omitted in the Lists.

There are a good many MSS. on minerals and their chemical actions mentioned in Dr. P. C. Roy's *History of Hindu Chemistry* and Dr. B. N. Seal's *Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus*. Only those portions, if any, of the MSS. that treat of the processes by which they can be reduced into raw materials for the production of articles of commercial value can come within the scope of *Vārttā*.

It is not possible to discuss the dates of the various works mentioned here. Apart from the difficulty of the task itself, a good many of the works are out of reach and perhaps not available for copying or consultation. It cannot be denied that some of them are of recent composition but even these may be the lineal descendants of the older ones in which latter, however, the treatment of their respective subjects might be seen in greater freedom from influences which, multiplied by the lapse of time, tend to put it away from its ancient orthodox line.]

⁴⁷ See *Kautilya*, Bk. I, *Vidyā-Samuddāya*, p. 7.

⁴⁸ *Śilā-śāṣana* at Taldegundy, No. 103 (L. Rice's *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 197).

LIST I.

Available Manuscripts on Vartta or its Sub-Topics.

- (1) **Manushyalayachandrikā.**—“*Tachchu-Śāstra*, a primer of architecture in 65 stanzas with Malayālam translation and notes.”
• *A supplementary catalogue of Sanskrit, Pāli and Prākṛit books in the Library of the British Museum* (acquired during the years 1892-1906) by L. D. Barnett, p. 715.
- (2) **Mayatilpa** or Artisan's Manual by Maya.—*Classified Index to the Sanskrit MSS. in the palace of Tanjore prepared for the Madras Government* by A. C. Burnell, (1880), p. 62.
- (3) **Rajagrihanirmāṇa.**—“On architecture.” *Ibid*, p. 62.
- (4) **Ratnaparikṣhā.**—“On gems and their qualities, etc. Some described are imaginary.” *Ibid*, p. 141.
- (5) **Vāstu-Ratnavali**, compiled by Jeva Nath Jotishi.—“A treatise on house-building and the religious observances connected with it.” *Ibid*, p. 154.
- (6) **Vastusankhya**, deposited with Paṇḍit Syāmācharaṇa, Benares.—“An extract of Toḍarānanda, very rare, complete and incorrect.”
Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in N. W. P. compiled by order of Government, Part IX, printed (1885) by Paṇḍit Sudhākara Dvivedi, Librarian, Benares Sanskrit College, p. 56.
- (7) **Vāstu-Rāja-Vallabha**, by Maṇḍanasūtradhāra.—“A treatise on Vāstu.” Remark *ibid*. *Ibid*, p. 56.
- (8) **Vāstu-Vichara**, by Viśvakarman, deposited with Gaurīnātha Śāstri, Benares.—“A treatise on Vāstu; very old, complete and correct.” *Ibid*, p. 56.
- (9) **Vāstu-Pradīpa**, by Vasudeva, deposited with Umāśankara Miśra, Azamgarh.—“Rare, recent, complete and correct.” *Ibid*, Pt. X, p. 56, No. 1.
- (10) **Vāstu-Prakāśa**, deposited with Bālābhāri Sapre, Benares.—Remark *ibid*. *Ibid*, p. 56, No. 2.
- (11) **Aparājita-vāstu-Śāstram**, by Viśvakarman, in the possession of Maṇisankara Bhaṭṭa, Surat.—*Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. contained in the private libraries of Gujarat, Kāthiavād, Kachchh, Sindh and Khandesh*, No. 3 (compiled under the superintendence of G. Bühler by order of Government, printed at the Indu Prakāśa Press, Bombay, 1872), p. 276, No. 1.
- (12) **Jñānarātnakosha**, by Viśvakarman, in the possession of Acharatalal Vaidya, Ahmedabad.—*Ibid*, p. 276, No. 3.
- (13) **Prasādanukīrtanam**. Author not mentioned. In the possession of Gopal Rao, Mālegāwva.—On Silpa. *Ibid*, p. 276, No. 4.
- (14) **Rajavallabha-Tīkā**, deposited with Nirbhayarām Mūli.—*Ibid*, p. 276, No. 6.

- (15) **Kriyasaṃgraha-Pañjika**.—"A catalogue of rituals by Kuladatta. It contains among other things, instructions for the selection of a site for the construction of a Vihāra and also rules for building a dwelling-house."

The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal by R. L. Mitra, 1882, p. 105, No. B. 23.

- (16) **Ratnaparīkshā**.—"On the merits and defects of precious stones and jewels of Buddha Bhaṭṭāchāryya. The articles noticed are diamond, pearl, emerald, carbuncle, ruby, sapphire, lapis lazuli, bhīṣma (?), crystal and coral. The work is in Sanskrit verse and its meaning is explained in Newārī prose. As usual in Sanskrit works of this class, great importance is attached to good and ill luck the jewels are calculated to bring on under particular astrological and other circumstances." *Ibid*, p. 291, No. B. 50.

- (17) **Rajavallabha-Maṇḍana**, by Maṇḍana Sūtradhāra (age 1578 Samvat, complete).—"On architecture. In the colophon it is stated that Maṇḍana, a Sūtradhāra or architect who was in the service of Kumbhakarna, king of Medapāṭa, composed the work and by his devotion to Gaṇapati and to his teacher and the propitiation of the Goddess of Learning he expounded the art of building as taught by the Munis. (EE., Appendix II.) Medapāṭa is Mevād and a king of the name of Kumbha ruled over the country according to Tod from A.D. 1419 to 1469. He had a taste for the arts and constructed many temples as well as strongholds. It is not unlikely therefore he had in his service persons who read the literature of architecture and who could compose such treatises as the one under notice."

Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Presidency during the year 1882-83 by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, p. 86, No. 404.

- (18) **Padapavivakṣā**. Author not mentioned. Place of deposit (henceforth written P. D.) Narasiṃhāchāryya of Kumbhaghonam.—"Subject—*Dohada*" (nourishment of plants). *List of Sanskrit MSS. in private libraries of S. India* by Gustav Oppert, Vol. II, p. 371, No. 6333.
- (19) **Vṛkshadohada**. Author not mentioned. P. D. Taḍakamalla Veṅkaṭa Kṛṣṇarāyar of Tiruvallikeni.—*Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 223, No. 3271.
- (20) **Vṛkṣāyurveda**. Author not mentioned. P. D. Taḍakamalla Veṅkaṭa Kṛṣṇarāyar of Tiruvallikeni.—*Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 223, No. 3272.
- (21) **Saśyananda**. Author not mentioned. P. D. same as above.—"Subject—Kṛṣhi śāstra." *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 223, No. 3289.
- (22) **Ratnalakṣhaṇa**. Author not mentioned. P. D. Mahārājā of Travancore.—*Ibid*, Vol. I, 478, No. 6161.
- (23) **Ratnādīparīkṣā**. P. D. Pichchudīkshitar of Akhilāndapuram.—"Subject—Ratnaśāstra." *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 320, No. 5253.
- (24) **Aṅkanasāstra**. Author not mentioned. P. D. Virasvami Aiyangar of Sivagaṅgā.—"Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 228, No. 2499.
- (25) **Kāśyapīya**, by Kāśyapa. P. D. Saṅkarāchāryya-maṭhani of Kumbhaghonam.—"Subject—Śilpa." *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 395, No. 6836.

- (26) **Kūpādījalasthānalakṣhaṇa.** Author not mentioned. P. D. Mahārājā of Travancore.—“Subject—Śilpa.” *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 467, No. 5941.
- (27) **Kṣhetranirmāṇavidhi.** Author not mentioned. P. D. Rājā of Cochin at Tiruppunittura.—“Subject—Śilpa.” *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 254, No. 2811.
- (28) **Gr̥hapaṭhika.** Author not mentioned. P. D. S. Kodaṇḍa, Rāmāvadhānapantulu of Vijayanagaram.—“Subject—Śilpa.” *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 545, No. 7544.
- (29) **Gopuravimāṇādilakṣhaṇa.** Author not mentioned. P. D. Archakayogānanda-bhaṭṭa of Melakoṭa.—“Subject—Śilpa.” *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 259, No. 4009.
- (30) **Chakrasāstra.** Author not mentioned. P. D. Sagi Narasayya of Karempuḍy. (Palnād Tālūk).—“Subject—Śilpa.” *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 200, No. 2793.
- (31) **Chitrapaṭa.** Author not mentioned. P. D. Athakopāchāryyar of Vānamābalai in Naṅguneri, Tinnevely District.—“Subject—Śilpa.” *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 440, No. 5426.
- (32) **Jālārgala.** Author not mentioned. P. D. Subrahmanya dikshitar of Chidambaram.—“Subject—Śilpa.” *Ibid*, Vol. II, No. 461.
- (33) **Jālārgala**, by Varāhamihira. P. D. Taḍakāmala Veṅkaṭakṛishṇāyar of Tiruvallikeni.—*Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 217, No. 3146.
- (34) **Jālārgalayantra.** Author not mentioned. P. D. Same as above.—“Subject—Śilpa.” *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 217, No. 3147.
- (35) **Devalayalakṣhaṇa.** Author not mentioned. P. D. Mahārājā of Travancore.—“Subject—Śilpa.” *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 470, No. 5998.
- (36) **Dvārakṣhaṇapaṭala.** Author not mentioned. P. D. Same as above.—“Subject—Śilpa.” *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 470, No. 6003.
- (37) **Pakshimanushyālayalakṣhaṇa.** Author not mentioned. P. D. Same as above.—“Subject—Śilpa.” The construction of aviaries dealt with in this MS. is likely to be interesting. *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 471, No. 6030.
- (38) **Prāsādakalpa.** Author not mentioned. P. D. Maṇḍaḍi Koṇḍoyya Pantulu Vijayanagaram, Vizagapatam District.—“Subject—Śilpa.” *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 522, No. 7064.
- (39) **Prāsādālakṣhaṇa.** Author not mentioned. P. D. Mahārājā of Travancore.—“Subject—Śilpa.” *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 473, No. 6056.
- (40) **Prāsādālakṣhaṇa**, by Varāhamihira. P. D. Rājā Vellariki Veṅkaṭarāmasurya-prakāśa Row of Ulukuru (Vissampeta Division).—“Subject—Śilpa.” *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 208, No. 2959.
- (41) **Prāsādālakṣhaṇa.** Author not mentioned. P. D. Mahārājā of Travancore.—“Subject—Śilpa.” *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 473, No. 6057.
- (42) **Valipīṭhalakṣhaṇa.** P. D. Same as above.—“Subject—Śilpa.” *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 473, No. 6059.
- (43) **Manushyālayachandrikā**, by Arunadatta. P. D. Mahārājā of Travancore. MS. No. 1 of this List bears this name but its author has not been mentioned.—“Subject—Śilpa.” *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 475, No. 6108.

- (44) **Manuśhyālayalakṣhaṇa**. Author not mentioned. P. D. Mahārāja of Travancore.—“Subject—Śilpa.” *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 475, No. 6169.
- (45) **Marichipātala**. Author not mentioned. P. D. Anāśvāmī of Srivilliputtur, Tinnevely District.—“Subject—Śilpa.” *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 448, No. 5610.
- (46) **Mānakathana**. Author not mentioned.—“Subject—Śilpa.” *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 473, No. 8070.
- (47) **Mānavavāstulakṣhaṇa**. Author not mentioned. P. D. Mahārāja of Travancore.—“Subject—Śilpa.” *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 476, No. 6125.
- (48) **Mānavasāra**. Author not mentioned. P. D. Śāmaṇṇāchāri of Srīmaśnam, Chidambaram Taluk. According to Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*, it is same as Mānasāra.—“Subject—Śilpa.” *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 31, No. 532.
- (49) **Mānasa** (perhaps Mānāsāra). P. D. Puligaḍḍa Aruṇāchala Śāstri of Kottapeta (Vijayanagaram), Vizagapatam District. “Subject—Śilpa.” *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 518, No. 6976.
- (50) **Rāthalakṣhaṇa**. Author not mentioned. P. D. Archakayogānanda-bhaṭṭa of Melkoṭa.—“Subject—Śilpa.” *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 264, No. 4124.
- (51) **Vastu-Chakra**. Author not mentioned. P. D. Rājā of Vijayanagram, Vizagapatam District.—“Subject—Śilpa.” *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 538, No. 7397.
- (52) **Vāstu-Lakṣhaṇa**. Author not mentioned. P. D. Mahārāja of Travancore.—“Subject—Śilpa.” *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 480, No. 6198.
- (53) **Vāstu-Vidyā**. Author not mentioned. P. D. Mahārāja of Travancore.—“Subject—Śilpa.” *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 480, No. 6199.
- (54) **Vāstu-Śāstra**, by Sanat Kumāra. P. D. Paravastu Venkatarāṅgāchāryar of Viśākhāpattana, Vizagapatam District.—“Subject—Śilpa.” *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 580, No. 8239.
- (55) **Vimāna-Lakṣhaṇa**. Author not mentioned. P. D. Archakayogānanda bhaṭṭa of Melkoṭa.—“Subject—Śilpa.” *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 266, No. 4150.
- (56) **Viśvakarmīya**, by Viśvakarma. P. D. Mahārāja of Travancore.—“Subject—Śilpa.” *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 480, No. 6207.
- (57) **Śilpa-Śāstra**. Author not mentioned. P. D. Archakayogānanda bhaṭṭa of Melkoṭa.—*Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 267, No. 4187.
- (58) **Śilparthasāra**. Author not mentioned. P. D. Anubhājyār of Kanchipur (Conjeveram), Chingleput District.—“Subject—Śilpa.” *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 26, No. 548.
- (59) **Śhaḍvidiksandhāna**. Author not mentioned. P. D. Sagi Narasayya of Kārempuḍi (Palnāḍ Tālūk).—“Subject—Śilpa.” *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 200, No. 2802.
- (60) **Pīṭha-lakṣhaṇa**. Author not mentioned. P. D. Mahārāja of Travancore.—“Subject—Śilpa.” *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 472, No. 6037.
- (61) **Pratimādravyādi-vacana**. Author not mentioned. P. D. Anāśvāmī of Srīraṅgam, Trichinopoly District. “Subject—Śilpa.” *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 490, No. 6384.

- (62) **Mūla-stambha-Nirṇaya**—"On architecture" (acc. to Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Pt. I, p. 464). *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 202, No. 2486.
- (63) **Kautuka-lakṣhaṇa**—"On Śilpa."—*Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 258, No. 3998.
- (64) **Chatvarimśat-vidyā** (i.e., forty branches of learning). *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 230, No. 3407. The subject being 'mantra' as mentioned by Oppert, we do not expect from it more than an enumeration of the branches of learning.
- (65) **Aṁsumānakalpa**—"On Śilpa." Burnell, 62^b. *Aufrecht* (henceforth abbreviated into *Auf.*), Pt. I, p. 1.
- (66) **Āgaravinoda**, by Durgāśaṅkara—"On architecture." N. W. 554. *Auf.*, Pt. 1, p. 2.
- (67) **Jayamādhavamānasollāsa**, by Jayasimhadeva—"On architecture." Bik. 708; Bhk. 21; Poona, 202. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 201.
- (68) **Tārālakṣhaṇa**—"On sculpture." Burnell, 62^b. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 229.
- (69) **Maṇi-parīkṣā** or **Ratnaparīkṣā**, attributed to Agastya—"Testing of precious stones." L. 131. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 420.
- (70) **Mānasara**. It is being translated in the "Indian Architecture." "On architecture." Burnell, 62^a, Taylor I, 71. Oppert II, 532. Quoted by Rāmraj. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 452.
- (71) **Ayadīlakṣhaṇa**—"On Śilpa." Burnell, 62^b. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 52.
- (72) **Āramadipraīśhṭhāpaddhati**, by Gaṅgārām Mahādakara.—On gardens. Hall, p. 94. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 53.
- (73) **Kaldeva**.—This work may have some bearing on agriculture.—"On Botany." Quoted three times in the *Nirṇaya-sindhu*. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 128.
- (74) **Grīhanirūpaṇasamkṣhepa**—"On architecture." Kāśin. 6, *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 157.
- (75) **Chikrakarmasīlpaśāstra** or **Brahmīyasīlpa**—"On architecture." Burnell, 62^b. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 187.
- (76) **Chitrasūtra**—"On painting, mentioned in Kuṣṭhanimata 23." *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 187.
- (77) **Jñāna-Ratnakosha**. "On Śilpa." B. 4. 276. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 210.
- (78) **Nava-Ratna-Parīkṣā**, by Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍit.—"On gems." Bik. 708. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 281.
- (79) **Prāsada-Dīpikā**—"On architecture." Quoted in *Madana-Parījāta*. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 364.
- (80) **Mayūra-Chitraka** or **Meghamalā** or **Ratnamalā**—"Indication of coming rain, famine or plenty, etc., from the appearance of the atmosphere. Attributed to Nārada." L. 2668, Report xxxvi, Pheh. 8. Quoted in *Sāntisāra*. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 432.
- (81) **Mūrti-Lakṣhaṇa**—"On the forms of idols." Rice 96. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 464.
- (82) *Ditto*.—From the *Garuḍasaṁhitā*. Burnell, 207^b. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 464.
- (83) **Mūrti-Dhyāna**—"On sculpture." Burnell, 62^b. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 464.
- (84) **Ratna-Samucchedaya**—"On precious stones." Bik. 708. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 491.

- (85) **Lakṣhaṇa-Samuchchaya**.—"On the features in images of deities." Bik. 411 (attributed to Hemādri). Kām. 12. Quoted by Hemādri in *Dānakhaṇḍa*, p. 823, by Kamalākara, Oxf. 279^a, in *Mukārta-dīpaka*, Oxf. 326^a, by Khaṇḍerāya in *Paraśurāma-prakāśa*. W. p. 312." *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 535.
- (86) **Loha-Ratnākara**.—"A work on metals." Sp. p. 99. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 546.
- (87) **Loharṇava**.—"A work on metals." Sp. p. 99. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 546.
- (88) **Loha-Sāstra**.—Quoted by Śivarāma on Vāsavaśattā, p. 198. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 546.
- (89) **Vāstu-Nirmāṇa**.—"On architecture." Pheh. 9. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 568.
- (90) **Vāstu-Prakāśa** by Viśvakarman.—"On architecture." Oudh, xii, 30, NP. x. 56. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 568.

(To be continued.)

BOOK NOTICE.

THE BEGINNINGS OF SOUTH INDIAN HISTORY. BY S. KRISHNASWAMI AYYANGAR. Madras University Special Lectures on Indian History and Archaeology. Second Series, Madras. The Modern Printing Works, Mount Road. 1918. Price, Rs. 3-12-0.

THESE lectures strike me as an honest attempt to present to the student the actual facts as ascertained to date of the earliest known definite history of South India without any trimmings. They are to my mind all the more valuable for that and all the more creditable to the lecturer, as he himself is a South Indian. Indeed he has gone out of his way to state all the facts—epigraphic or other that have come before him, so as not to allow "patriotism to take command of evidence," and he has tried to avoid the pitfall of making too much of epigraphical and too little of other forms of evidence. Here, I am entirely with him.

I am glad to note that the author is aware that the old charge against Indian History of a total want of chronological data will gradually have to be abandoned as untenable. I am of those who believe in the establishment in due course of a set of chronological facts of a reliable character, in regard to early Indian History, and that the labours of contributors to such a *Journal* as this for so many years will not prove to have been in vain. In compiling a "popular" history of India from the earliest times to the latest a few years ago, which had necessarily to be very brief, I felt myself astonished to find how very far towards a sufficiently definite chronology for general purposes scholars and researchers had gone in the last 35 to 40 years. My own impression is, as an old student of history of all sorts, that if you know enough and understand enough of what ancient

writers meant to convey or report, you can dig actual facts of history out of almost any ancient records or writings. At any rate it is worth the while of scholars to enter on the study of the old documents in this spirit, for they will in time be duly rewarded.

Patience and time will solve most puzzles and explain historical references in the most unlikely places. Thirty-five years ago I collected and began to publish the *Legends of the Punjab*, taken down *verbatim* from wandering bards, and one of the early heroes, with every kind of folk-tale fastened on to his memory, was Raja Sirkap. At that time no one knew and no one could conjecture who was referred to. We know now that Sirkap was one of the cities on the site of Taxila and that the modern Punjabi bard is still perpetuating in his own fortune the memory of the actual Śāka and perhaps Indo-Bactrian rulers of that spot in the centuries round the commencement of the Christian era.

I notice that the author lays no claim to great antiquity for the history of Southern India. In the present state of knowledge perhaps this is wise, but I cannot help thinking that as time goes we shall find that this can be properly carried back further than is now recognised. Civilisation—and therefore history—must have been very old there.

In a brief notice like this it is impossible to enter into any argument on details and I content myself with expressing gratitude for what the book contains—much that is of real value to students, especially to the younger sort, and much that every mature student can take seriously into consideration.

R. C. TEMPLE.

MISCELLANEA.

HOME OF KĀLIDĀSA.

In the *Kāvya-darśa* Daṇḍin contrasts between two schools of Sanskrit poetry, the *Vaidarbha* and the *Gauḍīya* (I vs. 40-100). The ten qualities *śleṣa*, *prasāda*, *saṃāśa*, etc. are, according to him characteristic of the former. But they are not so with the poets of the latter who seldom observe them. The great difference that lies between the two schools, is illustrated by Daṇḍin with reference to certain specific examples. He first cites a passage from the *Vaidarbha* school and then by way of contrast cites another from the *Gauḍa* school.

To explain the *prasāda guṇa* Daṇḍin (I, v. 45) says :

“प्रसादवत् प्रसिद्धार्थमिन्दोरिन्दीवरयुति ।
लक्ष्म लक्ष्मीं तनोतीति प्रतीतिसुभगं वचः ॥”

The expression ‘*lakshma lakshmtm tanoti*’ is a fragment of the following verse of *Śakuntala* :¹

“सरसिजमनुविद्धं शैवलेनापि रम्यम्
मलिनमपि हिमांशोर्लक्ष्म लक्ष्मीं तनोति ।”

The mere fact that Daṇḍin quotes Kālidāsa to illustrate the *Vaidarbha* school of poetry is not so important, for he is regarded as a pre eminently *Vaidarbha* poet by other rhetoricians to.² What is however, more important is that we get, from him a valuable hint in regard to the part of the country to which the greatest poet of India belonged. In the *Kāvya-darśa* (I, vs. 44, 46, 54, 60, 65), the poets of the two schools are qualified by such adjectives as *Gauḍaiḥ*, *Gauḍīyaiḥ* and *Adāksheṣīyāṇām*, and *Vaidarbhaiḥ* and *Dāksheṣīyāḥ* respectively. From this, it is clear that according to Daṇḍin the poets of these two schools were also inhabitants of the two countries after which they were designated. This is also the view taken by the author of the commentary called *Hridayaṅga* published by Rao Bāhādur M. Rai gāchārya from Madras.³ To silence those who would argue that Kālidāsa might as well have imitated the *Vaidarbha* school without having anything to do with the *Vaidarbha* country, it is necessary to point out that the sense which we put forward here is also corroborated by the early rhetorician Vāmana, who flourished in the 8th or 9th century

A.D. According to him, *rtti* means *Viśiṣṭa-pada-rachanā* (I, ii, 7), and is of three kinds, the *Vaidarbhi*, *Gauḍī* and the *Pāñchālī* :

“सा जेधा वैदर्भी गौडीया पाञ्चाली चेति ।”⁴

After stating this Vāmana⁵ writes :

“किंपुनर्वैश्वशाद् द्रव्यगुणोत्पत्तिः कान्यानाम् येनाऽयं देशविशेषव्यपदेशः । नैवं, यथाह विदर्भादिषु कृष्टत्वात्-त्समाख्या । विदर्भगौडपाञ्चालेषु तत्रत्यैः कविभिर्व्या-स्वरूपमुपलब्धत्वात् नत्समाख्या । न पुनर्वैशैः किञ्चिदुप-क्रियते कान्यानाम् ।”

The substance of the foregoing passage is that each school took the name of the country in which it flourished. The poets of a country developed one particular style of poetry and that particular style became peculiar to that country. This led to the rise of the various schools and this was why they were designated after the names of countries. Thus according to Vāmana who no doubt represents the current tradition of his age, the *Vaidarbha* school was established in *Vidarbha* which, according to Cunningham, roughly corresponds with the territory “extending from near Burhanpur on the Tapti and Nānder on the Godavari to Ratanpur in Chhattisgarh, and the Nowagadha near the source of the Mahānadi.”⁶

According to Vāmana the *Vaidarbha* school is superior to all other sister-schools by reason of its being *saṃagra-guṇā*, i.e., possessing all the ten qualities of poetry, *ojas*, *prasāda*, etc. To illustrate this Vāmana quotes⁷ the wellknown stanza from *Śakuntala* : *Gāhantām mahishā nipānasalilam śringair-mukha-tāḍyam*,” etc. This quotation, immediately following the above definite statement of the author, that the *Vaidarbha* school means that school which originated in *Vidarbha*, seems to denote that Vāmana believed Kālidāsa to have been a native of *Vidarbha*.⁸ This tradition, recorded again by an author who comes only a few centuries after Kālidāsa, must be looked upon as the most valuable piece of evidence we hitherto had, in fixing the home of the great poet.

N. G. MAJUMDAR.

¹ This has been brought to our notice by Dr. Barnett—*JRAS.*, 1905, p. 535.

² Gopendra Tripurāhara Bhūpāla, a commentator of Vāmana, quotes the following fragment of a verse—*Vaidarbhariti-saṃdarbhe Kālidāsaḥ pragaḥbhatē—Kāryālaṃkārasūtra*, Vidyābilāsa Press Edition, p. 18.

³ *Kāvya-darśa*, p. 28.

⁴ *Kāvya-lāṃkāra-sūtra*, p. 16.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁶ *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 526.

⁷ *Kāvya-lāṃkāra-sūtra*, p. 18.

⁸ It should be noticed here that M. M. Pandit Haraprasād Śāstrī mainly depending on the flora of Kālidāsa concludes that the poet must have belonged to W. Mālwā.—*JBORN.* 1915, p. 15.

SIDE-LIGHTS ON OMICHUND :

An Echo of the Intrigues before Plassey.

By SIR RICHARD CARNAC TEMPLE, Bt.

SOME years ago Sir George Forrest, in the course of his researches into the life-story of Robert Clive, found among the Clive MSS. belonging to his descendant, the Earl of Powis, two documents in Armenian (Plates I and II). Plate I shows an original letter addressed to Agha Petros and signed in the Panjābī character, "Amirchand" (Omichund). Plate II shows an unsigned copy of it, with a footnote. "Copy of Mār Mirchand's letter." Neither document bears a date.

There is nothing to show why Clive should have got possession of both the original and the copy and have so carefully preserved them, beyond the fact that the letter is addressed to Agha Petros and indicates that he and Omichund were closely connected in some transaction of a confidential nature with Wāch, a legitimate Bengali form for the name of William Watts, the Chief of the East India Company's Factory at Kāsimbāzār from 1752 to 1758. But a reference to the *Orme MSS.* preserved at the India Office supplies the explanation.

During the collection of matter for his *History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan*, Orme laid under contribution all the great actors in the drama of the foundation of our Indian Empire, including Clive and his immediate associates, and had copies and translations made of the papers and information supplied to him. Among a series of letters written by William Watts to Colonel Clive between the 29th December 1756 and the 27th June 1757¹ is a letter, dated the 8th June 1757, covering the Armenian document under discussion; but in order to understand both the document and its covering letter, it is necessary to review briefly the situation in Bengal at that period.

The events leading up to the determination of Surājū'ddaula, Nawāb Governor of Bengal, to oust the British from his jurisdiction have been ably set forth by Mr. S. C. Hill in the Introduction to his *Bengal in 1756-57*. From this it appears that in May 1756 orders were issued for the seizure of Kāsimbāzār Factory,² of which William Watts, then an old servant of the Company, had been Chief since 1752. On the 1st June, Rāi Durlabh, the Nawāb's *diwān*, attempted to force his way into the Factory, but meeting with resistance, he treacherously persuaded Watts on the following day to pay a complimentary visit to the Nawāb at Murshidābād. Watts was seized and the Factory was subsequently surrendered by Matthew Collett, the next senior official.

Then occurred the Tragedy of the Black Hole and the capture of Calcutta on the 20th-21st June, and meanwhile Watts and Collett were kept with others of the Company's servants, in prison at Murshidābād, and subjected to much insult until the 24th June, when the Chiefs of the French and Dutch Factories at Chandernagore and Chinsurah obtained their liberty for them and became sureties for their appearance when required by the Nawāb. They repaired to Chandernagore where they remained until the 13th August, when they joined the surviving members of the Bengal Council at Fulta on the Hūglī, whither the refugees from Calcutta had fled.

¹ *Orme MSS., India*, Vol. IX, pp. 2265-2317.

² Close to Murshidābād, the Nawāb's headquarters.

On the 20th August 1756 Watts was appointed a member of the locally constituted Secret Committee of the Bengal Council, the other members being Roger Drake, the Bengal President, Major James Killpatrick, the chief military officer, and J. Z. Holwell, the hero of the Black Hole. Immediately after the arrival of Admiral Watson's squadron with Colonel Clive for the relief of Calcutta, bringing orders from the Court of Directors in England for the foundation of a regularly appointed Select Secret Committee,³ Watts became one of its members and attended its first meeting on the 12th December 1756.

Calcutta was retaken on the 2nd January 1757 and Roger Drake reinstated as President. Then followed the attack on Hûgli and a Treaty with the Nawâb on the 9th February. One of the conditions privately accepted was that the British should have a representative at the Nawâb's Court, and Watts was selected for the office. His appointment was agreeable to Surâju'ddaula, who considered him a weak man, but Clive and the Bengal Council judged him fit for the post, "being very well versed in the country language, and in their politics and customs." His position was a delicate one. He was charged to effect by diplomacy the fulfilment of the Treaty and all the objects which the Council had in view, such as complete restitution for losses sustained and a guarantee that no fortification should be erected on the river below Calcutta.

Watts was accompanied by a native adviser and agent, a Hindu merchant at Calcutta named Amir Chand, but known to contemporary Europeans and ever since as Omichund. He was a Panjâbî who for many years had acted as an agent for the English in their annual investment of Indian goods in Bengal, chiefly saltpetre.⁴ There were constant disputes with him and the other merchants who contracted with the Company, and in consequence, the Bengal Council changed its policy in 1753 and began to deal directly with the producers at the various "aurungs" (factories) without the intervention of agents.⁵ Although Omichund continued to be the medium for the supply of certain goods, chiefly again saltpetre, this proceeding on the part of the Council naturally affected his friendly feelings towards the English and threw him into the arms of the native government, especially as he had been held in high esteem by 'Alivardi Khân, Surâju'ddaula's grandfather and immediate predecessor.

Apparently Omichund miscalculated his influence with the young Nawâb and therefore deemed it wise to regain the favour of the English, for from the time of the expulsion of the Company's servants from Calcutta he used every effort to render himself invaluable to the Secret Committee. This, however, did not prevent the Bengal Council from issuing an order in January 1757 for the sequestration of his goods on suspicion of his complicity in the proceedings leading up to the Black Hole episode, but as direct proof could be found,⁶ the order was rescinded. Omichund then induced Clive to take action on his behalf, with the result that he was allowed to accompany Watts to Murshidâbâd, on the 17th February 1757,⁷ as confidential adviser and agent, and from the letters of Watts preserved among the Orme MSS., he at first appears to have justified Clive's confidence in his loyalty.

³ Afterwards the celebrated Select Committee, finally developing into the Foreign Department.

⁴ As early as 1744 we find him in partnership with "Deepchand" (Dip Chand), a Patna merchant, dealing always in saltpetre, the name of the firm being then "Omichund Deepchand," as the Europeans understood it. The partnership was apparently dissolved in 1746, after which date both Omichund and Deepchand contracted separately. *I. O. Records, Coast and Bay Abstracts*, vol. V.

⁵ Orme, *History of Indostan*, vol. II, p. 51; *I. O. Records, Coast and Bay Abstracts*, vol. V, pp. 424-425.

⁶ The part he actually played in the Tragedy has never been cleared up.

⁷ Orme MSS., *India*, vol. IX, p. 2265.

On the 3rd March 1757 Watts wrote,⁸ "I must do this justice to Omichund to say he is indefatigable in the Company's interest; his assistance is of the utmost service to me he declares he will convince the Company and the whole world of his attachment to their service." On the 26th he reported,⁹ "Omichund is indefatigable in the service of the Company and if ever man deserved their favour he does; he is always with me, and as I am convinced of his superior understanding, I always consult him and am persuaded he is sincere and hearty in the cause of the English; and if our advice is thought worthy to be listened to, I do not doubt we shall be able to be of advantage to the Company and particulars; hitherto I think I have not erred." Again, on the 11th April, Watts wrote,¹⁰ "As Omichund has a superior understanding and as I am persuaded it is greatly for his interest we should be successful, I therefore consult him on all occasions, which I hope you will approve of." His illness, a few days later, caused Watts great anxiety: "Omichund is ill; if any accident should happen to him, we shall miss him greatly."¹¹

During the first two months of Watts's stay at Murshidâbâd Omichund's assistance was invaluable, and it was he who persuaded Surâju'ddaula to allow the English to attack the French in Chandernagore in March 1757, as a reprisal for assistance reported to have been treacherously given to the perpetrators of the Black Hole. After the capture of the place, Jean Law, Chief of the French at Kâsimbâzâr, endeavoured to re-establish his influence with the Nawâb, but the more attractive promises of the Company's agents prevailed, and Watts eventually gained the upper hand. Nevertheless, although the Nawâb withdrew his protection from the French, he was still suspicious of the designs of the English, and on Clive's demand for the complete fulfilment of the Treaty of the 9th February 1757, his attitude towards Watts became threatening.

Surâju'ddaula had by this time rendered himself odious to a large proportion of his subjects as well as to the Europeans in his dominions, and Omichund now devised a scheme to depose him. The particulars were first communicated, on the 17th April, to Luke Sraffton¹², who had apparently been sent to Murshidâbâd in connection with the Company's business at Kâsimbâzâr Factory. Omichund's idea was to obtain the support of the Seths, the powerful Hindu financial community of Bengal, and with their help and that of the British to set up Yâr Lutf Khân¹³, a military adventurer and an officer in high command in the Nawâb's army. On the 20th April Omichund had an interview with "Juggutseat" (Jagat Seth),¹⁴ the head of the fraternity, who seems to have received his suggestion with favour, and with the sanction of Watts, he visited Yâr Lutf Khân on the 23rd, when preliminary conditions were arranged.¹⁵ Omichund was now at the height of his power, and Sraffton warned Clive not to allow him too much latitude, as he "wants to have the whole honour to himself and cannot bear that any one should interfere."¹⁶ It is at this point that Khwâja (or Agha) Petros comes prominently into the story.

⁸ Orme MSS., India, vol. IX, p. 2277. ⁹ Ibid, p. 2285. ¹⁰ Ibid, p. 2291. ¹¹ Ibid, p. 2295.

¹² Ibid, pp. 2324-2326. Sraffton was one of the emissaries employed by Clive to treat with the Nawâb after the retaking of Calcutta. He was appointed Resident at Murshidâbâd when Mir Ja'fir was made Nawâb Nâsim.

¹³ Mir Khudâyâr (also Khudâdâd) Khân Lâti, called by Watts "Meir Godau Yar Cawn Laitty" (Orme MSS., India, vol. IX, p. 2299), with many curious variants, including "Murgodaunyer Cawn Lattee" (Ibid, vol. X, p. 2405). He had been brought to Murshidâbâd by the Seths, which may have been one reason why Omichund counted on their support.

¹⁴ Orme MSS., India, vol. IX, pp. 2326-2328.

¹⁵ Ibid, pp. 2329-2330.

¹⁶ Ibid, p. 2330.

Petros Arratoon, usually known as Coja (Khawāja) Petrus (Petrose) was an important Armenian merchant, whose brother Grigor Arratoon (Gorgin Khān) was a general of Mīr Kāsim.¹⁷ He had resided in Calcutta since 1748 and had rendered valuable service to the English at the time of its capture and in the negotiations following its recapture. He seems to have accompanied Watts and Omichund to Murshidābād, as he is mentioned in a letter of the 18th February, immediately after their arrival,¹⁸ and subsequent letters show him to have been employed as an emissary by both Watts and the Nawāb. On the 24th April 1757, Mīr Ja'fir,¹⁹ Suraju'ddaula's *Bakhshi* or Paymaster General, who had previously agreed to countenance Yār Lutf Khān's pretensions but had since been approached by the Seths as a more suitable candidate, sent for Petros²⁰ and desired him to tell Watts that he could secure the adhesion of the Nawāb's chief officers in support of his own claims if these were put forward. "This scheme," Watts considered, "more feasible than the other"²¹ and he urged its adoption by Clive, who readily acquiesced, since he was doubtful of the wisdom of setting up so comparatively unimportant a man as Yār Lutf Khān, while Mīr Ja'fir, brother-in-law of the late Nawāb Governor, 'Alivardi Khān, was a personage of weight and influence.

This change of candidates placed Omichund in an awkward position, for he could not hope to have any ascendancy over Mīr Ja'fir, the Seths' nominee, and he therefore seems to have determined to get what he could out of the Nawāb and at the same time to revenge himself on both the Seths and the British for overriding his support of Yār Lutf Khān. Ranjīt Rāi, the Seths' broker, was pressing the Nawāb for the payment to his clients of a sum agreed on by the Treaty of the 9th February, and Omichund seized the opportunity to suggest that if negotiations were conducted solely through him, the Nawāb might evade this and other obligations. Suraju'ddaula accordingly flouted Ranjīt Rāi and ordered a large sum of money to be paid to Omichund in consideration of his advice. Such conduct naturally roused the anger of the Seths, who not only declined to be associated with Omichund but used all their influence to set Mīr Ja'fir against him.

Watts, however, showed no distrust of Omichund until the 14th May. On that day,²² in reply to a letter of the 8th, in which Clive had suggested that an ample reward should be granted to the agent for his services, Watts strongly opposed a proposition "to give Omichund 5 per cent. on whatever money he may receive on the new contract," and added, "As I by no means think he merits such a favour or has acted so disinterested a part as I once imagined, I have not mentioned the 5 per cent. to him." To support his attitude, Watts gave the details that had recently come to his knowledge of the trick played on Ranjīt Rāi narrated above, together with other proofs of overreaching duplicity, greed and general untrustworthiness on the part of Omichund.²³ Three days later Watts, again wrote to Clive, repeating his distrust and reporting an interview, detrimental to the interests of Mīr Ja'fir, that Omichund had had with the Nawāb. In this letter Watts charges his former confidant with dishonesty, calls him a liar, and winds up with, "I have learnt many particulars relating to Omichund too tedious to mention at present, but they will astonish

¹⁷ Son-in-law of Mīr Ja'fir and the second Nawāb Nāsim.

¹⁸ Orme MSS., India, vol. IX, p. 2267.

¹⁹ Afterwards the first Nawāb Nāsim of Bengal appointed by the English.

²⁰ Orme MSS., India, vol. IX, p. 2301.

²¹ *Op. cit.*, loc. cit.

²² Hill, *Bengal in 1756-57*, vol. II, pp. 280-282.

²³ *Op. cit.*, loc. cit.

you."²⁴ On the 20th May, in a postscript to another letter to Clive, he remarks, "We are deceived and Omichund is a villain, but this to yourself."²⁵

Watts now, as far as possible, employed Petros in the room of Omichund, though he was careful not to arouse the suspicions of the latter. Petros was thus the principal go-between in the negotiations with Mir Ja'fir, who would have nothing to do with Omichund, whom he styled "an intriguing Gentoo [Hindu] without fortitude or honesty."²⁶ But Clive considered it dangerous to oppose him openly, although he had by this time the lowest opinion of him.²⁷

Having regard, therefore, to what was looked on as Omichund's treacherous nature, two treaties with Mir Ja'fir were drawn up: a false one containing a clause providing him with a substantial gratuity, and another, the true one, omitting any mention of him.²⁸ Watts was instructed to flatter Omichund and lull any doubts that he might express by telling him that the Select Committee were "infinitely obliged to him" for the pains he had taken "to aggrandize the Company's affairs," and further, "that his name will be greater in England than ever it was in India."²⁹ In reply, Watts wrote, on the 23rd May, "We [Luke Scrafton and himself] shall either deceive Omichund as you mention, or pretend to have dropt the scheme and leave him intirely out of the secret, whichever on consultation we judge the most secure."³⁰

Watts, Omichund and Petros were all this time still in Murshidâbâd, from whence Watts was anxious to escape to Calcutta before Surâju'ddaula could become aware of the plot to depose him. But in consequence of Omichund's intrigues with the Nawâb and his officers, it was necessary to induce the former to depart before the others, and he was persuaded to set out for Calcutta with Scrafton on the 30th May. On the way down, however, he managed an interview with Râi Durlabh at Plassey (Palâsî, eight miles from Murshidâbâd) during which Watts surmised that he disclosed the conspiracy with Mir Ja'fir, while he himself got the first inkling of the contents of the false treaty.³¹

On the 3rd June Omar (Aumee, 'Umr) Beg, Mir Ja'fir's confidential agent, was provided with copies of both treaties for his master's inspection, and on the 5th Petros took Watts concealed in a dooley to the palace of Mir Ja'fir at Murshidâbâd, and there the real treaty, drafted by the Select Committee, was signed.³² Watts effected his escape a week later, on the evening of the 12th June, and it was during this period that the Armenian document, the subject of this paper, was received and transmitted to Clive.

From the evidence available, the letter in question could not have been written before Omichund left Murshidâbâd on the 30th May 1757, or after the 8th June, the date of a letter from Watts to Clive mentioning its receipt.

On the 5th June Clive wrote from the French Gardens (Calcutta) to Watts at Murshidâbâd:³³ "You assured Mr. Scrafton, that Omychund once gone, you had no

²⁴ Orme MSS., India, vol. IX, pp. 2309-2310.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 2310.

²⁶ Orme, *History of Indostan*, vol. II, p. 150.

²⁷ Orme MSS., India, vol. X, p. 2415.

²⁸ The exact dates when the false treaty was shown to Omichund and when he found that he had been duped do not appear in the Records now available, but according to Orme (*History*, vol. II, pp. 158-159) the first inkling Omichund had of the false treaty was during a visit to Râi Durlabh on the night of the 30th May, and he first saw it on the 10th June through bribing a scribe (*Ibid.*, p. 163), and was told of the real treaty by Clive and Scrafton on the 30th June (*ibid.*, pp. 181-182).

²⁹ Orme MSS., India, vol. X, p. 2415.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. IX, p. 2415.

³¹ *Ibid.*, vol. IX, p. 2313; Orme, *History*, vol. II, p. 159.

³² Orme MSS., India, vol. IX, pp. 2313-2314.

³³ Hill, *Bengal in 1756-57*, vol. II, p. 398.

further obstacle to a conclusion, then why this delay? Surely you are deceived by those you employ, or you have been deceiving me, and all your aim was to get away Omichund. The affair [of the conspiracy to depose Surāju'ddaula] is now publicly talked of, and if it does not take place within a short time after the receipt of this, I will set it aside, being determined not to undertake it in the Rains."

Watts replied, on the 8th June, vindicating himself from Clive's accusations:³⁴ "I have not been duped as you must know by this time, and be convinced Omichund has been the occasion of the delay. As a further proof I inclose you Copy and translate of a letter from him to Petrus [Khawāja Petros]. Please to send for Petrus's brother [Grigor Arratoon] and ask him upon oath if Omichund did not dictate and he write such a letter to his brother. If this will not satisfy you, and Omichund's address has more weight than my proofs, I will send you the original letter with his own signing. Let me beg of you to comply with this request not to divulge what I have inclosed or wrote you to Omichund, till I am in a place of security, as he is implacable in his resentments, and may be induced to discover every thing by writing up here in order to sacrifice Petrus and me to his resentment. The Nabob and Meer Jaffier are at open variance, and it's apprehended troubles between them will soon ensue; the latter is supported by Laittee, Roydullub, Juggutseat³⁵ and others, but of this I shall write you more certainly in the evening."

The only document that Watts appears to have enclosed to Clive on the 8th June was the copy (Plate II) of the Armenian letter, and finding his mistake, he wrote again on the 11th, sending the translation, and no doubt the original. This accounts for the original, the copy and the translation being all three in Clive's possession, and the first two being handed down to his descendant.

Watts's letter of the 11th June³⁶, written on the day before he left Murshidābād, runs as follows:—

"I have this moment received yours of the 10th. Meer Jaffier and the Nabob continue with their forces armed night and day; Roydullub is faithful. Many Jemidars³⁷ have sworn to join Meer Jaffier in case of an attack. Upon it's appearing that you favour Meer Jaffier's cause, I imagine the Nabob will be deserted by most of his people, and you will have little else to do than the trouble of a march. As we hourly run the risque of a discovery and of course being then at least made prisoners, and as there is no depending upon the arrival of Cossids³⁸, your last being 3 days in the way, if I do not hear from you to morrow, I am determined to set out the next day. We are already suspected of wanting to run away; this the whole town talk of. Meer Jaffier has sent to me to get away³⁹ as possible. This incloses Omichund's letter to Petrus."

The enclosure is in reality a free translation of a part of the Armenian letter under discussion, no doubt given to Watts by Petros himself.

³⁴ Orme MSS., India, vol. IX, p. 2316. I give below reasons for identifying Grigor Arratoon as the "brother" mentioned, though of course there may have been others.

³⁵ These names are Yār Lutf Khān Lāti, Rāi Durlabh and Jagat Seth, the chief of the Seths. The first two were with Surāju'ddaula's forces at Plassey (23rd June 1757), but refused to fight, which supports the statement in Watts's letter.

³⁶ Orme MSS., India, vol. IX, p. 2317.

³⁷ Jemadar (*jama'dār*), military commander.

³⁸ Cossid (*qaid*), messenger.

"Omichund's compliments to Petrus. There's letters gone for Mr. Watts to forbid his coming down 'till permission is given from hence. You and I are one. Let us consider what is for our own interest and act so as to make it pass that we have had the whole management of this affair. If our friend is not set out, keep him a few days; affairs are not yet settled here; hereafter I will write you the particulars. You have a good understanding therefore there's no occasion to write you much. Our success depends upon each other. All my hopes are in you."

We are now in a position to discuss the document itself, and I begin with a transliteration thereof, followed by a translation and a free rendering.

Transliteration and Notes by Mr. S. M. Gregory.

(PLATES I AND II.)

Aminâpaitsâr Sâhâpi Sâhâp³⁹ Aghâ⁴⁰ Petros.

Arz⁴¹ linî virâgriâlîn ghullughûman⁴² wor minchî wâkhtas⁴³ Sâhâpitzas shenorhâ chunemq. Shwât fikrmandamq⁴⁴ menq, yev Amîrchandin⁴⁵ gholan lasîtzî yekî Gaurthî Sâhâpis hâghîghâtân⁴⁶ khârtzrî.

Asâtz 'qânî qâlâmes'⁴⁷ : âsâtz 'wor grîem' Amîrchandan. Sâhâpis ghullughûman bandagi⁴⁸ unî. Asûma thae tēghaes Wâchîn⁴⁹ grêtzîn, thae minchî menq grēnq wooh, mochoy ghûo wooh.

Menâtz yes dû mîn amq. Inch mîez lev linî aryes. Lev mârîdî :⁵⁰ derân hramân⁵¹ wo^hhch minchî virchan myernâ. Yev hrâmânôtz tânîtzan khâthîrjâm⁵² kâtzîr yes teghsâm. Yev ên bâryekâman wor hrâmânôtz khêt golêtza, yêkêla bhariya thae wooh, qânî or hetâtznes; zîra⁵³ dherêvas tēghas mâslahâtân⁵⁴ chî yeel. Mâslahâtân linî hakûtz lâzumîn⁵⁵ kegriem hrâmânôtz.

³⁹ Ar.-Pers., *ṣāhib-i-ṣāhibân*, lord of lords.

⁴⁰ Turki, Aghâ, a great nobleman, *lî.*, elder brother.

⁴¹ Ar.-Pers., 'arz,' a petition, a respectful request : 'be it humbly known.'

⁴² Turki, *qullûq*, service (*qul*, slave. Urdu, *qulî*, servant); 'in your service, to you.'

⁴³ Ar.-Pers., *waqt*, time.

⁴⁴ Ar.-Pers., *fikrmand*, anxious.

⁴⁵ Amîrchand, correct Panjâbî form of the wellknown name Omichund.

⁴⁶ Ar.-Pers., *haqiqat*, real state of affairs, the truth.

⁴⁷ Ar.-Pers., *kaldm*, words.

⁴⁸ Pers. *bandagi*, service, devotion : compliments.

⁴⁹ Wâchîn, to Wâch, Bengali form of the name of Mr. William Watts, Chief at Kâsimbâzâr.

⁵⁰ Pers., *mardî*, manliness, boldness.

⁵¹ In the original letter, between the first word of the eighth line, *mârdî*, and the fourth word *wo^hhch*, there are two contractions, replaced in the copy by *aryes*, the fourth word in the eighth line, meaning to do or perform, which makes sense, but does not at all convey the meaning of the original, as the contractions for which it is substituted, *derân hramân*, mean "the management,"

⁵² Ar.-Pers., *khâtîrjâm'a*, tranquil, at ease.

⁵³ Turki, *zîrâ*, because.

⁵⁴ Ar.-Pers., *ma^hla^hat*, affair, transaction, deliberation.

⁵⁵ Ar.-Pers., *lâzim*, necessary expedient.

Bêwra⁵⁶ grielan lâzum obi, zirâ hrâmânqad dânu⁵⁷ mârâs :⁵⁸ yev zirâ inda lû hrâmânôtnâ, yev hrâmânôtz levan imnâ. Im kull⁵⁹ bânân hrâmânôtz mâclâvânâ⁶⁰ tâta thoghel. Zidâ woch.⁶¹

AMIRCHAND.⁶²*Addition to the Copy (Plate II).*Mârmîrchadîn⁶³ grîn nâghlan.⁶⁴*Translation by Mr. S. M. Gregory.*

To the most illustrious Sâhibs, Agha Petros.

Be it humbly known in the service of him to whom the above is written, that up to the present time we have no favour [letter] from the Sâhib. We are very anxious, and hearing of Amirchand's arrival I came to the Pavilion;⁶⁵ I enquired into the real state of things about the Sâhib.

Amirchand told me to write these few words. He sends his compliments of devotion in the service of the Sâhib. He says that they have written to Wâch from here that so long as we do not write, no one is to come.

It remains that you and I are one. What is good for us, do that. Be thoroughly nanly, so that the management of everything is ours till the end. And be tranquil about your home. And if the friend who is to come with you has arrived, whether it is good or not, delay him for a few days, as deliberations here are not yet. Deliberations over, will write to you tomorrow what is necessary.

It is not expedient to write details of circumstances, because you are a wise man and because my advantage is yours and yours mine. My whole affair I leave open to your inclination. No more.

AMIRCHAND.

(Addition to the copy.)

Copy of Mâr Mîrchand's letter.

Free Rendering.

To Agha Petros.

We have had no letter from you up to the present and have become very anxious, on hearing of Amirchand's arrival, I came to the Pavilion (Gaurthi) to enquire into the real facts about you.

Amirchand has told me to write to you for him. He sends his compliments and says that Wâch (Watts) has been written to, to say that no one is to come until he hears from us.

⁵⁶ Hindi, *bêurd*, details.⁵⁷ Pers., *dânâ*, wise.⁵⁸ Pers., *mard*, a man.⁵⁹ Ar.-Pers., *kull*, all, entire.⁶⁰ Ar.-Pers., *inclination*.

⁶¹ Ar.-Pers., *zidda*, the ordinary shortened ending of a Persian or Muhammadan letter in India, *zidda hadd-i-adab*, more would be the limit of respect : 'your obedient servant.' In the original but not in the copy, just above the last word *zidda*, there appears the Armenian letter *cha* with two marks to the left of it, which no doubt represent the letter *wa*, so that the word would read *woch*, 'nothing.' A usual ending to Armenian letters in India at that period was *zida woch* 'no more,' in imitation of the Persian ending above mentioned.

⁶² The signature is in Panjâbî characters, but the last three signs are not at all clearly written. However, as Amirchand is a common Panjâbî name, they no doubt are meant for *r-ch-d*, i.e., *rchand*, with the *bindî*, *n*, omitted.

⁶³ Mârmîrchand in the copy seems to be a slip of the pen for Amirchand.⁶⁴ Ar.-Pers., *naql*, a copy.⁶⁵ For the reason for thus translating Gaurthi in the text, see *infra*, p. 197.

Plate I.

Handwritten text in Armenian script, likely a legal or official document, signed by Ami Chand. The text is written in a cursive style and is arranged in approximately 15 lines. The document appears to be a formal declaration or agreement, with the signature 'Ami Chand' visible at the bottom right.

Original document in Armenian signed by Ami Chand.

Plate II.

Handwritten text in a script, likely a rough copy of a document. The text is arranged in several lines, with some characters appearing to be in a different script or dialect. The handwriting is somewhat stylized and difficult to decipher.

Handwritten text in a script, likely a rough copy of a document. The text is arranged in several lines, with some characters appearing to be in a different script or dialect. The handwriting is somewhat stylized and difficult to decipher.

Rough copy of No. I.



For the rest, he says that you and he are of the same mind and asks you to act in your joint interests boldly, so that the management of the whole affair shall appear to be in your own hands until the end of the business. He says you are not to worry about your home because he is here, and you should delay the departure of the friend (Watts) for a few days, in any case, as the business is not yet settled. As soon as it is settled he will write at once what it is necessary for you to do.

It is not expedient to go into details because you know them and you are both in the same position, and he leaves the whole affair to you to deal with as you think best.

Date and Address of the Letter.

It will be seen, then, from the general evidence available, that the date of Omichund's letter to Agha Petros is narrowed down to the week between the 30th May and 8th June 1757, and from the correspondence quoted in this discussion it can be actually fixed as during the night of the 30th-31st May, for the following reasons.

It was written by Omichund from a place apparently called Gaurthi, of which more anon, to Petros who was then at Murshidâbâd. It could not have been written at the latter place, nor after Omichund reached Calcutta, as he did not arrive until the 8th June,⁶⁶ and it was received before that date at Murshidâbâd. So it must have been written on the way down, and Petros thought that his brother Grigor was present when it was written.⁶⁷ On the 3rd June Watts complains to Clive,⁶⁸ that "Omichund's four hours visit to Roydullub [Râi Durlabh] at Plassy has been the cause" of the set-back in the negotiations with Mîr Ja'fir. From Orme we learn⁶⁹ that Omichund twice gave Scrafton the slip on the way to Calcutta, at Kâsimbâzâr and at Plassey, on the night of the 30th May, and that he did not see him again after his second absence until 3 p.m., on the 31st. In the interval Omichund had had his conference with Râi Durlabh, at which Grigor Arratoon must have been present and this was when he had the letter written to Petros. Râi Durlabh, Surâju'ddaula's *diwân* was then in favour of Mîr Ja'fir's claims; Grigor, the brother of Petros, was, as Gorgin Khân a general in the service of Mîr Ja'fir's son-in-law. At the conference Omichund heard a rumour of a treaty between Mîr Ja'fir and the English which deprived him of his claims,⁷⁰ and his only chance of defeating it was to get Watts to remain at Murshidâbâd and thus fall into the hands of Surâju'ddaula. Accordingly, he first persuaded Râi Durlabh, and apparently Grigor also, to waver in their allegiance to Mîr Ja'fir, and then induced them to let him dictate a letter to Petros, with the sole object of delaying the departure of Watts and so upsetting the scheme in favour of Mîr Ja'fir. This does not imply that either Râi Durlabh or Grigor was aware of his real motive.

Omichund's plan miscarried because Petros remained loyal to Mîr Ja'fir and the English, and on the further journey down to Calcutta, Scrafton managed to allay the suspicions which gave rise to the letter.⁷¹

The whole evidence thus shows that the letter was written in the early hours of the 31st May 1757.

⁶⁶ Orme, *History of Indostan*, vol. II, p. 159.

⁶⁷ See Watts's letter of the 8th June, quoted above. Petros must have told Watts that he thought his 'brother' wrote the letter or Watts would not have used the terms he employed in writing to Clive. It is quite likely in the whole circumstances that Grigor Arratoon was present and there is nothing in the history of the time to show that any other brother of Petros was of sufficient importance for Clive to employ him in a confidential capacity. The fairest assumption is that Grigor was the "brother" meant by Petros, and it is not likely from the language in which the letter is couched, that the term 'brother' merely meant some unnamed relative.

⁶⁸ Orme MSS., *India*, vol. IX, p. 2313.

⁶⁹ Orme, *History of Indostan*, vol. II, pp. 158-159.

⁷⁰ Orme, *op. cit.*, loc. cit.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 159

The name Gaurthi, the place from which the letter is said to be written, is obscure. No such town or village in the neighbourhood of Plassey can be traced on any 18th century map, but it must have been close to Plassey and in the camp of Râi Durlabh. A contemporary plan of the battle of Plassey by Major Rennell, reproduced in Broome's *History of the Bengal Army* and also by Mr. Hill in his *Bengal in 1756-57*, vol. I, p. cxov, gives "the Nawâb's Hunting House" on the river, close to Plassey Grove. As Râi Durlabh was the Nawâb's *diwân*, his headquarters were no doubt in that building. Assuming this to be the case, we may take it that Gaurthi is a corruption of *chauthri*, through a metathesis *chaurthi*, such as is common in India, and it would then mean a pavilion in a garden (*chabâtra*), just the kind of place where such an interview as that between Râi Durlabh and Omichund would take place at night.⁷²

All students of the period covering the career of Omichund are indebted for this additional light on his methods of dealing with the English to the discovery by Sir George Forrest of the Armenian letter and its copy. Both documents have been deciphered, translated and annotated by Mr. S. M. Gregory, formerly of the Federated Malay States Civil Service, and it was by the help of Mr. Gregory's accurate translation that I was able to identify it with the incomplete and free rendering supplied to Watts and handed over to Clive. My thanks are also due to two Armenian friends, Mr. John Apcar and Colonel G. M. Gregory, for assistance leading to the decipherment by Mr. S. M. Gregory of documents which proved a stumbling-block to many scholars.

The language of the letter is that of an inferior addressing a superior, which shows that Watts was not quite correct in saying that the letter to Petros had been written by his brother.⁷³ What Petros meant to convey was that his brother was present and was aware of its contents. There is, in fact, no indication of the scribe's name.

The original (Plate I) is written in a difficult cursive hand, full of contractions, even of foreign words, sometimes marked by a line (*pativ*) drawn above the contracted words in the familiar European manner, and sometimes without any signs to mark them. The copy is, however, clearly written in a fine legible hand, despite the contractions.

The language of the letter is a vulgar form of the Julfa dialect of Armenian, current in India in the 18th century, in which the use of foreign words was common. Indeed, as will be seen from the footnotes, the letter is full of Persian, Turki, and even Hindustani terms, adapted to Armenian colloquial forms.

Reviewing the conditions surrounding this remarkable letter, one cannot help considering what would have happened had Agha Petros acted as Omichund desired and kept Watts in Murshidâbâd until Surâju'ddaulla had him in his power. Clive's letter of 5th June 1757 to Watts (*supra*, pp. 182-3) shows that had Watts failed in his mission, as he would have done if Omichund had had his way, Clive, for some months at any rate, would have dropped his scheme of deposing Surâju'ddaulla and setting up Mîr Ja'fir as Nawâb Nâzim under British suzerainty, and the world-famous battle of Plassey would not have been fought. No doubt so worthless a prince as Surâju'ddaulla would not long have retained his power, and no doubt Clive would in time have found means to obtain supreme authority in Bengal, but it would have had to be achieved in some other way. There was nothing then but the loyalty of Agha Petros to prevent the success of Omichund's proposal and a complete change in the story of British supremacy in India as we know it. The letter we have been discussing therefore just missed being of the first importance to history.

⁷² For the derivation, senses and uses of the *chauthri*, see *Travels of Peter Mundy*, ed. Temple (Eak. Soc.), vol. II, pp. 26 (and *fn.*), 44-45.

⁷³ See the letter of the 6th June 1757, quoted above, p. 182.

VĀRTTĀ—THE ANCIENT HINDU ECONOMICS.

BY NARENDRA NATH LAW, M.A., B.L., P.R.S.; CALCUTTA.

(Continued from p. 263.)

- (91) *Vastu-Vichāra*.—"On architecture." B. 4, 276; NP. ix, 56. *Auf.*, Pt. I., p. 568.
- (92) *Vastu-Vidhi* by Viśvākarman.—"On architecture." Mack. 133. *Auf.*, Pt. I., p. 568.
- (93) *Vastu-Sāstra-Samarāṅga-Sūtradhāra*, by Bhojadeva.—Kh 75. *Auf.*, Pt. I., p. 568.
- (94) *Vastu-Siromani*.—"On architecture." Pheh. 9. *Auf.*, Pt. I., p. 568.
- (95) *Ditto*, by Mahārāja Śyāmasāh Śaṅkara.—NP. V, 92. *Auf.*, Pt. I., p. 568.
- (96) *Vastu-Saṅgraha*, by Viśvākarman.—"On architecture." Mack. 133. *Auf.*, Pt. I., p. 568.
- (97) *Vastu-Samucchaya* by Viśvākarman.—"On architecture." Kāśin. 6. *Auf.*, Pt. I., p. 568.
- (98) *Vastu-Sāra*, by Sūtradhāra-maṇḍana.—"On architecture." NP. V., 92. *Auf.*, Pt. I., p. 569.
- (99) *Vimāna-Vidya*.—"On architecture." Burnell, 62^b. *Auf.*, Pt. I., p. 578.
- (100) *Vaikhānasa*.—"On architecture." Quoted by Rāmraj. *Auf.*, Pt. I., p. 610.
- (101) *Sāstra-Jaladhi-Ratna*, by Hariprasāda.—"On Śilpa." Bik. 708. *Auf.*, Pt. I., p. 644.
- (102) *Silpa-Kalā-Dīpikā*.—"On Śilpa." Burnell, 62^b. *Auf.*, Pt. I., p. 647.
- (103) *Silpa-Lekha*.—"On Śilpa." A work quoted according to Rāya-mukūṭa by Sarvadhara. *Auf.*, Pt. I., p. 647.
- (104) *Silpa-Sarvasva-Saṅgraha*.—"On Śilpa." Burnell, 62^b. *Auf.*, Pt. I., p. 647.
- (105) *Sakalādhikāra*.—"On architecture, attributed to Agastya." Taylor I, 72, quoted by Rāmraj. *Auf.*, Pt. I., p. 683.
- (106) *Sarva-Vihāriya-Yantra*, by Nārāyaṇa Dikshita.—"On architecture." Rice 46. *Auf.*, Pt. I., p. 702.
- (107) *Sarasvatīya-Silpa-Sāstra*.—"On architecture." Burnell, 62^b. Quoted by Rāmraj. *Auf.*, Pt. I., p. 714.
- (108) *Aparājita-pricchha*, by Bhuvana-deva.—"On architecture." IO. 1603 (two first chapters). The work is quoted by Hemādri in *Parīśha-khaṇḍa*. 2, 660-62-819. *Auf.*, Pt. II, p. 4.
- (109) *Ratna-Dīpikā*, by Chandevvara.—"On Śilpa." Rgb. 1022. *Auf.*, Pt. II, pp. 36, 114.
- (110) *Kahirānava*, by Viśvākarman.—"On Śilpa." Peters 4, 32. *Auf.*, Pt. II, pp. 26, 138.
- (111) *Viśvakarma-Mata*.—"On Śilpa." Quoted by Hemādri in *Parīśha-khaṇḍa* 2, 817, 825, 827, 828. *Auf.*, Pt. II, p. 138.

- (112) *Viśva-Vidyābharana*.—"On the duties of artisans by Basavāchārya." IO., 2680 (inc). *Auf.*, Pt. II, p. 139.
- (113) *Ghaṭṭotsarga-Sūchanikā*.—"On the erection of steps on the bank of a river." OS. 2, 298. *Auf.*, Pt. III, p. 37.
- (114) *Pratishṭhā-Tattva* or *Maya-Saṃgraha*.—"On architecture." Rep., p. 11. *Auf.*, Pt. III, p. 74.
- (115) *Pratishṭhā-Tantra*.—"On architecture in a dialogue between Śiva and Pārvatī." Rep. p. 6 (copied in 1147). *Auf.*, Pt. III, p. 74.
- (116) *Kṛishi-Vishaya*, by an unknown author. [The first few ślokaś quoted in the catalogue are identical with those of Parāśara's *Kṛishi-saṃgraha* printed at Calcutta (1322 B.S.), but the last śloka quoted in the same does not coincide with that of the latter.]—"A guide to agriculture." R. L. Mitra's *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.* (Calcutta 1871), vol. I, p. 179, MS. No. cccxvii.
- (117) *Ratnamālā*, by Paśupati.—"A treatise on precious stones." *Ibid*, vol. I p. 205, MS. No. cccxiv.
- (118) *Maya-Mata*, *alias* *Maya-Silpa*, *alias* *Pratishṭhā-Tantra*.—"A treatise on architecture founded on the canons of Maya, a Dānava, who is reputed to have built a palace of Yudhiṣṭhira. It is remarkable in being less devoted to religious ceremonies and astrological disquisitions than the *Mānasāra*.

Contents:—1. Architecture defined. 2-3. Examination and purification of the ground intended to be built upon. 4. Measurement of land. 5. Ascertainment of the points of the compass. 6. Fixing of pegs to demarcate the spots for building. 7. Offerings to gods. 8. Measure of villages and the rules of laying them out. 9. Ditto for towns. 10. Directions for laying out squares, octagons, &c. 11. Laying the foundation and the ceremonies to be observed on the occasion. 12. Plinth. 13. Base. 14. Pillars. 15. Stone-work. 16. Joining or cementation. 17. Spires or tops of houses. 18. One-storied houses. 19-20. Two-storied houses. 21. Three, four, &c. storied houses. 22. Gopuras or gates. 23. Maṇḍapas. 24. Out-offices, barns, treasuries, &c. 25. Maṇḍapa sabhās or open courts. 26. Linear measure,—of finger breadths, &c." *Ibid*, vol. II, p. 306. MS. No. 912.

- (119) *Viśvakarmīya-Silpam*.—"A treatise on the manual arts attributed to Viśvakarmā, the divine architect.

Contents:—Origin of Viśvakarmā, derivation of the word *takṣaka* (carpenter), *vardhaki* (sculptor), &c. 2. Height of man in different ages of the world; wood and stone for the formation of images. 3. Sacraments for sculptors and carpenters. 4. Halls for the consecration of Śiva and other gods. 5. Proportions of the images of the planets and liṅgams. 6. Formations of cars. 7. Consecration of cars. 8. Forms of Brāhmī, Māheśvarī and other goddesses. 9. Sacrificial or Brāhmanical thread. 10. Sacrificial threads of gold, silver, and *mukṣja* fibre; the different sides where images of gods and goddesses are to be placed; qualities of a kind of stone called 'Hemastilā' or golden stone to be found to the south of the Meru mountain. 11. Images of Indra, Māheśvarī and other gods and goddesses. 12-13. Crowns, crests and other head-ornaments. 14. Movable and fixed thrones for images; crests and other ornaments for the

head; repairs of temples. 15. Proportions of doors of temples for liṅgama. 16. Proportion of doors for other temples. 17. Temples for Vighnēsa. Most of these chapters appear imperfect and fragmentary, and the work is obviously incomplete." *Ibid*, vol. II, p. 142, MS. No. 731.

(120) *Manasollāsa*, by the Chalukya king Someśvara.—"A treatise on architecture and allied subjects. The latter part is taken up with a description of royal pleasures. In two chapters." (Incomplete). *Ibid*, vol. III, p. 182, MS. No. 1215.

(121) *Manasollāsa-Vṛttānta-Prakāśa*. P. D. Paṇḍit Vāmana Āchārya, Benares.—In Weber's *Berlin Catalogue*, p. 179. *Ibid*, vol. III, p. 182.

(122) *Silpa-Sāstra*.—Palm leaves, Karnāṭa character, "On construction of temples and images." *A descriptive catalogue of the Mackenzie Collection* by H. H. Wilson, p. 170, No. 4.

(123) *Silpa-Sāstra*.—Palm leaves, Grandham character imperfect. "On architecture regarding construction of ornamented gateways." *Ibid*, p. 170, No. 5.

(124) *Silpa-Sāstra*.—Paper—Telugu character. "Direction for making images." *Ibid*, p. 170, No. 6.

(125) *Silpa-Sāstra*, by Peḍḍanāchārya.—Telugu book. "On making images and ornamental work in gold and silver." *Ibid*, p. 304, No. 5.

(126) *Pañcharātra Dīpikā*, by Peḍḍanāchārya.—"A work on the manufacture of images, their dimensions and embellishment." *Ibid*, p. 170, No. 8.

(127) *Vāstu-Saṃgraha*.—Palm leaves.—Telugu character. "On architecture, erection of buildings, temples and fabrication of images." *Ibid*, p. 171, No. 12.

(128) *Gṛhanirmāna-Vidhi*. Author not mentioned.—Palm leaves. "On rules for the erection of houses, temples and other edifices." *Ibid*, p. 304, No. 6.

(129) *Ratta-Mattam*.—"A book on agriculture. Translated from the Kanada of Ratta, by Bhāskara, son of Nagaya and dedicated to Venkatapati Palligar of Eravar. (Astrological predictions of the weather, rain, drought and similar topics applicable to agriculture and the plenty or scarcity of grain.)" Telugu book. Palm leaves. *Ibid*, p. 303, No. 1.

(130) *Vāstu-Purusha-Lakṣaṇa*.—"On architecture." Canarese letter, incomplete. *A Catalogue Raisonné of Oriental MSS. in the Library of the late College of Fort St. George* by the Rev. William Taylor, vol. I, Madras, 1857, p. 313, No. 1562.

(131) *Aṃsumat-Kāśyapiya*.—"On śilpa." *Ibid*, vol. I, p. 314.

(132) *Silpa-Sāstram*, by Kāśyapa.—"On the structure of a Śaiva temple in Canarese letter." *Ibid*, vol. I, p. 314, No. 1585.

(133) *Kaṣetra-Gaṇita-Sāstra*.—"On land-surveying." *Ibid*, vol. I, p. 347.

(134) *Aṅgulashtārtha-Chintāmaṇi*, by Malla Someśvara.—"Malayālam letter. On architecture." *Ibid*, vol. I, p. 478.

- (135) *Ratna-Sastra*.—"On characteristics and examination of stones." *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 555.
- (136) *Manavala-Nārāyaṇa-Satakam*.—" (3) "*Vaiṣṇavar perumai*, the honour of merchants. The merchants must skilfully conduct their own business. They must not lay on too large profits. Whosoever comes to them, they must preserve an even and correct balance. If the dishonest come, offering to leave a pledge, they must give them no loan; but if the honest come, and only ask a loan without pledge, they must give it. In writing their accounts, they must not allow of a mistake, even if no more than the eighth part of a mustard seed. They will assist a (public) measure, even to the extent of a crore (of money). Such is the just rule of a mercantile class."
- (4) "*Vellarher perumai*, the honour of agriculturists. The Vellarher, by the effect of their ploughing (or cultivation) should maintain the prayers of Brāhmaṇas, the strength of kings, the profits of merchants, the welfare of all—charity, donations, the enjoyments of domestic life, and connubial happiness, homage to the gods, the *Śāstras*, the *Vedas*, the *Purāṇas*, and all other books; truth, reputation, renown, the very being of the gods, things of good report or integrity, the good order of castes, and manual skill; all these things come to pass by the merit (or efficacy) of the Vellarher's plough." *Ibid.*, p. 15, No. 2108.
- (137) *Nava-Saṣṭram*.—"On ship-building and navigation. But the work is chiefly astrological. Some directions are given respecting the materials and dimensions of vessels." *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 6, No. 2226. The same work is called *Kappal Śāstram* at p. 444 of the above catalogue.
- (138) MS. No. 790, Sec. 30 (name not given) deals with miscellaneous arts, mechanics, building, &c.—"On the art of constructing forts, houses, fanes; of settling a village; navigation and variety of other similar things enumerated as taught in 36 works, the names of which are given (in the MS.)." *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 350.
- (139) *Silpa-Nighantū*, by Aghora Śāstri.—"In Grantha character." *A classified catalogue of Sanskrit works in the Sarasvatī Bhāṇḍāraṁ Library of His Highness the Mahārājā of Mysore*. Class XIX, No. 533.
- (140) *Silpa-Saṣṭra-Bhūṣhalya*.—"In Grantha character." *Ibid.*, class XIX, No. 534.
- (141) *Devatā-Silpa*.—"With Telugu translation in Canarese character." *Ibid.*, class XIX, No. 535.
- (142) *Go-Sūtra*.—Oxf. 398^a. *Auf.*, Pt. I, p. 169.
- (143) *Go-Sānti*.—Burnell, 149^a. *Ibid.*, Pt. I, p. 169.
- (144) *Go-Sānti*.—66th paṇiṣaṭha of the AV.—W.P. 94. *Ibid.*, Pt. I, p. 169.
- (145) *Govaldya-Saṣṭra*. Author not mentioned.—"Subject—*Vaidya*." Oppert, vol. I, p. 533. MS. No. 7298.
- (146) *Go-Saṣṭra*.—"Subject—*Golakshapa*." *Ibid.*, vol. I, MS. No. 8576.

- (147) **Kalasastra**.—"Name of a work by Viśākhila." Mentioned in Monier Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* under the word 'Kalā.'
- (148) **Chitra-Bhāṛata**.—Mentioned in Monier Williams' *op. cit.* under the word 'chitra'. It seems to be a work on painting.
- (149) **Vastu-Sastra**.—(1) Rājavallabha maṇḍanam (see List II), (2) Rūpamaṇḍanam, (3) Prāsāda-maṇḍanam, (4) Devatā-mūrti-prakaraṇam.—"On Silpa." *Catalogue of Printed Books and Manuscripts in Sanskrit belonging to the Oriental Library of the A. S. B.*, p. 173, No. I. G. 89.
- (150) **Silpa-Sastra**.—A treatise in Tamil, said to have been originally composed in Sanskrit by Myen. *Indian Antiquary*, vol. V (1876), pp. 230-237, 293-297.

LIST II.

Printed works on Vārttā or its Sub-Topics.

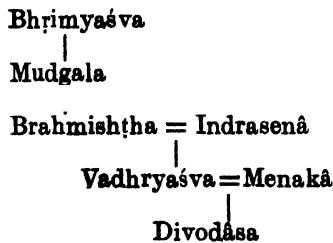
- (1) **Rājavallabhamāṇḍanam**, by Maṇḍana, son of Śrīkṣhetra.—"A metrical treatise on architecture in 14 *adhyāyas*; edited with Gujarati translation and over 100 plates and diagrams by Nārāyaṇa Bhāratī Yasavanta Bhāratī (Baroda, 1891)." Stated to have been composed at Udaipur in Samvat 1480. *A supplementary catalogue of Sanskrit, Pāli and Prākṛit books in the Library of the British Museum* (acquired during the years 1892-1906) by Dr. L. D. Barnett, p. 715.
- (2) **Viśvakarma-prakāśaḥ**.—"A work on architecture attributed to the god, Viśvakarmā. With a Hindi translation by Śaktidhara Sukula for Munshi Pālārām and hence conjointly with the text styled Pālārām-Vilāsa, pp. IV, 304 (Lucknow, 1896). The preface states that the work, first communicated by Brahmā to Śiva was thence transmitted successively to Garga, Parāśara, Bṛihadṛatha and Viśvakarmā." *Ibid*, p. 715.
- (3) **Silpasāstrasārasaṃgraha**.—"A manual of architecture by Kalyāṇa Sivanārāyaṇa of Surat. 12 plates. (Rājanagar, 1898). With a Gujarati translation by Kalyāṇadāsa Bhānābhāi Gujjar." *Ibid*, p. 375.
- (4) **Laghu-Silpa-Jyotiṣa-Śāra**.
- (5) **Viśvakarma-Vidyā-Prakāśaḥ**.
- (6) **Silpa-Dīpikā**.
- (7) **Vastu-Ratnāvalī**.
- (8) **Vastava-Vlehitra-Prasna**.
- (9) **Vastava-Chandra-Śrīgonnati-Sadhanam**.
- (10) **Silpadhī-Vṛddhī**.
- (11) **Yukti-Kalpa-Taru**, edited by Pandit Śivarchandra Śāstri with a Foreword by the present writer.
- (12) **Kṛishi-Saṃgraha**, by Parāśara.
- (13) **Kṣhetra-Prakāśa**.
- (14) **Ūpavanavinoda**, edited by Kavirāja Gaṇanāth Sen.

INDRASENĀ.

BY A. VENKATASUBBIAH, M.A., Ph.D.; MYSORE.

IN stanza 2 of the *Rigveda-Samhitā*, X. 102 occurs the word *Indrasenā* which is taken by Geldner (*Vedische Studien*; 2, p. 1) as denoting Mudgalānī (or the wife of Mudgala) mentioned in stanzas 2 and 6 of the same hymn. This hymn is obscure and the most diverse views have been held about its import. Bergaigne (*Religion Védique*; 2, p. 280ff.) thinks that the hymn depicts liturgical symbolism; Henry, (*Journal Asiatique*; 1895, II, p. 516 ff.) that it refers to the methods employed in primitive divination, and Bloomfield (*ZDMG.*, 48, p. 547), that the hymn refers to heavenly, i.e., mythological events and not to human events. Similarly, Profs. Macdonell (*Vedic Index*, II, p. 167) and Keith¹ (*JRAS.*, 1911, p. 1005 n). Profs. Geldner and Oldenberg, on the other hand, consider that it is an *ākhyāna* or *itihāsa* hymn and that it describes a chariot-race in which Mudgala's wife took prominent part. For literature connected therewith, see Oldenberg, *Bhagavata-Noten*, II, p. 318.

In p. 1328 ff. of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1910, Mr. Pargiter has attempted to throw some light on this hymn with the help of certain details contained in the *Purāṇas* about Mudgala, who is, according to the *Nirukta* (9. 3. 2. 3.) and the *Sarvānukramanī*, the son of Bhṛimyaśva and the author of this hymn. With the help of these details, Mr. Pargiter has constructed the following genealogy:—



And, from this genealogy, he has arrived at the following conclusions respecting the persons named in the hymn:

1° Mudgala was a *rājā* of the North Pañchāla dynasty and yet might also be regarded as a *rishi*.

2° Mudgalānī, whose name is not mentioned, was obviously Mudgala's wife, as is generally agreed.

3° Indrasenā was the daughter-in-law of Mudgala, being the wife or rather the queen of his son Brahmishṭha.

4° *Vadhri*, in stanza 12, seems to refer to Indrasenā's son and Mudgala's grandson Vadhryaśva.

5° *Keśi*, mentioned in stanza 6, was the *sārathi* or charioteer who drove Mudgalānī in the race.

Mr. Pargiter is therefore disposed to interpret the hymn in accordance with the above conclusions.

In the note referred to above, Mr. Pargiter has collected the information given by the *Purāṇas* about Mudgala only and has not brought out anything new about Indrasenā.

¹ In the opinion of these scholars (and of Śāyana also), *Indrasenā* is not a proper name at all, but a common name meaning 'Indra's bolt.' This word therefore has not been accorded an entry in the *Vedic Index*.

although Geldner had long ago pointed out that her name occurred in the *Mahābhārata* (Calcutta ed., 3. 118. 22; 4. 21. 11) where she is described as Nārāyaṇī and as the wife of Mudgala. It is therefore my object to give here some details about this Indrasenā which I have been able to gather from the South Indian text of the *Mahābhārata* as it is printed in the Kumbhakonam edition.

The stanzas referred to by Geldner in his *Vedische Studien* are found in this edition on p. 186 of the *Vanaparvan* (Ch. 114; 23, 24) and p. 47 of the *Virāṭaparvan* (Ch. 24; 19-22). In both these places, this text reads *Nālāyaṇī* instead of its doublet form *Nārāyaṇī*; and it thus indicates that Indrasenā, the wife of Mudgala, was the daughter of Nala. She must therefore be identified with the Indrasenā, who, we read in the *Nalopākhyāna*,² was born to Nala of Damayantī.

This inference is confirmed by the following story found in chapters 212 and 213 of the *Adiparvan* (p. 359ff.), where it is related by Vyāsa to king Drupada with the object of overcoming his repugnance to the marriage of his daughter with five men (the five Pāṇḍava brothers):

"Kṛishṇā, the daughter of Drupada, was, in her former birth known as Indrasenā. She was then the daughter of Nala and was married to the *rishi* Maudgalya³ who was old and mere skin and bones, who was reeking with a smell which was other than pleasant, whose hair had become white and the skin furrowed with wrinkles, who was afflicted with leprosy, whose skin and nails were peeling off, who was repulsive to look at and who was extremely irritable, harsh, jealous and fanciful.⁴ The blameless Indrasenā used to serve her husband faithfully and to eat what was left of his food (*uch-chhishta*) after he had eaten. One day, the thumb of Maudgalya came off when he was eating his food; and, Indrasenā, when she sat down to the remnants, unconcernedly threw it away and consumed the food left without any feeling of disgust. Her husband was much pleased at this act of wifely devotion, said that he would grant her a boon, and asked her often what she desired. Indrasenā, being thus frequently urged, begged of the *rishi* that he should sport with her, first dividing himself into five persons, and later becoming one person again.

"The *rishi*, owing to the power of his austerities and his *yoga*, accordingly sported with Indrasenā for many years, now making himself into five men, and again, as one man, in Indraloka, Meru and other places. Indrasenā thus came to the fore-front of *pativrata*s in the same way as Arundhatī and Sitā; and she attained a greater distinction in this respect than even her mother Damayantī.⁵

² Damayantī sāha Nalo vijahār 'āmaropamaḥ ||
janayāmāsa cha tato Damayantīṃ mahāmanāḥ ||
Indrasenāṃ sutaṃ chāpi Indrasenāṃ cha kanyakāṃ ||

Mahābhārata, 111. 54. 48-9.

³ The husband of Indrasenā is represented in the *Mahābhārata*, 4. 24. 21 as being aged more than one thousand years.

⁴ eśā Nālāyaṇī pūrvam Maudgalyaṃ sthaviṛaṃ patim ||
ārādhayāmāsa tadā kuṣṭhīṇaṃ tam aninditā ||
tvag-asthi-bhūtaḥ kaṭukam lolaṃ śrahyam sukopanam ||
sugandhetara-gandhādhyam valī-palita-mūrdhajaṃ ||
sthaviṛaṃ vikṛitākāraṃ śīryamāna-nakha-tvacham ||
Uchchhishtaṃ upabhuñjānāṃ paryupāste mahā-munim ||

Adiparvan, Ch. 212; 4-6.

⁵ eka-patnī tathā bhūtvā sadaiśvagre yasasvinī ||
Arundhatīva Sītēva bahubhūatī-pativrataḥ ||
Damayantīcā cha mātus sāvīśam adhikam yayau ||

Ibid, 212; 25.

"While the *rishi* Maudgalya thus played with Indrasenâ, many years elapsed and the *rishi* became weary (*vyarajyata*) of sensual pleasures. He therefore resolved to abandon this luxurious course of life and to practise austerities (*tapas*) in a retired place. On this resolve being announced to Indrasenâ, she fell down on the earth and earnestly besought the *rishi* not to leave her as her desire for sensual pleasures (*kâma-sevana*) was still unsatisfied. The *rishi* grew wroth at this bold and impudent request and uttered a curse that she should be born as the daughter of Drupada, the king of the Pañchâlas, and have five husbands.

"Grieving at this curse, and with her craving for sensual pleasure unsatisfied, Indrasenâ, too, repaired to a forest and practised austerities in order to please Śiva. That god, being pleased at the austerities, showed himself to Indrasenâ and conferred a boon on her that she would in her next birth, have five husbands."

The story, I may observe, is not peculiar to the South Indian text, but is found in some of the editions of the Northern text also, though not in all. Here, too these editions have the form *Nârāyaṇī* instead of *Nālāyaṇī*. It should be noted that the wording of the text—*Damayantyaś cha mātus śt viśesham adhikaṃ yayau*—informs us in an unmistakable way that Indrasenâ,⁶ who is described as *Nālāyaṇī* and as the wife of Maudgalya, was the daughter of Damayanti.

This story is very interesting and confirms the correctness of Geldner's interpretation of *RV. X. 102* in several respects:

1. Thus, it is clear from the above story that Indrasenâ, mentioned in stanza 2, is the same as the Mudgalâni mentioned in st. 2 and 6, and that she is the wife of the Mudgala mentioned in st. 5 and 9 and not his daughter-in-law as Mr. Pargiter would believe.

Mr. Pargiter seems to have been misled here by the use of the word *Mudgala* instead of the more correct form *Maudgalya*. Such negligence however, in the matter of adding patronymic suffixes is fairly common not only in the epics and *Purâṇas*, but in the *Rigveda* also. See, for example, *ZDMG.*, 42, p. 204ff. where Oldenberg has shown that the word *Vasishtha* is used in the *Rigveda* to denote not only the original Vasishtha but his descendant as well.

As regards the word *Mudgala* itself, we have already seen above that the *Mahâbhârata* in one place (III. 114. 24) uses that word to denote Mudgala's son (who, in I. 212. 213 is called Maudgalya). Similarly, it relates in the *Vanaparvan* (Ch. 261) the story of a Mudgala (whether the same as Indrasenâ's husband or a different person, there is no means of saying) who was offered, because of his zeal in giving gifts, the privilege of going to heaven in his mortal body (*saiarira-svarga*) but refused to avail himself of it. In this story, the hero is called Mudgala (in III. 260. 38; III. 261. 3, 11, 14, etc.) and Maudgalya (in III. 261. 6, 14, 25, 33, etc.) indifferently. And in the *Bhâgavata*, X. 21. 34 the word *Mudgala* is used of the father of Divodâsa, i.e., to denote Vadhryasva, the grandson of the original Mudgala.

There is thus no doubt that the Mudgala mentioned in st. 5 and 9 of *RV. X. 102* is identical with the Mudgala of the *Mahâbhârata*, III. 114.24, with the Maudgalya of the

⁶ The text, I may here note, calls Maudgalya's wife as *Mahendrasenâ* in one place—I. 212. 17.

Mahābhārata, I. Ch. 212, 213 and with the Brahmiṣṭha⁷ (son of Mudgala) of Mr. Pargiter's genealogical table.

2. The story also supports the opinion of Geldner (p. 1) and Oldenberg (p. 318, n. 2) that Mudgala was a Brahmin against those of Henry and Pargiter who believe that he was a king.

3. The story gives, as can be seen above, a graphic description of the decrepitude (*abgelebtheit*) of Mudgala, a point about which Bloomfield and Oldenberg seem to be sceptical.

Mudgala's decrepitude is thus well-attested and can be taken as a certain fact. It is not, however, quite so certain that it was this decrepitude, which, as Geldner believes, prevented him from riding the chariot himself in the race and led him to substitute his wife Indrasenā in his stead. A passage⁸ of the *Kāthaka-Saṃhitā* (X. 5; Vol. I, p. 130) which relates the story of a chariot-race between Vāmadeva and Kusidāyī shows that it was not unusual for women to take part in such races. Indrasenā, too, who was the daughter of Nala, a noted charioteer,⁹ must naturally have known more of chariots and their driving and of races than her husband the Brahmin *rishi*. These facts offer, in my opinion, sufficient explanation as to why Mudgala did not himself ride in the race but sent his wife Indrasenā instead as rider.

4. In interpreting st. 6 of the hymn. Geldner has followed Sāyana in thinking that Mudgalānī (i.e., the wife of Mudgala) was both the rider (*rathī*) as well as the charioteer (*sārathī*) in the race. He has therefore accepted (p. 8) Sāyana's dictum¹⁰ that the word *keśi* in that stanza stands really for the feminine form *keśinī*. Further on, however, Sāyana has given another explanation¹¹ according to which *Keśinī* was the charioteer. I am disposed to think that this last explanation is correct and that this *Keśinī* is, perhaps, identical with the *Keśinī* that was employed by Damayanti to observe the actions of, and to carry messages to, Bāhuka (i.e., Nala) in the *Nalopākhyāna*.¹²

5. Regarding Geldner's interpretation of st. 11 of the hymn—an interpretation which is not acceptable to Bloomfield, Oldenberg, and Pargiter—the story related above shows that the sense which Geldner attaches to the first half of that stanza is quite correct—so correct

⁷ I am, however, very doubtful that Mudgala's son was named Brahmiṣṭha. From the footnotes given by Mr. Pargiter on p. 1329 (*loc. cit.*) it can be seen that, out of eight *Purāṇas* which he has used to construct the genealogy in question, only two contain the word *Brahmiṣṭha*. In both these places, it is preferable to regard this term as a common noun (= the best of Brahmins; a *brahmarshi*) rather than as a proper name. The corrupt text of the *Harivaṃśa*, too, which uses the word *brahmarshi* in this context, favours this view.

Ludwig has, in his *Rigveda* (III. 171), set down a table where he has shown Vadhryasva, the father of Divodāsa, as the son of Devavān—a view accepted by Macdonell (*Vedic Index*, I. 376). Though there is not much evidence in favour of this view too, I have here provisionally adopted it for lack of a better-attested genealogy.

⁸ Vāmadevas cha vai Kusidāyī chātmanor ājīm ayātām | tasya Kusidāyī pūrvasyātidrutasya kūba-
raṃ nyamṇāt | sā dvitīyam upa paryāvartata | śhām vā . . . khaṃ vā chhetayāmīti | sa
Vāmadeva ukhyam agnim abibhaḥ . . . ||

⁹ *Mahābhārata*, *Vanaparva*, 64. 2; 69. 28-31; 70. 18. etc.

¹⁰ *keśinī sārathyabhiprāyena pullingatā*.

¹¹ *sā vā keśi keśinī sārathir asya*.

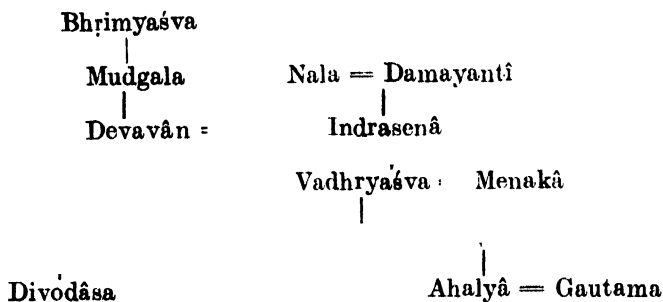
¹² *Mahābhārata*, III. Ch. 73, 73.

as to be surprising when one bears in mind that Geldner did not know of the story related above by the *Mahābhārata*. He has there rightly interpreted the sentence *parivṛkteva patividyam ānat* and has remarked that after winning the race and thus pleasing the old Mudgala, the net advantage gained by Indrasenā was not much to speak of, and that, on the whole, she was rather disappointed than otherwise. The correctness of this opinion is fully borne out by the above story, which relates, as we have already seen, how Maudgalya was pleased with his wife, offered her a boon, sported with her as she desired, but left her before her desires were satisfied and thereby disappointed her.

6. In the light of what has gone above, Mr. Pargiter's opinion that *vadhri* in st. 12 refers to Indrasenā's son seems to me to be quite untenable.

In the course of the above discussion, we have met with the names of two women, **Damayantī** and **Indrasenā**, that were regarded as patterns of *pativrātās*. These two were related to each other as mother and daughter. It is therefore interesting to find further that **Ahalyā** (wife of **Gautama** and mother of Śātānanda, etc.) who is also regarded as a pattern of chastity, was the daughter of **Vadhryasva**, the son of Indrasenā (*Bhāgavata*, IX. 21. 34).

We can now rewrite Mr. Pargiter's genealogical table as follows :—



Of these names, all except Bhṛimyaśva, Nala, Damayantī, and Menakā are found in the *Rigveda*.

NOTES AND QUERIES

"A FAQUIR'S CURE FOR THE CHOLERA."

(Selected from the Native Newspapers).

Prince of Wales Island Gazette, 9th October 1822.

The wife of a barber at Etabauzee Mobarazepoor, which lies to the north of Kristn-nugur¹, aged about 24, was seized with the Cholera Morbus, in the month of Ausur.² A Fakeer, who came to the house to ask alms, hearing of this, said to the Barber (*sic*) that if he would permit him, he could make a cure for his wife. As no doctor was to be had in the village they, according to the advice of the Fakeer, made her take some green leaves of Siddhy³ and Opium with the juice of siddhy

leave, and bound her hands and legs 8 inches asunder with a piece of rope. This stayed the symptoms of the disease, and after an hour they unloosed the knots. However, she was quite intoxicated by the draft she had taken and slept in the night soundly. The next morning she found herself quite recovered. The Barber wanted to make some present to the Fakeer, who sojourned there that day; but the latter declined the offer. He said that any one might be cured of the Cholera Morbus by that draft, and therefore we have given publicity to it for the good of the Public.

R. C. T.

¹ Referring apparently to some place in India and not to a place in Prince of Wales Island (Penang). It looks as if the paragraph had been translated direct from some Indian native paper.

² A misprint for Ausin (*Aswin*), (October).

³ *Siddhi* = *bhang*, Indian hemp (*Cannabis sativa*).

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE WESTERN CHÂLUKYAS OF KALYÂṆI.¹

BY A. VENKATASUBBIAH, M.A., PH.D.; MYSORE.

THE chronology of the Western Châlukyas of Kalyâṇi was originally determined by Dr. Fleet in his *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* (revised edition published in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, 1896, Vol. I, Part 2, pp. 277-584) by the help of dates recorded in the inscriptions of these kings. And this account was, later, confirmed by Kielhorn who has included most of these dates in his *List of Inscriptions of Southern India* (EI., Vol. 7, App.), and has given a synchronistic table for Southern India in EI., Vol. 8, App., based on the results of these dates. I subjoin here from that table the names of the Western Châlukyan kings with their (initial) dates :

Taila II.	..	..	..	..	..	973
Satyâśraya	..	..	..	..	..	998
Vikramâditya V.	..	..	..	..	..	1009
Jayasimha II.	..	..	..	..	..	1018?
Sômêśvara I.	..	..	..	..	..	1044
Sômêśvara II.	..	..	..	..	..	1068
Vikramâditya VI.	..	..	..	..	..	1076
Sômêśvara III.	..	..	..	..	..	1128
Jagadêkamalla II.	..	..	..	..	..	1139
Taila III.	..	..	..	..	..	1154
Sômêśvara IV...	..	..	..	..	..	1184-1189

The *List of Inscriptions* referred to above contains 83 verifiable dates of the Châlukyas, of which, however, 18 have been characterised by Kielhorn as slightly irregular and therefore needing emendation, and 35 as wholly irregular. Thus the number of verifiable dates used by him and Dr. Fleet for purposes of chronology as they stand is less than half of those that are at hand.

I have shown in my book, *Some Śaka Dates in Inscriptions*, that the great majority of these 'irregular' dates are regular enough to indicate to us with certainty the days on which the events recorded happened. I have also shown on p. XII of the Introduction of that book that the correct equivalents of some of these dates make untenable the acceptance of the dates proposed by Drs. Fleet and Kielhorn for the commencement and the end of the reigns of some W. Châlukyan kings. I therefore propose to give here a revised chronology of these kings, utilising for this purpose not only the 45 dates (of *KLISI*.) that have been rejected as irregular, but also the verifiable dates contained in the several volumes of the *Epigraphia Carnatica*² and the Reports of the Madras Epigraphists.

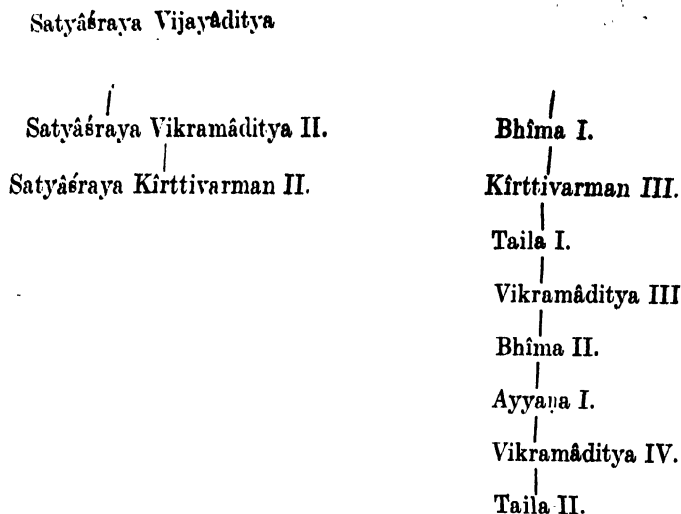
¹ The following abbreviations have been used in the course of this paper :—

IA.	for Indian Antiquary.
EC.	„ Epigraphia Carnatica.
EI.	„ Epigraphia Indica.
(F.) DKD.	„ (Fleet's) <i>Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts in the Bombay Gazetteer</i> , 1896, Vol. I, Part 2.
(K.) LISI.	„ (Kielhorn's) <i>List of Inscriptions of Southern India</i> , App. to EI., Vol. 7.
(V.) SSDI.	„ (Venkatasubbiah's) <i>Some Śaka Dates in Inscriptions</i> .

The English equivalents of the dates of the inscriptions cited below, have been, for the most part, calculated by me for the first time in accordance with the principles indicated in my book, *SSDI*. Of such equivalents, those which are certain (through their being calculated on the strength of more than one verifiable detail) are here printed in thick type.

² I may observe here that I have, by reference to ink-impressions, verified the text published in these volumes of the more important inscriptions that I have made use of in writing this paper.

The connection between the later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi and the earlier Chālukyas of Bādāmi is traditionally given as follows :—



Of these, nothing is known, beyond the mere mention of their names, of Bhīma I, Kirttivarman III, Taila I, Vikramāditya III, and Bhīma II.

Ayyana I is said to have married a daughter of Kṛishṇa and to have begot on her a son named Vikramāditya IV. This Kṛishṇa has been, with great probability, identified with the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa II (884-913), which places Ayyana somewhere about A.D. 930.

His son was Vikramāditya IV, who, it is related, married Bonthādēvi, daughter of the Kaḷachuri Lakshmaṇa-dēva. No inscriptions³ seem to have been found of his time ; and it thus seems that he did not reign as king.

³ In *EC.*, Vol. XI, Mr. Rice has published an inscription (*C.D.* 25 : p. 13) which at first sight seems to belong to his reign. This epigraph records that, in the year Śaka 892, on Sunday which was the thirteenth day of the bright fortnight of Pausa, and the day of the *uttarāyana-Saṅkrānti* when the *Mahārājādhirāja Paramāśvara Paramahatīśvara* [Vikramāditya-dēva, beloved of the goddess of wealth and of the Earth, was reigning ; and the *Mahāsāmanta* Pandarasa of the Chālukya family was in charge of the *nidhi, nidhāna, nīkshēpa* and *danḍa* of the Kadamba]ge one-thousand, Pandayya, (the same as above ?) made a grant of 12 *gadyāna*s on behalf of a tank and of the Tribhuvana [malla]-dēvalāya of Piṭṭagere. Although the record does not specify the reigning king as being a Chālukya, the mention of the word *Tribhuvana*[malla] in connection with the temple may be taken as indicating that the reigning king Vikramāditya was a Chālukya. And as the date cited corresponds quite regularly to 23rd January, 970, one is tempted to identify this Vikramāditya with Vikramāditya IV, father of Taila II, and to infer that he, too, had perhaps the cognomen of Tribhuvanamalla like his namesakes Vikramāditya V and Vikramāditya VI.

And in favour of such a supposition can also be construed the fact that the provinces of Nolambavādi and Kadambalige were always the strongholds of the Chālukyas. Thus, after the overthrow of the Western Chālukyas of Bādāmi by the Rāshtrakūṭas, we find governors of the Chālukya family ruling in these provinces, namely, the *Mahāsāmanta* Śūdrakayya, father of the Pandarasa mentioned above who was the governor of Kadambalige in 967, followed, later, in this office by his son Pandarasa. And similarly, after the overthrow of the Chālukyas by the Kaḷachuryas, we again find that the authority of the Chālukyan emperors Jagadēkamalla III and Sōmēśvara IV Tribhuvanamalla was acknowledged, if not really, at least nominally, in these provinces.

Although there is thus nothing inherently improbable in the above supposition that Vikramāditya IV was ruling with supreme titles in A.D. 970, there are three things that tend to cast a doubt on its correctness. These are—(1) the fact that the reading of [Vikramāditya-dēva] in the inscription, seems, so far as can be judged by an ink-impression of it, to be doubtful ; (2) the further fact that, according to an Adargufchi inscription (*KLISI.* No. 104), the reigning king at that time was the Rāshtrakūṭa Nityavarsha-Khoṭṭiga who was followed in 972 by Kakka II ; and (3) the evidence of numerous Chālukyan inscriptions that it was Taila II (son of Vikramāditya IV) who dispossessed the Rāshtrakūṭas of their sovereignty.

These facts, however, are not conclusive and can all be otherwise explained. I nevertheless think it better that one should wait until some more evidence is forthcoming before one gives a place to Vikramāditya IV among the Chālukyan emperors.

His son was Taila II Āhavamalla, who completely overthrew the Rāshrakūṭas and became ruler in their stead. The date of his coming to power is given in a Gadag inscription (KLISI. No. 140) as the year Śrīmukha, which must be taken as the southern luni-solar Śrīmukha which corresponded to Śaka 895 (= A.D. 973).

The earliest verifiable date we have for him is recorded in a Sogal inscription (KLISI. No. 141) and corresponds to 7th July, 978; the latest is recorded in a Tālgund inscription (KLISI. No. 145) and corresponds to 20th September, 996.⁴

Among his feudatories and officers (see *F. DKD.*, p. 428) must be mentioned the *Mahāśmantādhipati* Śāntivarman of the Māṭūra⁵ family who was ruling the Śāntāḷige one-thousand, the Eḍenāḍ seventy, and other divisions in A.D. 991 (*EC.* VIII, Sb. 477; p. 158); the *Mahāśmanta* Jātarasa who was ruling the Kadambaḷige one-thousand in 992 (*EC.* XI, Dg. 114; p. 129); and the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Chaṭṭu or Chaṭṭayya who was ruling the Banavāse twelve-thousand in A.D. 986 (*EC.* VIII, Sb. 413; p. 148).

An inscription at Hunavalli (*EC.* VIII, Sb. 529; p. 169) seems to indicate that Taila was reigning from Banavāse as headquarters in 985; and another inscription⁶ at Ānēgondi (in the Nizam's dominions), that he was reigning from Pampe⁷ or Hampe on the southern bank of the Tuṅgabhadra as headquarter in 988.

He was succeeded in 998 by his son Irivabedaṅga Satyāśraya, who is said in an inscription at Hirī-Chavuṭi (*EC.* VIII, Sb. 234; p. 76) to have been reigning in Śaka 921, Vikārin or A.D. 999. The earliest verifiable date for him is 22nd March, 1002 given in an inscription at Gadag (KLISI. No. 146); the latest, 26th July, 1008 given in an inscription at Manavalli (KLISI. No. 148).

He was succeeded in about 1009 by Vikramāditya V Tribhuvanamalla, eldest son of his brother Daśavarman or Yaśovarman. The earliest verifiable date for this Vikramāditya is 10th October, 1010 given in an inscription at Nellūru (*EC.* VIII, Sb. 471; p. 156); the latest, 29th December, 1012 given in an inscription at Karaḍihalli (*EC.* VII, Sk. 287; p. 259).

Among his feudatories and officers (see *F. DKD.* p. 434) must be included the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Chaṭṭayya mentioned above and the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Kundamarasa, who were the governors of the Banavāse twelve-thousand province in 1010 and 1012.

Vikramāditya V seems to have been succeeded in A.D. 1014 or a little earlier by his younger brother Ayyaṇa II. His name appears in the list of Chālukyan kings given by eight inscriptions⁸—three at Belgāme (*EC.* VII, Sk. 110; p. 149; Sk. 130; p. 177; with

⁴ *VSSDI.*, p. 125; No. 193.

⁵ For a brief account of some chiefs of this line, see Dr. Fleet in *EL.* XI, p. 5. Dr. Fleet has, however, there made use of some only out of the many inscriptions in *EC.* VIII that mention the chiefs of this family.

⁶ A brief notice of this and other inscriptions at Ānēgondi is given by Mr. Shama Shastri in the *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. VII, p. 285 ff. It is much to be desired that these inscriptions be properly edited.

⁷ This was, later, the capital of the Vijayanagar Empire.

⁸ There are four other inscriptions—*EC.* VII, Sk. 100; 137; 185 and *EC.* VIII, Sb. 277—which also seem to point to the succession and reign of Ayyaṇa II. They all relate that there were two kings who reigned after Irivabedaṅga Satyāśraya and before Jayasimha II. The name of the earlier of these two kings is given by all as Vikramāditya, while the name of his successor is given as Ayyaṇa by Sk. 185 and as Daśavarman by the other three. All these four inscriptions commit a curious mistake in the genealogy by making Jayasimha II stand in the relation of a nephew to Vikramāditya V.

a date corresponding to 23rd January, 1072; Sk. 123; p. 164, of about 1158); one at Chikka-Māgaḍi (*EC.* VII, Sk. 197; p. 213) of about 1181; one at Vuḍri (*EC.* VIII, Sb. 233; p. 74) with a date corresponding to 12th January, 1139; one at Bhāraṅgi (*ibid.*, Sb. 328; p. 116) of about A.D. 1158; and two at Harihara (*EC.* XI, Dg. 41, p. 82; Dg. 35, p. 69) the former with a date corresponding to 26th October, 1147. He seems to have reigned for a short time only, which fact perhaps explains why no inscriptions of his reign have been so far discovered and why his name has been left out in the genealogies contained in many inscriptions.

He was succeeded by his younger brother Jayasimha II who had the cognomen of Jagadēkamalla. He is represented by an inscription at Koḍakaṇi (*EC.* VIII, Sb. 16; p. 5) as reigning in Śaka 937, Rākshasa or in A.D. 1015, and by another inscription at Saṇḍa (*EC.* VII, Sk. 125; p. 265) as reigning in Śaka 938, Nala, or in A.D. 1016.

The earliest verifiable dates for him are 13th May, 1017 given in an inscription at Sālūr (*EC.* VII, Sk. 285; p. 258) and 22nd December, 1017⁹ given in an inscription at Belgāme (*EC.* VII, Sk. 125; p. 173 = *KLISI.* No. 152); the latest date is 25th April, 1042 given by two inscriptions at Āchāpura (*EC.* VIII, Sa. 108 bis and 109 bis; p. 211ff.).

Among his feudatories and officers (see *F. DKD.*, pp. 436, 437) must be mentioned the *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Sāntayya or Sāntivarman (*EC.* VIII, Sb. 60–64), the *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Ālayya¹⁰ and the *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Jayasimha or Siṅgaṇa-dēva, son of above (*EC.* VIII, Sb. 184; p. 64)—all of the Mātūra family, and governors of the Eḍenāḍ seventy and other divisions in 1032, 1036 and 1037; Jagadēkamalla Nōṇamba-Pallava-Permmānaḍi of the Pallava lineage, who had the titles of *Samadhigata-pañcha-mahāsabda* and *Śrīprīthivīvalābha* and was ruling the Kadambaḷige one-thousand, the Kogali five-hundred, the Ballukunde three-hundred, etc., in 1022 (*EC.* XI, Mk. 10; p. 161); Udayāditya-dēva and Jagadēkamalla Immaḍi-Nōṇamba-Pallava-Permmānaḍi, successors of the above, who were ruling the same provinces with the same *birudas* in 1033 (*EC.* XI, Dg. 71; p. 111) and 1037 (*EC.* XI, Dg. 126; p. 131); Mūkarasa, brother of the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Kundamarasa and ruler of the Sāntaḷige one-thousand in 1025 (*EC.* VIII, Sa. 7; p. 178); the *Mahāsāmanta* Satyāśraya, son of the above Kundamarasa and ruler of the Sāntaḷige province in 1030 (*EC.* VII, Sk. 30; p. 92); Brahmādeva¹¹ who was ruling the Banavāse twelve-thousand in 1032 (*EC.* VIII, Sb. 191; p. 66); the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Bijjarasa or Bijjaṇa of the Chālukya lineage and his brother the *Mahāsāmanta* Gōṇarasa who was ruling the Sāntaḷige province in 1042 (*EC.* VIII, Sa. 108 bis, p. 211); the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Madhumarmādeva mentioned in a Kaṭṭe-Bennūr inscription of 1025 (No. 490 of 1914);¹² and the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Rēvarasa mentioned in a Yēwūr inscription of c. A.D. 1040 (*EI.* XII., p. 269).

His capital or headquarter was at Tagarīla in 1032 (*EC.* VII, Sk. 20a; p. 98) and at Ghaṭṭada-kere in 1038 (*EC.* VII, Sk. 153; p. 194).

⁹ *VSSDI.*, p. 128; No. 203.

¹⁰ The *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Ālayya is represented by the inscription as having been the governor of the Banavāse twelve-thousand and the Sāntaḷige one-thousand provinces. He was killed at some time before 24th December, 1037 in a fight at Kuppagaḍde with the *Māṇḍalika* Kundama.

¹¹ This Brahmādeva was the ruler of the Nāgarakhaṇḍa seventy in 1029 (*EC.* VII, Sk. 81; p. 108).

¹² That is, No. 490 of the Madras Epigraphist's collection for 1914; and similarly in other such references.

Jayasimha was succeeded by his son Sômesvara I, who had the double *biruda* of Trailôkyamalla-Âhavamalla. The earliest date for him is **23rd January, 1043** given by an inscription at Belgâme (*EC.* VII, Sk. 323 ; p. 273 = *KLISI.* No. 160)¹³ and another at Hâli (*KLISI.* No. 159).¹⁴ He died on the 29th or 30th of March, 1068 by entering the waters of the Tungabhadra as is related in another Belgâme inscription (*EC.* VII, Sk. 136 ; p. 181).

Among his queens (see *F. DKD.* p. 438) must be included Hoysala-dêvi who was his *piriy-arasi* or senior queen and was ruling from Kalyâni as capital¹⁵ on **24th December, 1053** (*EC.* VII, Hl. 1 ; p. 275). And among his feudatories and officers (see *F. DKD.* p. 439) must be mentioned the *Mahâmanḍalêśvara* Lakshmarasa who was the governor of the Banavâse twelye-thousand in 1067 (*EC.* VII, Sk. 19 ; p. 88) ; Trailôkyamalla Nanni-Nolamba-Pallava-Permmânaḍi, who, with the *birudas* of *Samadhigata-pañcha-mahâśabda* and *Śripriṭhivīvalabha*, was ruling the Kadambaḷige one-thousand, Kogali five-hundred, and Ballukunde three-hundred in 1047 (*EC.* XI, Dg. 20 ; p. 49) ; his successor Narasiṅghadêva, who, with the same *birudas*, was ruling the above provinces in 1049 (*EC.* XI, Jl. 10 ; p. 151) ; Chôrayadeva, son of the above (*EC.* XI, Jl. 10 ; p. 151) ; the *Mahâśāmantas* Eragarasa and Siriyamarasa of the Ahihaya family (*EI.* XII, p. 292) ; the *Mahâmanḍalêśvara* Satyâśrayadêva of the Mâtûra family who was ruling the Eḍenâḍ seventy and other divisions in 1057 (*EC.* VIII, Sb. 500 ; p. 163) ; the *Mahâpradhâna Dandandîyaka* Rûpabhaṭṭayya who was governing the 18 *agrahâras* and the *vaddarâvula* in 1065 (*EC.* VII, Sk. 110 ; p. 197) ; the *Dandandîyaka* Udayâditya who was ruling the Banavâse and Sântalige provinces in 1065 (*EC.* VIII, Sb. 249 ; p. 78) ; the *Mahâmanḍalêśvara* Trailôkyamalla Vîra-Sântara who was ruling the Sântalige one-thousand in 1062 (*EC.* VIII, Nr. 58 ; p. 278) ; and the *Mahâmanḍalêśvara* Trailôkyamalla Bhujabala-Sântara who was ruling the same province in 1067 (*EC.* VIII, Nr. 59 ; p. 279).

We learn from a Belgâme inscription (*EC.* VII, Sk. 169 ; p. 197) that his capital or headquarter in 1067 was Kâdaravaḷli or Kâdarôḷi.

He was succeeded by his eldest son, Sômesvara II, surnamed Bhuvanaikamalla, who was anointed on the throne on **11th April, 1068** (*EC.* VII, Sk. 136 ; p. 181) about 13 days after the death of his father. The latest date for him is **24th January, 1076** given by an inscription at Kâdarôḷi (*KLISI.* No. 178).¹⁶

An inscription at Torevanda (*EC.* VIII, Sb. 299 ; p. 108) dated, seemingly, in 1069 shows that his capital (*neleviḍu*) at that time was Baṅkâpura ; and another at Nîralgi (*F. DKD.*, p. 444) dated in 1074 also relates that the king was then at Baṅkâpura. It would thus seem that Sômesvara II lived more at Baṅkâpura than at Kalyâni. To the list of his feudatories given by Dr. Fleet (*DKD.* p. 443), we must add the name of the Kâdamba *Mahâmanḍalêśvara* Kîrttivarman II who was ruling the Banavâse province in 1071 (*EC.* VIII, Sb. 387 ; p. 112).

¹³ *VSSDI.*, p. 134 ; No. 216.

¹⁴ *VSSDI.*, p. 129 ; No. 204.

¹⁵ Dr. Fleet has pointed out (*DKD.*, p. 440, n. 8) that the earliest mention of Kalyâni as capital is in an inscription at Kembhâvi of 1053. To this we have now to add the Honnâḷi inscription likewise dated in 1053. As an inscription at Muttagaḍûr (*EC.* XI, Hk. 65, p. 205) mentions that Trailôkyamalla was ruling from Banaṇikeya-ghaṭṭa in 1051, it seems likely that the capital was removed to Kalyâni at some time in 1052 or 1053.

¹⁶ *VSSDI.*, p. 114 ; No. 160.

Sômêśvara II was succeeded by his brother Vikramāditya VI who forcibly deposed Sômêśvara and had himself anointed on the throne. It is difficult to determine in which year this event took place. For, on the one hand, we have seen from the Kādarōḷi inscription that Sômêśvara II was the reigning king on 24th January, 1076. On the other hand, an inscription at Hulēgundi (*EC.* XI, Cd. 82; p. 32) records that, when the reign of the *Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Paramabhaṣṭāraka* Tribhuvanamalla-dēva was ever increasing in prosperity, the *Mahāsāmanta* Maṅgiy-Ēchayya who was a dweller at the lotus-feet of the *Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Trailōkyamalla-Nolamba-Pallava-Permmānaḍi Jayasimha-dēva* (i.e. of prince Jayasimha III), and who was ruling the Sūlgallu seventy, made a grant of lands to some temples on the occasion of *uttarāyana-saṅkrānti* on Monday, the eighth day of the dark fortnight of Pushya in the year Śaka 995, Pramādiha. And, similarly, an inscription at Hūvinahāḍagalli (No. 127 of 1913) records that the king Tribhuvanamalla, while he was encamped at Gōvindavāḍi, made the grant of a village to a temple on the occasion of *vyatipāta* on Friday, the eighth day of the dark fortnight of Phālguna in the year Śaka 993, Sādhāraṇa. The dates of these two inscriptions correspond quite regularly to **Monday, 23rd December, A.D. 1073** and **Friday, 25th February, A.D. 1071**; and they show that in 1071 and 1073 it was Vikramāditya VI and not his brother Sômêśvara Bhuvanai-kamalla who was recognised as sovereign ruler in the Kogali five-hundred and the Kadam-balige one-thousand province (of which the Sūlgallu seventy was a subdivision).

The overlapping dates of these epigraphs go to show that Vikramāditya VI made himself independent of Sômêśvara II and assumed sovereign titles at some time before December, 1073 or February, 1071, that he and Sômêśvara were both ruling as emperors for some time, and that ultimately Sômêśvara was dispossessed of his sovereignty at some time after **25th December, 1074** (*KLISI.* No. 177) or **23rd January, 1076** (*KLISI.* No. 178). The inscriptions thus confirm the account given by Bilhaṇa in his *Vikramāṅkadēva-charita* (cantos IV, V, VI) that Sômêśvara II was a weak and tyrannical ruler who oppressed, and alienated the affections of, his subjects, that he meditated evil towards his brother Vikramāditya, and that Vikramāditya, learning of this, left the capital with his brother Jayasimha and a large force, defeated the army sent against him by Sômêśvara, and eventually deposed him and had himself crowned as emperor.

On p. 83ff. of my book (*VSSDI*), I have discussed the question of the starting-point of the Chālukya-Vikrama era which was founded by Vikramāditya after he had himself anointed as emperor. I have there shown that the majority of the dates recorded in that era favour the view that the era began in the year A.D. 1076.¹⁷ And I am accordingly disposed to think that the correct equivalent of the date recorded in the Wāḍagēri¹⁸ inscription is *Thursday, 11th February, 1076*, and that Vikramāditya was anointed as emperor on that day or shortly before that day. As he had assumed imperial titles at some time before December, 1073 (or February, 1071), as we saw above, there is thus an interval of two (four) years and some months between that event and his anointment on the throne.

(To be continued.)

¹⁷ I may here add that since I wrote those pages I have examined nearly a hundred more dates recorded in that era and that the great majority of these dates, too, have confirmed me in the view expressed above.

¹⁸ For a discussion of the equivalents of this date, see *VSSDI.*, p. 84.

MAURYANA.

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In connection with my lectures to the Post-Graduate Students of the Calcutta University I have had occasion to study Mauryan Sculpture. I find I am unable to agree with the various theories archæologists have hitherto promulgated. The reasons which lead me to this conclusion are set forth in this paper with the hope that they will receive an impartial consideration from scholars interested in the subject.

The theories referred to resolve themselves into the following :—

(1) Mauryan Sculpture was executed by a Persian.

(2) Ditto imitated from Persian.

(3) It may have been done by an Asiatic Greek.

(Vide Vincent Smith's *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 60; Sir John Marshall's *A Guide to Sanchi*, pp. 9 and 10; Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol. I, pp. 58-60.)

The theories are based upon the following :—

(1) Some Aśokan pillars which unfortunately want both abacus and capital, e.g., Delhi Topra, Delhi, Meerut, Allahabad, Lauria Araraj, Sanchi, Rummindei, Nigliwa.

(2) Columns more or less complete, e.g.---

(i) Sârînâth.

(ii) Saûkisa.

(iii) Lauria Nandangarh,—(a) Lion.

(iv) Ditto —(b) Bull.

(v) Bakhira.

(3) Certain other sculptures in the round which we shall deal with later.

To take the columns first,—

(i) They all apparently lack a base. I have nowhere found any reference to one. At any rate in the only column which appears to have successfully resisted the ravages of time, the Barbarian and the Archæologist, there is no base.

(ii) Then comes the shaft, which is round and highly polished—extremely elongated, and in most cases slightly tapering. The Bakhira column, however, is short, very thick and not tapering. From the slight attenuation towards the top, archæologists have concluded a wooden origin,—why, I fail to see. I did not know what the trunk of a tree tapered towards one end. And even if it did, it would not prove anything. If the tree stumps used in modern huts be taken as a clue (they do not taper in the least bit); of this later.

(iii) Then comes the capital—which contains the following decorations :—

(a) 4 wheels alternating with the 4 animals, the lion, bull, horse and the elephant in Sârînâth.

(b) In Saûkisa—the lotus followed by the so-called honey-suckle, then the rush ornament carved all round. This is placed above the “cable ornament” and “the bead and reel.” I apologise for the terminology, which I here adopt to save confusion.

(c) In both the Lauria Nandangarh Columns—the row of geese with heads downwards apparently pecking at something. This according to Vincent Smith is in basrelief. Ideas of basso, mezzo and alto do not appear to be a constant quantity.

(d) In Bakhira—it is a rectangle above the cable.

(e) In Allahabad—there is the so-called honey-suckle, etc. In most it is circular—except at Bakhira where it is rectangular.

(N.B.—What is called a honey-suckle ornament by some is called a palmette by Vincent Smith. Apparently they are not sure which plant it is supposed to represent).

In each case these decorations surmount “a bell capital”—‘so-called’ because firstly it is not a capital, and secondly it is not a bell. The eye which does not trace in it a representation of a lotus—an inverted lotus must be singularly blind.

(iv) The Abacus, which is invariably zoophorous.

(a) In Sarnâth the animals are four lions.

(b) Sankisa—1 elephant.

(c) Lauria Nandangarh—1 lion.

(d) Ditto —1 bull.

(e) Bakhira —1 lion.

We must discuss the general characters of these columns before we begin to ascertain whether there is any resemblance with Persian which the Persomaniacs fancy they have detected.

(a) These columns do not support any wall, or any cornice—there is not the faintest trace of any building anywhere. They are simply landmarks of the progress of the piety of the monarch. (b) They are all in grey sandstone. (c) They are highly polished and hence there is no scope for the addition of any kind of plaster, stucco or clay. (d) The high polish also negatives the superimposition of any colour. (e) Nor is there any reason to believe that they were encased in metal or enamel plate. (f) The technical quality of the whole is of a highly developed kind. It bears the stamp of the uttermost decadence, thus presupposing the existence of the two previous periods of art of this type—the classical and the primitive. The extraordinary realism of each detail cannot fail to attract notice, nor the infinite care which has been devoted to the delineation of each detail. The rapid and easy transition in any sculptured piece, from relief of one kind to another, from basso to mezzo, from mezzo to alto, without any abruptness, (vulgarly without chipping off a bit of a brittle material like sandstone), also the delicate modelling, *e.g.* of the legs and the body of the elephant, the geese, the tendrils (?) of the lotus—all are indications of an advanced stage of sculpture. The proportions which would make them classical sculpture are there, only the Promethean spark is absent. It is not primitive—because it is not in the least degree stiff. We must now come to details:

(1) *Material.*—Asokan columns are invariably made of monolithic grey sandstone. In Persia various materials are used—a limestone of good quality—some varieties are so hard as to deserve the name of marble—so fine, so hard and so close-grained. These rocks vary in colour—from light to deep-grey, with here and there yellowish and dark brown tones. Other materials—artificial stones, burnt brick, crude brick, also a kind of plaster—white and as hard as stone—are used (Perrot and Chipiez, pp. 47-48). It is clear that the materials used in Persia were different and there is no evidence that they were familiar with grey sandstone. It would have taken them some time to adapt themselves to the exigencies of the strange material. Their first attempt with a new material could hardly have yielded such “precious” products. It is one of the axioms of Art that a new material baffles the artist for ages, before it ultimately yields to him.

(2) *Base*.—I have observed above that Maurya columns have no base—in Persia they invariably have that appendage. And the reason is not far to seek—if Persian structures are inspired by the huts of peasants, such as those that we see now and which doubtless existed in profusion in those times, the reason becomes apparent. The truth is that Persian structures are built from wooden models—and some stone was necessary to prevent the access of damp to the wooden columns. See Perrot and Chipiez, p. 98, The Persian base presents an infinite variety—a rectangular piece and above it, a series of concentric circles bulging in the middle; a bell highly decorated with rosettes, &c., and above a round superstructure, &c. (Observe that this bell does not present any point of similarity with the lotus or even a conventionalised lotus—there is not the faintest indication of a leaf, a petal or tendril). Also a highly conventional ornament of a highly decorative type which is utterly divergent from any decoration found in India. See Perrot and Chipiez, pp. 88, 89, 91 and 93; for other bases, Dieulafoy II, pp. 82-85.

(3) *Shaft*.—In India it is plain, round, highly polished. In Persia there is no mention of any polish. That would not be necessary, because of the coating of paint, plaster or metal which would usually be added. Secondly, it is almost invariably fluted. The only coincidence is that they sometimes taper in Persia (Dieulafoy), in India almost invariably. The base would naturally have to be heavier and therefore thicker to counteract the law of gravitation with the increase of length. This would be eminently necessary. The respective height cannot be compared from photos—which are at best misleading. In Persia columns are never monolithic, in the Mauryan period, always. It is very strange that Indian art which merely imitated Persian should have made that experiment at the very outset.

The vast majority of Persian shafts are fluted, three given in Dieulafoy are plain—II, p. 83, figs. 59, 60 and 61. But evidently the plaster (which would be fluted) has peeled off. All these three are very rough in appearance which is opposed to the spirit and grain of Persian art. Lastly Perrot and Chipiez assert—(p. 87)—“It is fluted in all instances save in the façades of the Necropolis at Persepolis (Pl. I) and the single column that still remains of the Palace of Cyrus in the upland valley of the Polvar (fig. 11). In the latter case the building dates from a time when Persian art had not constituted itself and was as yet groping to strike out a path of its own. On the contrary the rock-cut tombs which are coeval with the Palaces of Darius and Xerxes, and in them the shaft is plain it was because the vaults stood a considerable height above ground. To have them fluted would have reduced the column still further and divested it from a frank clear aspect.”

(4) *Capital*.—The lower element of all capitals in India is a lotus—represented with extraordinary realism—with even the veins, and the slight curves found at the tip of the leaves. (N.B.—Mauryan Art is always realistic—Persian Art never.) The inverted lotus bulges at the bottom, narrows down in the middle and again bulges at the top—exactly as a full-blown lotus would do. Below this, there is the “cable” as well as above it, together with the “bead and reel.” The prototype of the cable is the rope, (as well as of the reel) and the bead must also have been found in profusion in India (if it is really a bead). As Aśokan art was eminently realistic, they transferred these common objects to stone (unless it be the contention of the European archaeologist that Indians borrowed the rope from the West). What is called a bead and reel may also be a different variety of rope. Nothing similar is found in Persia—to judge from the plates in Perrot and Chipiez,

pp. 91—97. Above this is a round (or rectangular) piece with a bas-relief of various plants. Fergusson failing to find an analogy in Persia has to rush to Assyria for a prototype. What he calls the honey-suckle is dubbed a palmette by Vincent Smith as has been stated above. At any rate one discerns a lotus on the flat, an ornament which must have been meant to represent a plant of the screw-piece variety, (or even a fading lotus), the last must have been leaves swaying with the wind and curled up in various manners—treated of course as decoration. Figure 5 in Fergusson, page 57, is misleading—it is essentially different from that in the Indian Museum, also from the plates in Vincent Smith—(probably another case of a theory based on an incorrect illustration).

The Sárnâth column presents a different type. The four animals alternating with wheels are represented with great fidelity. The modelling is delicate, the bull is typically Indian and the transition from basso to alto (which is the insignia of an extremely advanced art) is very clear; some of the spokes of the wheel appear to be in deeper relief than others. (Wiekoff observes that it was to the credit of Roman art to have discovered "Illusionism" which is utterly absent in Greek art. To explain the term in a crude manner:—illusionism is the gradation of a relief—where the artist begins with a few scratches on his medium and gradually intensifies his depth. After attaining his maximum depth he allows it to die down again). The four animals represent the four points of the compass—North, South, East, West. In Persian art, we strive in vain to discover any similarity to any of these features. The lowest point is a decorative bell—without any bulging—without any delineation of any of the veins of the lotus—with the lines pointing strictly downwards. This is connected with the next element by a pyramidal decoration.

The next is a bulging cylinder supporting egg-shaped ovolo—engraved with a pattern. Above the egg-shaped ovolo, we find a plaque with the same pattern; and lastly, above this and just below the abacus is a unique and typical ornament with five cylinders separated by straight lines and terminating on both sides with brackets ending in rosettes—there being four rosettes on each side, two above and two below separated by blank spaces. I shall not comment on the perspicacity of those who detect any resemblance between an abacus of this type and an Indian abacus.

(N.B.—There is no gradual transition in relief in any of these decorations judging from plates.) The vast majority of Persian capitals conforms to this type, while in one or two the abacus is made to rest on the shaft. See Perrot and Chipiez, pp. 91-95, 326, 328, 336, Dieulafoy, Vol. II.

(5) *Abacus*.—The Aśokan entablature is zoophorus. In Sárnâth, four lions are placed in close juxta-position. Regarding it from the front we see two lions only with the backs to each other (exactly contrary to the Persian design). In the others single animals are depicted—the bull, the elephant and the horse (apparently in Rummindei). They are all extremely realistic (which is antagonistic to Persian sculpture). The curves of the body, of the face, and the hair are executed with extreme precision, the mane falls in ringlets, (congealed ringlets), the protuberance of the cheek muscles and the deep shading beneath; the nostrils, the pucker of the flesh around the curve of the tongue, the sweep of the eye, the straight pose of the leg, with the slightly perceptible muscle—all these differ from the Persian art, which treats the animals as conventionalised designs. These lions indicate a sense of form which, however, has deteriorated immensely. It is the art of an aesthete—a sense of form without rhythm.

In the elephant we find the broad generalisation which is so characteristic of Indian sculpture. There too the same characteristics are evident. The bull recalls even a mediæval painting or sculpture, the curves are sweeping, the hump, the well-rounded body, the slack ears (which are even marked inside), the easy fall of the legs—do not certainly recall Persia.

We shall now describe the differences with Persian animals.

The animals represented in Persia are also the lion and the bull—but the lion is a conventional design with horns. The animal is thick set and the curve of the neck is exaggerated, the mane is scanty and brushed, being engraved with straight cuts with the chisel, the ear is straight and stiff, the lobe is a curve (ogee), the eye is wider, the nose is aquiline, terminating in a stump, there are horses, the legs stick out at right angles, three cheek muscles are represented (not one as in India).

What is called the bull is a unicorn. The proportions of the animal are not as well-rounded or delicate. The horn is of an ogee shape, the neck is an absolute arch, four lines are drawn over the eyes. Fillettes (with rosettes) are attached wherever possible. The legs protrude in a characteristic manner. It is a design, not an animal, not of the same world as the Indian bull. There is just one representation of an Indian bull in Persepolis—Perrot and Chipiez, p. 407 ; but the sculptor betrays his want of skill, it is the crude attempt of an artist who is endeavouring to create something entirely novel. It is a bas-relief not a sculpture in the round, it is not as slack as the Indian prototype, the mouth is of a different shape, the udder is not wholly shewn—it is a mere elongated specimen. (From indications like these we can argue that Persia borrowed *motifs* and styles from India.)

These animals on the Persian entablature are placed in their characteristic position to support the wooden beams on top, which are made to rest on the horns, and on the backs surmounted by a stone, and that is the invariable rule.

Now that we have dealt with the animals, we shall pass on.

(1) If a Persian artist had executed Aśokan sculpture, he would have carved an essentially Persian thing or at least would have betrayed his nationality by the representation of some feature characteristically Persian. No adaptation would seem to be necessary and the Persian column would have served Aśoka's purpose just as well.

(2) If an Indian had merely imitated from Persia,—

- (i) there would be some Persian characteristic in his art ;
- (ii) the art would not have been realistic, but conventional ;
- (iii) if Flinders Petrie is correct that a design is borrowed from a natural form then very many of the Persian designs must have been borrowed from that primitive art, of which Maurya is the decadence—e.g., the Persian palmette must have been derived from the Indian lotus ;
- (iv) the spirit of Mauryan art would not have been so essentially divergent—there would have been more colour and less sombreness. Mauryan art never stoops to those subterfuges, with which artists of every age have tried to conceal their lack of thought ;
- (v) the numerous decorations of Persia (or at least some of them) would have been represented. It is useless to multiply arguments to refute an absurdity.

Lastly, we come to sculpture in the round:

(3) *Sculpture in the round*: of which we found three of the Maurya period:

(1) Colossal female statue from Besenagar.

(2) Ditto Mathurâ Museum.

(3) Ditto Victoria and Albert Museum

(which is in red sandstone, a material never employed in Persia).

From (1) we irrefutably conclude the existence of a very old art before it. Mark how well the plaited hair is represented, how clear are the incisions for the eye, how careful and how æsthetic the execution of the jewellery, *e.g.*, in the rings of the *Mekhalâ*, each one is smaller than the one which follows (*cf.* Wiekoff). The same remark may be applied to the folds of the cloth in front. The drapery presents unique features.

In (2) the same characteristics are seen—the eyes are straight-cut (typical of Indian art), the ears are long, the arms are well-rounded and smooth, there is also the typical protuberance of the belly, the folds of the garments hanging down in front are marked with clear outlines. The cords bound round the body are very definite, the pose is typical, the chest broad, the waist thin, the belly treated like the figure 8, the support of the body on one leg, the other leg being slightly bent forward—he has no beard. In vain we look for the stylisèe figures of Persia, for winged monsters, and long processions of sycophants bowing down before the King of kings. In Persia there is practically no sculpture in the round, the monsters guarding the entrances are direct importation from Assyria where the number of legs indicate the absence of development of sculpture. The bas-reliefs are confined to a few themes—king with heavy beards, and before him a long train of courtiers, one standing behind the other, all in the same position. There is no generalisation of form—other figures are all alike—the dress is different, the pose is different—in short there is no feature in common. Even an outsider who compares the combat of the lion and the bull in Perrot and Chipiez, p. 434, might draw an illuminating conclusion. The wheel depicted in Perrot and Chipiez, p. 404, is totally divergent from the Aśokan wheel. Some of the figures are covered over with enamel—which is the last degradation of sculpture.

In Persia, art is full of all that is banal and vulgar—features which are absent in India.

And a person who still persists in saying that Indian art is derived from Persia must be blind, dull and perverse.

Sir John Marshall seems to think that the style is Perso-Greek and the figures were carved by a Bactrian. It is hard to realise the full import of this statement. If he means that the style is Persian, the technique Greek, the handiwork Bactrian and the soil Indian, the onus of proving this apotheosis of internationalism is on him. From the standpoint of the Philosophy of Æsthetics, this combination would be unjustifiable. If the style is Persian the other incidents would tend to be Persian, and so on.

Greek Art.—The contention of some critics who discern a similarity between Mauryan and Greek art does not call for any comment. As Gardner points out, Mauryan art is more mature than Greek art of the same period,—*a fortiori* from colonial Greek art. I quote Vincent Smith (p. 58)—“But—as Professor Percy Gardner observes—there can be no doubt that Indian art had an earlier history. The art of Aśoka is a mature art, in some respects more mature than the Greek art of the time, though of course, far inferior to it at least in our eyes.” It is unfortunate that we have to quote Gardner to prove what is apparent even to the untrained observer.

NOTES ON ASÓKA INSCRIPTIONS.

BY K. P. JAYASWAL, M.A. (OXON.), BAR-AT-LAW; BANKIPORE.

THE TERM ASHASHU IN ROCK SERIES XIII.

The passage

“iha cha sa[vre]shu cha amteshu ashashu pi yojanaśa[te]shu yatra Amtiyoka
nama Yonaraja ava Tambapamniya”

—*Shahbāzgarhi* (ls. 8-9).

has been translated by Bühler as follows—“both here . . . and over all his neighbours, even as far as six hundred *yojanas*, where the King of the Yonas, called Amtiyoka dwells as far as Tambapamni”—*Ep. Ind.*, II, 471.

This is the accepted translation.

The expression under consideration is *Ashashu*. European scholars have taken it as equivalent of *Ā-shaśu*, ‘up to six’. This interpretation is objectionable. *Sha* for six is nowhere met with in Pāli. In Asoka’s inscriptions themselves we have for six *saṭṭu*, as in “Pillar Edict” IV (*saḍḍisati*). The chief emphasis is on *ashashu*, because *pi* is after that and not after *yojanaśateshu*. This is a further indication that the word has got nothing to do with six. For, why should six be emphasised? Six by itself is in no way extraordinary. The value of the *yojana* is now known: 4·54 miles (Fleet, *Translation of Kauṭilya’s Arthaśāstra*, p. 541). If the old interpretation is accepted the distance between Syria (where Antiochus was living) and Pāṭaliputra would be roughly 2,800 miles. But this is far too short of the overland route from Patna to Syria. It is also noteworthy that for ‘as far as’ in the same inscription *ava* (as in ‘ava Tambapamniya’) is used.¹

I am inclined to interpret *ashashu* as a country-name: ‘Here and all over the neighbouring countries, even in (that part of) Asia where Antiochus (dwells), which is 100 *yojanas* (in length).’ This was the place where Asoka had achieved his *dharmaviṣaya* or conquest by religion. In other words, not throughout the whole of the Empire of Antiochus but in Syria only he succeeded in propagating Buddhism, and this portion of Syria, according to the information received by the Emperor (evidently from his missionaries) was 100 *yojanas* in length. Hundred *yojanas* will be above 450 miles, a measurement which tallies very well with the actual measurement of Syria under Antiochus. *Yojanaśateshu* qualifies the preceding *Ashashu*.²

The Greeks associated the name **Asia** with the country east of Greece. The limit was not definite to the east, but it was more closely connected with the immediate east (Asia Minor and the neighbourhood). Asoka is using the expression as the Greeks at the time, or rather the court of Antiochus, used it. **Asia** originally was an eastern term and Asoka is employing not the Greek feminine form but the base with the Indian inflexion to denote a country. It is noticeable that the pronunciation is preserved in all the recensions, the *śh* is not allowed to become dental. Probably in the time of Asoka Persia was distinguished by its name from the rest of Western Asia, Asia Minor and Syria, which alone were called **Asia** in the narrow sense.

¹ The use of *ā* is, however, not unknown, for instance, see Rock II (Girnār—*ā Tambapamni*).

² Another possible interpretation is “*Even in Asia, over hundreds of yojanas.*”

MISCELLANEA.

IDENTIFICATION OF SOME OF THE POST-
ANDHRABHŪTĪYA RULERS OF THE
PURANIC LIST.

(1) Satrap Vanasphara.

THE *Vāyu-Purāṇa*,¹ after it closes the so-called Andhra Dynasty, gives a brief notice of the dynasties which sprang up : while the Andhras were still reigning (अन्ध्रानां सिन्धिताः² पञ्च तेषां वंशः समाः पुनः ; 37, 352), whom the other Purāṇas imply to have been once subordinate to the Andhras (sātavāhanas) by their term *bhṛityaṇvaya*. After them there are described mushroom, contemporaneous dynasties and communities (उदितोदितवंशास्ते उदितस्तमितास्तथा. 37, 384). Amongst the latter there is one name which we can probably identify with the Vanasphara of the Śāranātha inscription of Bala.

It is Viśvaphāni (37, 271). It is spelt as Viśvaphatika in the *Vishnu*, as Viśvaphati in the *Brahmāṇḍa*, as Viśvasphāni in Hall's MS. of the *Vāyu*, and as Viśvasphārji and Viśvasphūrji in the *Bhāgavata*.⁴ Out of these we may assume Viśvasphārī as the nearest form of the original word. As in the case of Kusāla=Kunāla,⁵ we may assume a confusion between Viśvasphārī and Vinvasphārī or rather between Vinvasphārī⁶ and Viśvasphārī, the latter in its turn becoming Sanskritised as Viśvasphārī.

Now Vinvasphārī⁷ can be easily recognised as the Vanasphara of the Śāranātha statue inscription. The history which we get of Vinvasphārī is noteworthy for two points.

(a) it gives us the extent of the empire of Kanishka (if my identification be correct) ;

(b) it gives us also the administrative policy of Vinvasphara, and therefore probably of his race, in India.

The *Vāyu* gives 10 *Ślokārdhas* to this man, which is the longest account of an individual ruler in the post-*Mahā-Bhārata* list. Vanasphara's was recent history in the authority from which the *Vāyu* borrowed it, as it is stated there ' he is called क्लीवाकृतिः ' (374). No doubt his contemporaries were very much impressed by him ; he was "in battle as powerful as Vishnu."

The complete passage is as follows :—

मागधानां महावीर्यो विश्वस्कानिर्भविष्यति ॥ ३७१
उत्साद्य पार्थिवान् सर्वान् सोऽयान् वर्णान् करिष्यति
कैवर्त्तान् पञ्चकांश्च पुलिन्दान् ब्राह्मणांस्तथा ॥ ३७२
विश्वस्कानिर्भवासत्त्वो युद्धे विष्णुसमावली ॥ ३७३
स्थापयिष्यन्ति 'sic.' राजानो नानादेशेषु तेजसा ।
विश्वस्कानिर्नरपतिः क्लीवाकृतिरिवोच्यते ।
उत्सादयति क्षत्रन्तु क्षत्रमन्यत् करिष्यति ॥ ३७४
देवान् पितॄन्श्च विप्रांश्च तर्पयित्वा सकृत्पुनः ।
जाह्नवीतीरमासाद्य शरीरं त्यजेत बली ॥ ३७५

The purport of the last two lines in the copy of the *Brahmāṇḍa* which was before Hall is expressed differently, viz., "the king committed suicide by throwing himself into the Ganges."⁸ Here the *Brahmāṇḍa* as I have noticed in several other instances seems to give a more faithful account.

¹ *Bibliotheca Indica* edition by Rajendra Lala Mitra, 1888. In many particulars it contains valuable information which the other editions and also the MSS. which I have seen in Calcutta do not contain. [This note was written in September, 1913.]

² These rivals were five (सिन्धिताः पञ्च), viz., the Abhīras, the Gardabhins, the Śakas, the Yavanas, the Tusharas (= Tokharis). The Maruṇḍas or Muruṇḍas the Maunas, and the Andhras [acc. to the *Matsya*, the *Śrī-Parvata Andhras*, 273 ; 17, 18, 23] evidently followed the five contemporaries of the Andhra Sātavāhanas. Their periods are given in the *Vāyu* 37, 352 to 358.

³ Wilson takes the सिन्धिता viz., "on their close," but the *Purāṇas* never use this term to denote the close of a dynasty. They use *uchchhinna*, *anta*, *pariyāya*. The periods given to them also prove, in the light of verified facts, that the specified five dynasties did spring up under the Sātavāhana régime.

⁴ W. and H., *Vishnu*, IV., 217. Cf. *Brahmāṇḍa* (Bombay ed.), *Bhāgavata* (Vāṅa-Vāsi ed.), XII. I.

⁵ W. and H., IV., 189 ; *Vāyu*, 37, (*Bibl. Ind.*).

⁶ Cf. *Svātikarṇi* (M., 273, 6) = *Sātikarṇi*.

⁷ The form Vanasphara (with *ph* instead of *p* only as in the Śāranātha inscription) seems to be more correct. A 'rājapūt' clan called "Banāphara" were living in the days of King Prithvirāja Chauhāna. Ālhā and Ūdala, whose heroism is sung in ballads in Hindustan, were Banāpharas who were regarded as a low race, as none would give girls to them in marriage. These Banāphara Rājapūts may be still living near Mahoba, the centre of Ālhā and Ūdala. They are found at present in the district of Mirzapur, U.P.

⁸ I do not find it in the Bombay edition.

The *Vishṇu* has मगधावां in place of मगधावां.

It is significant that he is not called 'king' in the *Bhāgavata*, nor in the first five lines of the *Vāyu*, that is, the passage quoted by the *Vāyu* from its first authority, for these alone are known to the *Bhāgavata* and *Vishṇu*. Verse 373 which stands in the air and implies a mere repetition is introduced only for the information कृपाकृतिरिष्यते. This as well as the succeeding verses might have been newly composed by one of the last authors of the *Vāyu*, who was trying to give an abstract of another authority. Thus it is very probably in his own version that Vinasphari is called नरपति and related to have established a new *ksatriya* and to have been orthodox.

Vinasphari seems to have suppressed little rulers of Magadha (पार्यवान् सर्वान्) who had sprung up there when the Sātavāhana empire became weak (according to the *Vāyu* after Hāla, i.e., after c. 50 A.D.). It also appears that to the exclusion of the Kshatriyas he employed other castes as district rulers. They were the Kaivartas (= one of the aboriginal tribes of lower Magadha), Pāñchakas (Pāñchamas ?), Pulindas and Brahmins. In the *Bhāgavata* instead of Brahmins we have प्रजापतिं ब्रह्मभूषिताः स्थापयिष्यति दुर्मतेः. "That wicked

(fellow) will establish (in authority) subjects mainly non-Brahmanical." I think the *Vāyu* and the *Vishṇu* have mistaken a-brahma for Brāhma. Instead of Pāñchakas the *Bhāgavata* has Yadrus and Madrakas (?) and the *Vishṇu*, Yadus or Padus. He thus generally established in Magadha non-Brahmanic and distant races in authority. On the whole his rule and policy were regarded as abnormal.

His eunuch-like appearance probably refers to his Mongolian features, sparse of moustaches and beard. He was of a gigantic frame (महासत्त्व), and a great warrior. He seems to have been a capable lieutenant of Kanishka, extending his dominions up to Magadha. It was probably he who dug up Buddhist relics and sent them to his master on the North-Western frontier.

(2) Yama.

The abovementioned "king of the Māhishas" is called Śakyamā in the *Vāyu*. This we can analyse as Śāka + yamā. He must have been one of the Yamas whose coins have been grouped under Mālava by Mr. V. Smith in his *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum* (pp. 174, 176), and very probably the one mentioned at p. 176 whose coin is found "in characters of about A.D. 100."

K. P. JAYASWAL.

BOOK-NOTICE.

A HISTORY OF THE MARATHA PEOPLE, by C. A. KINCAID, C.V.O., I.C.S. and RAO BAHADUR D. B. PARASNIS. Vol. I. — From the Earliest Times to the Death of Shivaji. Pp. 294.

ALMOST a century ago, Captain James Grant Duff published his monumental work. Since then many new manuscripts illuminating many dark corners of Maratha history have been brought to light. The labours of scholars like Rajwade and Parasnisi have been mainly devoted to the sifting and editing of these documents, but very little has been done for making the results of their researches available in a handy form to the public in general. Mr. Sardesai's *Marathi Riasat*, written in Marathi, is a closed book to the ordi-

nary student who does not know that language. The late Mr. Ranade's little volume gives much food for thought and points out an altogether new angle of vision, but the great scholar died too early to finish his work, and many of the new documents now available, were still undiscovered in his time. The necessity of a work as has been now undertaken by Messrs. Kincaid and Parasnisi is therefore undeniable.

In dealing with Maratha history, we are confronted with the double danger of being either led astray by the prejudice and bias of earlier European writers, or of being hopelessly entangled in the thickets of legends in which the Maratha chroniclers revelled. For the first hundred pages, the path before our authors lay clear and straight,

Mr. Kincaid has nicely summarized the work of one of the greatest Indian scholars, Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, and for the Muhammadan period he has depended mainly on Ferishta. His charming style makes the volume extremely readable, and we have no doubt that Messrs. Kincaid and Paransis will have a hearty reception from those who have no leisure to enter into the intricacies of the history of the Marathas.

For the materials of Shivaji's biography, our authors have depended on four *Bakhars*. The earliest of these is the *Sabhāsad*, and written only a few years after Shivaji's death, it is to our estimate, the most trustworthy. It is to be noted that Shivaji had been deified even in his life-time, and although Sabhāsad's credulity was not much above the average, his *Bakhar* wants many of the wonderful anecdotes to be found in the later chronicles. The next important *Bakhar* is that of Chitnis and it is twice as large as the *Sabhāsad*. Captain Grant Duff mainly relied on Chitnis. The *Shivadigvijaya Bakhar* is the biggest of the three and abounds in many improbable stories. It is on this *Bakhar* that our authors have mainly relied. Yet its authorship and date of composition are very uncertain, and for all we know it may be a spurious work. In spite of all that Messrs. Nāndurbārkar and Dāndekar, the joint editors of the *Shivadigvijaya*, have to say, it is very difficult to believe that Khando Ballal Chitnis could have been its author. The question, however, has been already discussed by Mr. Rajwade, and for further discussion we should refer the reader to a volume of selections from the *Bakhars* to be shortly published by the Calcutta University. Yet it may be incidentally mentioned here, that a few years ago Prof. Jadu Nath Sarkar obtained from the India Office Library a copy of a dated Persian manuscript work—*Tarikh-i-Shivaji*. Its style leads Prof. Sarkar to think, that it is not an original work but a translation of some Marathi *Bakhar*, and its curious agreement with the *Shivadigvijaya*, both in subject matter and in general arrangement, further leads him to believe that the latter work is nothing but a new edition of the original *Bakhar* of which *Tarikh-i-Shivaji* is a translation. The *Shivadigvijaya* therefore, in its present form could not have been written earlier than the last decade of the 18th century, and it is extremely

unsafe to rely on the traditions and legends compiled by the unknown chronicler. Without any comment, our authors mention that incident of the Bijapur butcher, although Sabhāsad, who as a contemporary ought to have known better, is silent about it. Mr. Kincaid says that Bhawani of Tuljapur was hidden and saved from sacrileges of Afzal Khan, although Sabhāsad clearly states that she was pounded in a mill श्रीवानी कल-देवता महाराजांच, तीस फौडून, (जातिवांत घालून भरडून पीठ केलें).

We do not know whence the authors gather that Tanaji Malsure and other companions of the great hero were introduced to him by his guardian Dadaji. Messrs. Kincaid and Paransis simply quote letters after letters from the *Shivadigvijaya*. But in case Rao Bahadur Paransis has not discovered them in original, they should be rejected as altogether untrustworthy. Credulous as our authors seem to be, the extravagance of the *Bakhar* of their preference is at times too much for them. For instance, they have not been able to accept the *Shivadigvijaya* version of the Shaista Khan incident, although shorn of its exaggeration it has the support of Sabhāsad and Chitnis.

Again, in this history of the Maratha people, we look in vain for a good description of Shivaji's administrative system or any account of his navy. The chapter devoted to the Pandharpur movement might have been much enlarged and the fabricated geneology of Shivaji discarded on the strength of the temple inscription of Math (see Rajwade). The transliteration of some Persian names is incorrect, as in the case of Fulad Khan Kotwal. Mr. Kincaid misled by the error of the *Bakhars*, calls him Polad Khan. He is, however, to be congratulated for his appreciation of the national aims of Shivaji. And in spite of its few defects this volume will be an excellent guide for the uninitiated readers of the *Bakhars*, who lack the necessary geographical knowledge. Here they will find an excellent compilation of the anecdotes of Shivaji and the story of his life chronologically arranged. Messrs. Kincaid and Paransis's work will enable them to master these initial difficulties that beset the study of the *Bakhars*.

GARBE'S INTRODUCTION TO THE *BHAGAVADGĪTĀ*.*

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN BY N. B. UTGIKAR, M.A.; POONA.

Preface.

[Text p. 5] OF translations of *Bhag.* and of treatises over it, there is certainly no lack.¹ A new translation and investigation of the famous poem is not however superfluous, since Böhlingk in his "Bemerkungen zur *Bhag.*"² has shown how much yet remains to be done for an exact understanding of the text of the *Bhag.* Böhlingk's remarks conclude with the words:—"An unprejudiced examination of the philosophical contents of the *Bhag.* influenced by no commentator is certainly very much to be wished for, if coming from a scholar familiar with the philosophical systems of India." If the great scholar—only recently snatched away from us—be right in holding this view, and if I might reckon myself—on the ground of my work for the Indian Philosophy—as amongst those qualified for such a work, I need have no scruples in putting forward the result of (my) all-sided and searching investigation of the *Bhag.*

I. -The Bhagavadgītā in its Original Form.

[Text p. 6] The days when the *Bhag.* because of the loftiness of its thought and of its language excited in Europe nothing short of enthusiastic rapture, are long gone by. We are—in spite of phantastic theosophists like Franz Hartmann—grown more sober and more critical, and do not any more shut our eyes to the manifest shortcomings and weak points of the poem. Even now the still prevailing view in India is of the homogeneity³ of the *Bhag.*, though this view has been often enough refuted by German scholars. Already in 1826 had W. von Humboldt in his well-known essay "On an Episode of the *Mahābhārata* known under the name of *Bhag.*," p. 53, said: "The interpolations and additions can with great probability be conjectured even if one be not in the position to single them out;" and again p. 54, "the relationship of the individual doctrines would probably have been stronger if indeed the idea of unity had prevailed from the very first design of the work." With greater decisiveness has Weber after him [*Ind. Stu.* II, 394 (1853)] expressed himself on this point:—"The *Bhag.* can be regarded only as a combination of partly very different kinds of pieces." A. Holtzmann, *Das Mahāb.* II, pp. 163-165, emphasises the necessity of the supposition that the *Bhag.* might have been recast: so also E. W. Hopkins in his *Great Epic of India*, 1902, speaks more than once (p. 205, p. 234) of the rewritten *Gītā* (rewritten by a modernizing hand). In what way Hopkins thinks that the *Gītā* might have been rewritten is to be seen from his older work *The*

* [Garbe's (German) Introduction to his (German) Translation of *Bhagavadgītā* appeared at Leipzig in 1905.]

¹ A comprehensive review of the MSS., editions and translations of the *Bhag.* and of its native commentaries and of the explanatory treatises thereof by European scholars is given by A. Holtzmann, *Das Mahābhārata*, II. 1893, pp. 121—153. Since the appearance of Holtzmann's work no year has passed but has added in India further contributions to the literature on the *Bhag.*

² *Berichte der phil.-hist. Klasse der Königl. Sächs. Gesell. der Wissen.* Sitzung Vom 6 Febr. 1897.

³ Protāp Chandra Roy says in his translation of the *Mahābhārata*, VI. 75, note: "The text of the *Gītā* has come down to us without, it may be ventured to be stated, any interpolation."

Religions of India, p. 389, [Text p. 7] where it is said : " This Divine Song (or Song of the Blessed One) is at present a Krishnaite version of an older Vishnuite poem and this in turn was at first an unsectarian work, perhaps a late Upanishad." Again at p. 399, Hopkins says : " It is noticeable that although Krishna (Vishnu) is the ostensible speaker, there is scarcely anything to indicate that the poem was originally composed even for Vishnu."⁴ As would be evident from what follows, I do not share this view of the American scholar. The conviction, however, that the *Bhag.* has not reached us in its original form but has undergone essential transformations, is now, however, shared by most of the Indologists outside India. Still this conviction has not upto now led any one to separating the later parts of the *Bhag.* And this for conceivable reasons—since any such attempt exposes the critique quite too much to objections and contradictions. Because of the importance which the *Bhag.*, however, possesses for the Indian spiritual life, it appears to me to be in the religio-historical interests of the (present) moment, that such a task should be ventured. The translation that I offer in the sequel will neither be polished nor smooth, but will be quite literal, and will contain therefore in smaller type those parts, which according to my view are interpolated by a later hand. In this I have proceeded on the following considerations.

A. Holtzmann (*op. cit.*, pp. 163, 164) is on account of the inconsistencies in the *Bhag.* led to the conclusion that " We have before us a Vishnuite revision of a pantheistic poem. We must distinguish between an older and a later *Bhag.* The older poem was a philosophico-poetical episode of the old genuine *Mahābhārata*, being composed with a pantheistic tendency." [Text p. 8] When I read this statement the conviction grew strongly on me that the fact was just the opposite of this. Just before the passage quoted above, Holtzmann correctly shows how the theological idea of the poem must be regarded as a contradiction with itself. " On the one hand, the pantheistic and thoroughly impersonal World-Soul, on the other, the extremely personal and realistic Krishna-Vishnu, incorporated as a human being ; and we are called upon to believe that these two principles are identical." Because of this contradiction the investigation must, as a matter of fact, proceed to distinguish the later component parts of the *Gītā* from the older ones ; but in my opinion the investigation should not be carried on after Holtzmann's fashion.

The whole character of the poem in its design and execution is preponderatingly theistic. A personal God Krishna stands forth in the form of a human hero, expounds his doctrine, enjoins, above all things, on his listener, along with the performance of his duties, loving faith in Him and self-surrender ; and then discloses Himself as an act of especial grace in His super-mundane but withal personal form, and promises to the faithful as a reward for his faith, that he would be united with Him after his death, and would be admitted into the fellowship of God. And by the side of this God—who is delineated as personally as possible, and who dominates the whole poem—stands out frequently the impersonal neutral Brahman, the Absolute, as the highest principle. At one time Krishna says that He is the sole Highest God who has created the world and all beings and rules over it all ; at another

⁴ Of interpolations and changes (made) in the *Bhag.* Hopkins treats, *Religions of India*, 390 and 429 (top).

time, he expounds the Vedantic doctrine of Brahman and *Mâyā*—the Cosmical Illusion, and expounds as the highest goal of a human being that he be freed from the World-Illusion and become Brahman. These two doctrines—the theistic and the pantheistic—are mixed up with each other, and follow each other, sometimes quite unconnected and sometimes loosely connected. And it is not the case that the one is represented as a lower, exoteric, [Text p. 9] and the other, as the higher esoteric doctrine. It is nowhere taught that the Theism is a preliminary step to the knowledge of the reality or that it is its symbol, and that the pantheism of the Vedānta is the (ultimate) reality itself; but the two beliefs are treated of almost throughout as though there was indeed no difference between them, either verbal or real.

One might seek to disregard the contradictions in the *Bhag.* with the explanation that there was not to be expounded in the *Bhag.* any consistent system, but that it was only a poet speaking there, who received and fashioned thoughts as they streamed into his mind, without paying any heed to the inconsistencies that are to be found at various places.⁵ Any such view regarding the *Gītā* is quite erroneous. The *Gītā* is certainly no "artistic work which the all-comprehending vision of a genius has created." The play of inspiration is indeed oftentimes perceptible; not seldom, however, there are (merely high-) sounding, empty words with which an idea that has been already quite often explained, is repeated; and occasionally the literary expression is exceedingly faulty. Verses are bodily taken over from the Upanishad literature, and this is certainly what a poet filled with inspiration would never have done. The workings of *Sattva*, *Rajas* and *Tamas* are systematised with a truly Indian pedantry, and much indeed besides this could be brought forward to prove that the *Gītā* is not the product of a genuinely poetic creative impulse, but is partially a purely artistic didactic poem for the propounding of certain definite religio-philosophical ideas.⁶ The inconsistency pervading through the greater part of the *Gītā* [Text p. 10] cannot, therefore, be overcome by relying on the poetic character of the poem. One can remove the inconsistency only by the supposition that out of the two heterogeneous doctrines that are put in the mouth of the personal God Krishna, one must be a later addition. And if this be the case, could we really doubt that we must reject the pantheistic doctrine (as a later addition) and not the theistic one, as Holtzmann does?

⁵ Von Humboldt, p. 95, says: "There is (in the *Gītā*) a sage that speaks in the fulness and enthusiasm of his knowledge and of his feelings, and not a philosopher brought up in any school, who divides his material in conformity to a settled method, and arrives at the last steps of his doctrines through the clue of a set of systematic ideas."

⁶ Böttlingk in his *Bemerkungen* (p. 6, end) says: "The *Gītā* contains by the side of many high and beautiful thoughts, not a few weak points: contradictions (which the commentators have tried to pass over as excusable), repetitions, exaggerations, absurdities and loathsome points." Hopkins, *Religions of India*, p. 390, names the *Bhag.* as a characteristic work of the Hindu Literature "in its sublimity as in its puerilities, in its logic as in its want of it;" and p. 399 (bottom), "an ill-assorted cabinet of primitive philosophical opinions." Hopkins passes the following judgment (p. 400) on the poetic worth of the *Bhag.* "Despite its occasional power and mystic exaltation, the Divine Song in its present state as a poetical production is unsatisfactory. The same thing is said over and over again, and the contradictions in phraseology and meaning are as numerous as the repetitions, so that one is not surprised to find it described as 'the Wonderful Song, which causes the hair to stand on end.'"

One might, however, object that the Indians themselves have not at all seen any inconsistency in this combination of Pantheism and Theism ; in many other passages of the *Mahābhārata* (e.g. just at its commencement, Anukramanikāparvan, vv. 22-24), in the Purāṇas and elsewhere, Kṛishṇa, i.e. Viṣṇu, is indeed often enough identified with the universal Soul. And in the system of Rāmānuja, the Brahman is conceived to be thoroughly personal,—as an all-powerful, all-knowing and all-merciful Ruler of the Universe which is pervaded by His godly spirit. Why should not have (therefore) the author of the *Gītā* composed the poem under this belief itself in which the theistic and the pantheistic elements lay side by side?

[Text p. 11] To this I reply as follows. The identification of Kṛishṇa with Brahman, his being regarded as the universal Soul, belongs to a period posterior to the original *Bhag.*—a period filled with syncretic inclinations. This can be proved from the *Gītā* itself as it has come down to us.

As is well-known, Kṛishṇa comes to be regarded as the Supreme Principle first in the later parts of the *Mahābhārata*. The *Gītā*, however, does not belong to its later interpolations. The *Gītā*, even in the revised form in which it lies before us, is regarded rightly as one of the older episodes of the *Mahābhārata*. (Holtzmann, *op. cit.*, part II, 121 ; Hopkins, *Great Epic*, 205, 402.) Indeed Holtzmann (I, 127) would “ascribe the oldest parts of the *Bhag.* unhesitatingly to the older poem.” Even if I do not subscribe to this latter statement still on ground of its language and its metre, the relative antiquity of the *Bhag.* cannot be doubted.⁷ With this also quite fits in (the circumstance) that in the *Gītā* Kṛishṇa stands forth almost thoroughly as a person, and that his identification with Brahman is expressed in clear words only in a few passages (which also will be discussed more closely shortly). I shall here only call attention to *Bhag.* VII. 19: “At the end of many lives the man of knowledge approaches me realising that ‘Vāsudeva is everything.’ Such a high-souled person is very difficult to find.” That is, Kṛishṇa was very seldom regarded as the all (or Brahman), but he was almost always regarded as a personal God. Does not the reviser of the *Gītā* express here in quite clear words that the identification of Kṛishṇa with Brahman was at his time first in (process of) growth? In the first verse of the twelfth Adhyāya, which in my opinion belongs to the older poem, those who revere the unchangeable and unknowable Brahman are placed in opposition to the Theists who worship Kṛishṇa, with a preference for the latter (verse 2), and with a remark that the difficulties [in the way] of the Theists for obtaining eternal welfare are lesser [than for the Avyakta-Upāsakas] (verse 5).

[Text p. 12] Hopkins, *Great Epic*, 398, characterises the third of the periods postulated by him in the development of the *Mahābhārata*-text in these words :—“Re-making of the epic with Kṛishṇa as all-god, &c.”; for the preceding second period, [a *Mahābhārata* tale with Paṇḍu heroes, lays and legends combined by the Puranic diaskeuasts] Hopkins lays

⁷ For more on this point, see part IV of this Preface.

down "Kṛishṇa as a demi-god." On the ground of this close-fitting theory⁸—a theory which in its essentials is quite convincing to me—I believe Hopkins cannot possibly be regarded as holding that Kṛishṇa had developed from a demi-god immediately to an all-god, from a half god to a universal being. In between lies naturally the transition from half (demi-) god to God, and his identification with Viṣṇu.⁹ Only after the Kṛishṇa cult had reached that point in its development, could the one god be identified with the Universal Soul;—an event furthermore which signifies more the degradation of the Brahman conception than the exaltation of the personal God.

The original *Bhag.* has been composed during that period in which Kṛishṇa-Viṣṇu had become the highest (or we might simply say, the) God of Brāhmanism: and in the period when Kṛishṇa began to be identified with Brahman and a Vedāntic turn to be given to Kṛishṇaism in general, originates the pantheistic revision of the poem as it lies before us now; and then originate also those constituent parts (of the poem) which in my translation I have exhibited as additions. Indeed, I have already indicated that Kṛishṇa first appears in the *Gītā* to be identified with Brahman only very sporadically. Many times [Text p. 13] the conceptions of Kṛishṇa and of Brahman are placed in juxtaposition (but) as quite different from each other, so that it almost makes an impression as though the reviser might have shrunk from asserting quite emphatically the identity of Kṛishṇa and Brahman because of the distinctly theistic character of his subject-matter. Arjuna indeed says to Kṛishṇa (X, 12): "Thou art the Highest Brahman", and in the passage already cited, it is said "Vāsudeva is All" (VII, 19). [Similarly in XI, 40]. However VIII, 1, Arjuna asks—"What is the Brahman?", and Kṛishṇa answers (v. 3) not that "I am Brahman" but says "Brahman is the unchanging highest principle" and gives a different explanation of himself in v. 4 b. In XIV, 26-27 Kṛishṇa says, "He who serves me with an unswerving devotion is fit to become one with Brahman, because I am the substratum of Brahman." In XVIII, 50-53, it is taught how the perfected one reaches Brahman; but immediately thereafter (vv. 54, 55) we hear that having become Brahman, he compasses devotion for Kṛishṇa and that consequently he enters into Kṛishṇa.

In these passages, then Kṛishṇa and Brahman are quite distinctly distinguished from each other. It is not only here that they are separate, but (they are so) everywhere through the whole poem (excluding of course those passages where the Vedāntic reviser has mixed up and completely identified with each other the two ideas). In the older poem Kṛishṇa speaks of himself—and Arjuna of Kṛishṇa—as an individual, a person, a conscious God-head.¹⁰ In the additions made at the time of the revision, the neutral Brahman steps in as the highest principle and is occasionally identified with Kṛishṇa. To summarise therefore, *in the older poem is preached Kṛishṇaism based philosophically on Sāṅkhya-yoga*;

⁸ I might as well leave out of account Joseph Dahlmann's theory regarding the homogeneous character of the *Mahābhārata*—a theory that is shared by no non-Indian scholar.

⁹ Of this identification of Kṛishṇa with Viṣṇu and the reason thereof I shall treat at length in a different connection in part II of this Preface.

¹⁰ Even in the description of the Rishis, *Mbh.* VI, Adh. 68 (Calc. Edition), Kṛishṇa is viewed quite emphatically in a personal capacity.

the Vedānta philosophy [Text p. 14] is taught in the additions (made at the time) of the revision.¹¹ Of course it is known long since that the doctrines of the Sāṃkhya-yoga are for the most part the basis of the philosophical ideas of the *Bhag.* and that by their side, the Vedānta considerably recedes to the back-ground. How often are Sāṃkhya and Yoga mentioned by name, while (the word) Vedānta comes only once (*Vedāntakṛit*, XV. 15) and that too in the sense of Upanishad.¹² So then even if we think only of the rôle which the philosophical systems play in the present *Gītā*, and if we hold in view the irreconcilable difference between the Sāṃkhya-yoga (on the one) and the Vedānta (on the other hand),—a difference which can only be overcome by distinguishing older and newer parts (in the *Gītā*),—the Vedāntic portions of the *Bhag.* would be proved to be over again as un-original. Were we, therefore, to investigate the *Gītā* either from the religious or from the philosophical point of view, [Text p. 15] the same result would be attained in either case.¹³

Since Mīmāṃsā and Vedānta are most closely bound up with each other in the philosophical literature of Brāhmanism, it is conceivable that the reviser of the *Gītā* should have ushered in Mīmāṃsā tenets as well, along with Vedāntic views, in this popular work, more religious than strictly philosophical. That the poem itself inveighs against the performance of Vedic works (II. 42-46, and XVIII. 66) has not prevented the reviser (of *Gītā*) from making additions in which he brings in his ritualistic stand-point and impressively recommends (III. 9-18, IV. 31) the Vedic sacrificial work.¹⁴ The sacrifice was in the older poem (IV. 25 and ff. and elsewhere), thoroughly understood in a metaphorical spiritual sense.

¹¹ The additions made (to the *Gītā*) at the time of the revision are related to the original *Bhag.* as the subsequently interpolated *Uttarātāpanīyā* to the older *Pārvatāpanīya* in the case of the *Nṛsiṃhatāpanīya Upanishad*. Weber (*Ind. Stud.*, IX. 54) has characterised the two parts of this *Upanishad* in the following words: "The great difference of the two from each other can be seen quite clearly. The *Pārvatāpanīyam* is purely exoteric and is concerned only with the forms of belief of one (particular) sect, which reveres the Nṛsiṃha form of Viṣṇu as the highest expression and the most exalted form of godhood; and it (i.e. the *Pārvatāpanīya*) is based essentially on the standpoint of the Yoga system. The *Uttarātāpanīyam* is, on the other hand, purely esoteric, and is concerned only with the identification of the All-Soul—the highest *Ātman*, i. e. Brahman—with the Universe, and more particularly with representing its identity with the holy syllable *Om*, the different parts of which are in their turn represented as containing the Universe, and stands essentially on the standpoint of the Vedānta system." Thus in the *Nṛsiṃhatāpanīyā Upanishad* also, the Yoga doctrine based on Theism is the older (view), and the Vedāntic doctrine the later one. Moreover, it has been shown in part IV of this Preface that the reviser of the *Bhag.* has utilised the *Uttarātāpanīya*.

¹² 'Vedānta' has generally this sense very often in *Mahābhārata*, cf. Hopkins, *Great Epic*, 93.

¹³ Even in the so-called quintessence verse of the *Gītā*, XI, 55 (*Sarva-sāstra-Sāra* or so forth according to the commentators) there is nothing of Vedāntic doctrine.

¹⁴ The description of the *Tamasa* kind of sacrifice, XVII, 13, "where there are no prayers and no gifts" might probably occasion the view whether it might here be intended to speak approvingly of the sacrifices prescribed in the *Mīmāṃsā*. The description of the *Sattva* kind of sacrifice, however, in v. 11 as being "performed by those who do not expect any reward therefrom" is against this view. The object of the author in these verses is to bring together under his scheme of *Sāttva*,

Ever since the *Bhag.* was completed as it has come down to us, it has served to the later poets as a model—even with all its admixture, inconsistencies and vagueness—which all, the Indian mysticism can put up with. After the pattern of the *Bhag.* are composed [Text p. 16] the *Anugītā* (*Mhb.* XIV., Ad. 16-51,) the *Īśvara Gītā* (*Kūrmap.* II. Ad. 1-11), the *Vyāsa Gītā* (*Kūrmap.* II. Ad. 12-34.)¹⁵ and indeed many other pieces besides, not to mention the borrowings from the *Bhag.*, e.g. in *Mhb.* III. 120 and in the Pāñcharātra Section, *Mhb.* XII, Adh. 341 and ff., compare particularly *Bhag.* XI, 15 and ff., and *Mhb.* XII, verse 12914 and ff. (Calc. edition).

I have read the *Bhag.* six or seven times during the course of the year, and the impression has ever strengthened itself on my mind that the Vedāntic and the Mīmāṃsīc parts are unoriginal. I have therefore ventured to carry into practical execution the idea of separating the above named parts of the *Bhag.*, not as the result of any abrupt conceit, but on the basis of a slowly accumulating conviction. (By) thus (separating the particular parts) it appears to me that there is (by this process) nowhere caused any real gap in the *Bhag.*, rather the interrupted relationship of the various passages is further restored;—thus, for instance, quite decidedly by removing the passages III. 9-18; VI. 27-32; VII. 7-11; VIII. 20; IX., 6.¹⁶ A better confirmation of my theory (than this) cannot possibly, I believe, be expected.

If I might still bring forward a circumstance in favour of my opinion, it is the use of the word “*Māya*” which occurs six times in the *Bhag.* Among those passages the word *Māyā* has at IV. 6 and XVIII. 61 the old sense of “miraculous power”; (these passages in my opinion are old since they treat of Īśvara) but the word has at VII. 14 (twice), 15 and 25, the technical Vedānta meaning of the world-appearance, Cosmic Illusion. Over and above this word, which for the religio-philosophical development of India is of very great interest, [Text p. 17] I will not seek to support my theory with (other) literary investigations; and just now I refrain from the possible attempt of bringing to bear on the case literary, stylistic or metrical arguments: because the revision of the *Gītā* has not naturally been carried on so mechanically that the Vedāntic and the ritualistic pieces were put in whenever any occasion presented itself as being favourable, and that the old constituent parts of the work scrupulously preserved. It is rather to be supposed that because of the exigencies of the interpolations, most of the poem has been shaped anew. However the old *Bhag.* has not thereby suffered so radical a transformation of its character that

Rajas and *Tamas* the different kinds of sacrifices known to him in civilized life of his community, but not thereby to recommend the Vedic sacrifice and the tenets of the *Mīmāṃsā*. The same is the case with the veneration of the Brāhmaṇas in v. 14 and of the practice of Veda-recitation in v. 15. In XVIII. 5-6, sacrifice, alms-giving and austerities are recognised as means of purification. Still, however, it is emphasised that one should not practice them with a view to their results [and this is opposed to (the tenets of) *Mīmāṃsā*.]

¹⁵ Rajendralāla Mitra, *Catalogue of Bikaner* (MSS.), 201. No. 436.

¹⁶ For more on this point, see the Appendix “On the passages in the *Bhag.* not originally belonging to it.”

the interpolated passages are not for the most part even now recognisable as such in the new work. Though the interpolations are distributed very unequally on the eighteen Adhyāyas, it can well be supposed that the original *Gītā* must have consisted of a smaller number of Adhyāyas. Its division into eighteen Adhyāyas is presumably fashioned after that of the *Mahābhārata* into eighteen *parvas* : perhaps the eighteen Parāṇas were also known at that time.

The passages expurgated by me are, as already said, mainly of a Vedāntic and Mīmāṃsīc import. Other passages are also expunged on other critical grounds, the reasons of which are set forth in the Appendix. One hundred and seventy out of the seven hundred verses of the *Bhag.* fall away in this way: if the twenty-four verses at the beginning and at the end which might or might not belong to the original *Gītā*, are to be deducted from this number, there are one hundred and forty-six (of these interpolated verses), or more than one-fifth of the whole.

I do not cherish the illusion that according to the method outlined above I might have succeeded in taking out all the unoriginal parts of the *Bhag.* At the time of the revision there might have been added many other verses besides, of which no word might have been existing in the original poem: means are, however, wanting to decide them as unoriginal, and I should not venture upon pure guess. W. von Humboldt's remarks on p. 46 of his work make it appear that this great scholar was inclined to make the genuine *Gītā* [Text p. 18] end with the eleventh Adhyāya. Hopkins, *Great Epic*, 225, calls the verses of *Mbh.* VI. 830-1382, i.e. just the first fourteen Adhyāyas of our poem, "the heart of the *Gītā*."¹⁷ I admit unhesitatingly that the later Adhyāyas contrast unfavorably with the preceding ones; I would not however, therefore, venture to declare them to be outright later additions, but would suppose that, as it so often happens, the skill of the composer has failed him as he approached the end. That many of the fundamental teachings of the *Gītā* are for the first time brought into clear light in passages of the eighteenth Adhyāya (vv. 55, 66) speaks for the genuineness of the later Adhyāyas.

My translation of the *Bhag.* will in a convenient manner enable the reader to pass lightly over what I regard its un-genuine passages, and thus to secure a faithful representation of the original form (of the *Bhag.*). In any case, my attempt at reconstructing (the original *Bhag.*) removes all the most glaring contradictions that pervade the whole poem in its present form, creating ambiguity and vagueness. It represents a *Gītā* the religious character of which is purely theistic, and the philosophical character of which closely corresponds to the doctrines of the Sāṃkhya-Yoga. Clear though the result of my investigation appears to me personally, I still expect to meet with opposition (from others). This opposition is principally to be expected from the side which regards the Sāṃkhya as nothing else than a "muddling up" of Vedānta, though this standpoint in itself does not necessitate the rejection of the result I have arrived at.

¹⁷ When however Hopkins, p. 234, says that the heart of the poem differs in style from its beginning and ending, he does not indeed regard in this passage the beginning of the *Gītā* as belonging to the "heart." How is this to agree with his statement above?

II.—The Origin of the Doctrines of the Bhagavadgītā.

[p. 19]. For a correct estimation of the contents of the *Bhag.* it is necessary that we should realise its historical antecedents, in so far as we can gather them with an approximation to truth from the means at (our) disposal. We shall use for that purpose only a part of the huge material regarding Kṛishṇa and the Kṛishṇa-cult. Even this material is, however, very much complicated and does not yield quite easily to any attempt to secure a clear and homogenous apprehension regarding the progress of Kṛishṇa-ism. An attempt of this kind is beset by the danger of some essential and chronological violence being done to the statements contained in our sources. Whether I might have succeeded in steering clear of this danger, is for others to decide. I can only say that I have constantly placed this pitfall before my eyes.

In the epoch in which the Kshatriyas played a prominent part in the reformation of the spiritual life of Ancient India—according to my view they had the leading of it¹⁸—there was established by a valiant warrior, Kṛishṇa, the son of Vasudeva and Devakī, a
 ✓ monotheistic religion which spread itself first amongst his co-tribals the Yādavas, Sātvas or Vṛishṇis, and, then, beyond the range of that tribal communion. This view was first put forward only by way of a hypothesis by R. G. Bhandarkar in connection with his exposition of the Rāmānuja system and its antecedents (*Report on Search for Sanskrit MSS. in Bombay Presidency*, 1883-84, Bombay 1887, p. 74); but this view can (now) be securely established. In connection with this, there are principally to be taken into consideration the following three lines of evidence, which mutually support and supplement each other. First, Kṛishṇa Devakiputra is, as is well known, mentioned already in *Chhândogyo-panishad* III, 17, 6 as the pupil of Aṅgīrasa Ghora, in a very remarkable [p. 20] way in connection with doctrines which bear a distinctly ethical character.¹⁹ Secondly, is to be mentioned the rôle which Kṛishṇa, the renowned hero of the Yādava clan and the ally of the Pāṇdavas, plays in the older parts of the *Mahābhārata*—the rôle, viz., as a warrior, counsellor, and expositor of religious doctrines. The *Petersburg Dictionary*, II. 413, already speaks of the “natural connection” of the hero famed in the *Mahābhārata* with the teacher Kṛishṇa mentioned in the *Chhândogyo-panishad*, and this connection should not be severed unnecessarily. Thirdly, there is another circumstance to be mentioned as belonging to this point, viz., that the patronymic of Kṛishṇa, viz. “Vāsudeva,” meets us in a large number of cases, and used earlier than the personal name, as the designation of God, and is primarily found specially amongst the members of that clan to which Kṛishṇa according to the *Mahābhārata* belonged.²⁰ This circumstance is therefore of primary importance since the deification of the founders of sects in India is a general custom, and does not date first with only the rise of neo-brahmanism since the close of the 12th century A.D., as held by Barth, *Religions de l'Inde*, 137.

If these lines of evidence were to be combined, the way, I should think, is shown to us for our understanding of what Kṛishṇa Vāsudeva once was in reality. From the tangle of tradition, legend and myth, with which the conception of Kṛishṇa is overgrown, there can be peeled out as kernel a victorious hero who at the same time was the successful founder of a religion.

¹⁸ See my *Beiträge zur indischen Kulturgeschichte* (Berlin 1903), Aufsatz I.

¹⁹ *Chhând.* Up. III, 17, 4: Austerities, charity, straightforwardness, non-injury and truthful words.

²⁰ R. G. Bhandarkar, *loc. cit.*, p. 73.

The contradictions which the character of Kṛishṇa exhibits in the *Mahābhārata* have led Ad. Holtzmann to the view that two different persons might be mixed up together in the Kṛishṇa of the epos. This recourse, however, has been long since recognised to be unnecessary, since the contradictions can quite satisfactorily be explained through the revision effected in the old Kuru-epos, according to which (*i. e.*, the old kernel) Kṛishṇa was an antagonist of the Kurus, and a person [p. 21] full of trickery and cunning; in the present Pāṇḍava-epos, Kṛishṇa is glorified as a friend and helper of his heroes.²¹

Weber also supposed on mythological grounds that in the Kṛishṇa of the epos and of the Hindu religion different persons bearing this name—one human and one or more (?) mythological personalities—might have coalesced together (*Zur Indischen Religionsgeschichte, eine Kūrsonische Übersicht*, Stuttgart 1899, pp. 28 and 29=Eng. Trans. by Grierson *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. 30, 1901, p. 285 ff.). However, the way in which Weber presumes “some such mythical basis” and arrives at his opinion by means of various possibilities, affords no exact insight into the way of reasoning through which he had reached his conviction in the matter, and offers no help to a critical analysis of his standpoint.

Still less convincing to me is the phantastic theory brought forward by Senart and Barth regarding Kṛishṇa's having originally a purely mythical aspect. Senart in his essay on the legend of Buddha, sees in Kṛishṇa as much as in Buddha, a sun-hero, a popular form of the atmospheric *Agni*, and A. Barth, *Religions de l'Inde*, pp. 100, 103, [*The Religions of India*, English Translation (1882), Trübner's Oriental Series, p. 172] shares his opinion. At the latter place Barth says: “Considered in his physical derivation, Kṛishṇa is a figure of complex quality, in which there mingle at length myths of fire, lightning, and storm, and in spite of his name (Kṛishṇa signifies “the black one”) of heaven and the sun,” and further below he puts forward the statement that in Kṛishṇa's parents Vasudeva and Devaki, “we recognise concealed the ancient pair, the celestial man and the Apsaras.” Weber also who otherwise gives a very sound view regarding the gradual elevation of Kṛishṇa from a human being to godhood, has given a mythological interpretation to many of the purely human references to Kṛishṇa. He understands Vāsudeva as “Indra son”, *Ind. Stu.* I. 432; XIII. 353, note 2; and in *Ind. Streifen*, III. 428, he says [p. 22]: “The close relationship of the legend of Kṛishṇa with Indra, the Vedic representation of the thunder god, was already [even before Senart] regarded as certain, Indra being called ‘Govind’ and Kṛishṇa ‘Govinda’, because of the common relation of both to Arjuna,” *i. e.*, because Arjuna is represented—like so many other heroes of Indian legends—as a son of Indra. This followed, in the present case, from the fact that Arjuna was known to be a name of Indra in the Vedas.²²

The striking refutation which Oldenberg urges against the solar theory of Senart in relation to Buddha, cannot indeed in the same way be made applicable to Kṛishṇa, since in this case there are wanting such older materials of a thoroughly reliable genuineness, as are to be found in the old Pāli texts regarding the life of Buddha. The analogy

²¹ L. Von Schroeder, *Indiens Literatur und Kultur*, p. 480.

²² Weber likewise finds it a great riddle (*Ind. Stu.*, XIII. 355, note 5) how Kṛishṇa might have come to have the names Keśava and Govinda. There is nothing less puzzling than this to any one who sees in Kṛishṇa a human being. The epithet Keśava shows that Kṛishṇa had long curling hair, or was supposed to have such hair-dress; and Govinda “the herd-obtainer” simply denotes the victorious in battle. That there is no sufficient ground for supposing that the bye-name Govinda might be a Prakṛitic form of Gopendra “the prince of the herdsmen” has been already mentioned in the *Petersburg Dictionary*.

is, however, none the less very instructive. If the solar theory about Buddha is in itself shown to be an error—Senart himself has deemed it necessary in the second edition of his "Essai", to make a considerable concession to the historical view—then, by a parity of circumstances, the solar theory in the case of Kṛishṇa might not well stand. In the Kṛishṇa myth we should not see the "basis" from which the conceptions of the person of Kṛishṇa might have been evolved; on the other hand, we must see in the Kṛishṇa-myth purely mythological ideas which are *engrafted* on Kṛishṇa, *after* he was raised to God-hood. From this stand-point all the difficulties that are inherent in the solar or atmospheric [p. 23] theory regarding Kṛishṇa, vanish, and from this point of view the circumstance that many of the Kṛishṇa-myths recur with much peculiar characteristics in the apocryptic biography of Buddha, is not (therefore) to be wondered at.

Every unprejudiced historical consideration of our material shows us Kṛishṇa in the oldest period as a human being, and later,—in a progressive development as half-god, god, and all-Soul.²¹ If in the mythology of Hinduism Kṛishṇa is represented as a God assuming human shape, or as an incarnation of Viṣṇu, it is simply the reversal of the real relation, as is to be observed elsewhere quite distinctly in the myths that bring about the transformation. As a matter of fact, Euhemerism is quite justified in our present case.

Kṛishṇa is therefore as much a real personality as Buddha; and his parents also—Devakī and Vasudeva—were no mythological or allegorical persons, but human beings like (Kṛishṇa) himself. The question has naturally been raised as to what fundamental causes the deification of Kṛishṇa might be due to. Som (Weber, *Ind. Lit. Gesch.* 2 p. 78, note 68—English Trans. (1892), p. 71, note 68; *Ind. Stu.* XIII, p. 349, note, Holtzmann, *Arjuna*, p. 61) declare this to be a riddle; on the other hand, the services which Kṛishṇa rendered in bringing about the victory of the Pāṇḍavas are mentioned in this connection. Schroeder, *Indiens Literatur und Cultur*, p. 332, finds it reasonable and natural that "these new rulers of the Madhyadeśa were ready [p. 24] to insist and to promulgate the reverence shown to their national hero by their allies, and were at great pains to magnify the glory of the hero who had now become *their* hero as well;" and p. 333, he says (in agreement with Lassen, *Ind. Altertumskunde*, I,² 821,) the Pāṇḍavas, the heroes of the *Mahābhārata* appear as the furtherers of the Kṛishṇa-worship. As against this, it is to be remarked that the deification of Kṛishṇa has been brought about in a time when the help which the Yādavas had once rendered to the victors of the Kuru-tribe, did no longer possess any actual interest. Quite naturally the reason of Kṛishṇa's deification is—as has been already stated above—due to his being the founder of the monotheistic religion of his tribe; and this on account of the numerous analogies which the religious history of India presents to us from (the time of) Buddha down to quite modern times.

Regarding the original essence of this religion it can only be said that it was popular and independent of the Vedic tradition and of Brahmanism, and that most probably it

²¹ Hopkins, *Religions of India*, p. 465, says that the Divine man of the *Mbh.* "must be the same with the character mentioned in the *Chhândogya Upanishad*, 3-17-6." On page 466 (end), however, Hopkins strikes out a different way of explanation: "It cannot be imagined, however, that the cult of the Gangetic Kṛishṇa originated with that vague personage whose pupilage is described in the *Upanishad*," and on the next two pages he declares Kṛishṇa to be an anthropomorphic God. This deduction of the otherwise very ingenious and lucid scholar appears to me not to be happy. In Fausbøll's *Indian Mythology according to the Mahābhārata*, London 1903, p. 121, Kṛishṇa has been treated of in a remarkable manner with reference to the *Hari-vamśa*, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and other later works.

laid from its very start great emphasis on the moral side of which there is dreadfully too little in the Brahmanical religion and philosophy. We might compare above, and think of the rôle which duty plays in the *Bhag.* Other passages of the *Mahâbhârata* might be brought forward to support the view that the *Krishnaism* has been—from the very beginning—an ethical religion of the *Kshatriyas*; e. g., *Mahâbhârata*. VI, 3044, 3045 (Calc. edition.)

Râjarshinâm udârânâm âhaveshtvanivartinâm |

Sarvadharmapradhânânâm tvam gati Madhusûdana ||

“Thou, O Madhusûdana, art the resort of the noble royal-sages who never turn back from fight and with whom all behests (of duty) preponderate.”

In *Krishna's* religion God is named “*Bhagavat*” “the noble one,” a word used in India since very ancient times to denote the godly and holy beings. Along with this word there came to be used in course of time other epithets: [p. 25] *Nârâyana*, *Purushotama*, as well as the patronymic and the personal name of the founder of the religion. As the oldest names of the sect occur (first in the 12th book of the *Mahâbhârata*) *Bhagavata* and *Sâtavata*; the latter is derived from the clan of *Krishna*. Later than both these names is the name *Pâncharâtra*, which occasionally signifies a particular subdivision of the sect, but which is generally used as equivalent to *Bhâgavata*. With this (latter) name only I shall designate in the sequel the followers of the *Krishna*-religion, because I regard this as the original name.

If we were now to enquire about the time when *Krishna* lived and established his religion, we shall have to place him according to *Chhâ Up.* III. 17-6, a couple of centuries before Buddha; and if there is any historical nucleus in *Krishna's* participating in the war of the *Pândavas* with the *Kauravas*, (and his participation I believe to be real) he will have necessarily to be still carried back to a higher antiquity. The existence of the sect founded by *Krishna* is indeed, confirmed for the first time by literary evidence of the 4th century B.C.; it is from *Pânini*, IV. 3-98, where is laid down the formation of the word “*Vâsudevaka*” in the sense of “a worshipper of *Vâsudeva*.” The alternative explanation given in the *Mahâbhâshya*, *athavâ nai-d &c.*,²⁴ evidently appears as the correct one.²⁵ In the passage from *Pânini*, [p. 26] *Vâsudeva* is not the epithet of the *Kshatriya Krishna*, but of the highest being. As against this it cannot be urged that in the passage under consideration “*Arjunaka*” in the sense of “a worshipper of *Arjuna*” stands by the side of “*Vâsudevaka*.” For inasmuch as *Pânini* has mentioned both of these forms in close connection with each other, he must not have thought of *Arjuna* as the friend and companion in arms of the human *Krishna*; on the other hand, *Pânini* must have conceived of *Arjuna* in that individuality in which he stands forth in

²⁴ Kielhorn reads in his edition *tatra bhavatah*, which is certainly wrong.

²⁵ Cf. Weber, *Ind. Stu.*, XIII, 348 ff. Weber sees in the statement of the *Mahâbhâshya* regarding the worship of *Vâsudeva* (something) less than Telang, whom he controverts and who correctly explains *Vâsudeva* in the passage quoted as “a name of the Supreme Being.” Against the view of Telang that the *Mahâbhâshya* proves the worship of *Krishna* as the highest being, Weber urges, p. 353, that numerous other passages of the *Mahâbhâshya* refer to *Krishna Vâsudeva* as a hero and half-God. In these passages, however, *Patañjali* has simply utilised the material from the epic stories. If the renowned commentator quotes legendary stories known to him in which *Krishna* is mentioned as a semi-divine hero, to illustrate grammatical instances, it does not militate against the fact that *Patañjali* in other places refers to the worship of *Vâsudeva* as the highest God,—a worship that had spread wide amongst the people in his time. Cf. also on this point R. G. Bhandarkar, *Indian Antiquary*, III, 16.

the *Bhag.* (excepting its prologue) and in which he must have been generally known in Pāṇini's time, viz., as Kṛishṇa's disciple to whom the religious truth was disclosed by the Supreme Being, and who in consequence must be regarded as the preacher and promulgator of that religion. The way of worship, which should have brought into vogue the two derivatives, Vāsudevaka and Arjunaka, must have been a different matter; in essence, however, both the words signify the same thing, viz., a follower of the Bhāgavata religion, and it is for this reason that Pāṇini has mentioned them simultaneously.²⁶

I have above fought resolutely against the theory of the mythical origin of Kṛishṇa. When I first investigated the theory regarding its probability, I became doubtful for a long time—because of the name Arjuna,—whether after all the theory might not be a true one, since the two names Kṛishṇa and Arjuna convey—in spite of us—[p. 27] an allegorical or naturalistic impression. The words indeed have led even Weber (*Zur ind. Religions Geschichte*, pp. 28-29) to think in a similar fashion. However, such impressions being dependent on the etymology of names, land one quite too oft in an error, and give rise to an allegorical meaning or some other mysterious explanation where the simple and the most natural meaning was intended. I (need) remind only of Māyā, the mother of Buddha. The names Kṛishṇa and Arjuna are often to be met with in India, and Kṛishṇa besides as that of a poet in the *Rigveda*. If now two persons bearing these names (*sic.* Kṛishṇa and Arjuna) appear in close relation with each other, the circumstance is indeed very striking; but still it is not necessary for us therefrom to recognize in them—say—an embodiment of day and night or some such other thing; on the other hand, this circumstance might lend itself to a very simple explanation in two ways. Either the conception of Arjuna as a counterpart of Kṛishṇa was freely invented when the latter was enveloped up in legend; in such cases the people are fond of a parallelism of names, and the name Arjuna had especially in this case a double justification as being the name of the hero, in which the tribe of the Pāṇḍavas, *i.e.*, the sons of the "white one", was to a certain extent individualised;²⁷ or there was really amongst the Pāṇḍavas a friend and follower of Kṛishṇa bearing the name Arjuna. If now we were to decide for the second of these two [p. 28] alternatives, we might guess that "Arjuna" might have been originally a by-name, *i.e.*, the short form of a by-name, which originated from our hero having had a team of white horses. Arjuna also bears in the *Mahābhārata* the surnames Śvetavāha, Śvetavāhana, Śvetāśva, Sitāśva. In this case too, viz., to this genesis of the name Arjuna, might also have

²⁶ An entirely different view of our (present) Pāṇini-passage has been expressed by Hopkins, *Great Epic*, p. 395, note 2: "The whole 'evidence' at its most evincing is that Pāṇini knew a *Mahābhārata* in which the heroes (Kṛishṇa and Arjuna) were objects of such worship as is accorded to most Hindu heroes after death." Had Pāṇini really thought of only some such worship, it is in the highest degree surprising that he should have chosen just these two names, which from the point of view of religious history, are of very great significance and are from the same point of view associated together closely.

²⁷ Lassen sees, not only in Arjuna but also in Kṛishṇa, the personification of a tribe, and holds the two heroes as representatives of two Aryan tribes, differentiated from each other by white and dark skin complexion. See *Ind. Altertumskunde*, I², p. 789 and ff., particularly p. 791. "The differentiation according to colour must have some meaning, and this can only be that the Pāṇchālas like the Yādavas who are represented by Kṛishṇa, both belonged to the Aryan people who had immigrated earlier, but that both had, through the influence of climate, become more dark-complexioned than the youngest immigrants from the North, the former therefore being called "black" in opposition to the latter." How does this, however, agree with the fact that Arjuna himself is often characterized in *Mahābhārata* as having a dark complexion? Cf. Hopkins, *Great Epic*, p. 383.

contributed (Arjuna's) contrast with Krishna (in colour). It can scarcely be thought that Arjuna has been from the very first a real personal name. Cases of colour-epithets becoming individual names (of persons) have indeed been quite extraordinarily common in India since very remote times. In addition to Krishna, Arjuna and Pāṇḍu, I might name Asita, Kapila, Chitra, Nīla, Rāma, Rohita, Lohita, Virūpa, Sukla, Syāma, Syāmaka, Śyāva, Śyāvaka, Sveta, Hari, Harita. If it therefore follows from this list—which could certainly be still enlarged—that every kind of colour has been utilized to serve as basis for (coining) personal names, I cannot still decide for the supposition that the friend and disciple of Krishna might have borne as a child the name Arjuna; since the play of chance that might have brought together two persons of the names Krishna and Arjuna (black and white) would be (indeed) too remarkable and (therefore) improbable; had it been “black” and “red” or “black” and “yellow,” the probability would have been greater (that there was such a person who bore the name from his infancy).

The development of the Bhāgavata religion, which, according to the usual view, dates from the medieval ages of India, but which, according to my opinion, as set forth above, commences much earlier, proceeded along two lines—viz., the speculative one and the deepening of the religious sentiment.

The genuine Indian disposition to combine Religion and Philosophy and the strong speculative tendency in particular of the Kshatriya caste, resulted in a philosophical basis being given to the Bhāgavata religion, when an interest in philosophical questions had laid possession far and wide of all classes of society in ancient India. For this purpose were utilized the two oldest systems (of Philosophy) which India has produced, viz., Sāṃkhya and Yoga.²⁸ [p. 29] The way in which a philosophical basis was thus given to the Bhāgavata religion can indeed be recognized quite distinctly in the *Bhag.*, the proper devotional manual of that sect. Besides I might here as well refer to a conjecture which I have put forward in my *Sāṃkhya Philosophie*, p. 56. In place of “the old Vishṇu-ism with a Sāṃkhya-metaphysics” which A. Barth, *Religions de l'Inde* p. 117 arrives at, because of the many traces of a dualistic theory of the Universe, to be found in Vishṇu-ite works, we shall have probably to substitute simply “the religion of the Bhāgavatas,” which indeed at a later period merges into Vishṇu-ism, and to which the Bhāgavata religion has transmitted its views.

R. G. Bhandarkar, *Report*, p. 74 (bottom) speaks of the “religion of Bhakti or Love and Faith that had existed from times immemorial.” So high an antiquity for (the existence of) Bhakti—a trustful and confiding devotion to God—should not only have been asserted, but proved as well. So long as the latter is not the case it cannot really be held as probable that Bhakti has been the peculiar characteristic of the Bhāgavata religion from the very beginning, although this conception has in later times supplied it and its offshoots with their most important characteristics. The question regarding the age and the origin of *Bhakti* is of such an importance for our (present) consideration that we must investigate it somewhat closely.

As the oldest evidence for the word *Bhakti* in the above-mentioned sense might be mentioned the concluding verse of the *Śvetāśvatara Upanishad*: “yasya deve parā bhaktiḥ” “he who has the highest devotion for God,” and the use of this word has

²⁸ Compare Lassen, *I. A. K.*, II, p. 1123.

contributed along with other reasons to the oft-repeated assertion of the post-Christian origin of the *Śvetâsvatara Upanishad*.²⁹ I do not believe that this supposition is justified; [p. 30] and just for this reason—that many verses of the *Śvetâsvatara Upanishad* are already to be come across in the original *Bhag.* which according to my view (see below, Ch. IV of this preface) dates from a pre-Christian period. If it could really be proved as Śaṅkara makes us understand, that the *Brahma-Sûtras* oftentimes allude to the *Śvetâsvatara Upanishad*, then the existence of the latter in pre-Christian times could be completely vouchsafed for. In determining the antiquity of (the idea of) Bhakti in India we might, however, leave for a short time this (point) out of our consideration.

• Weber has on oft-repeated occasions asserted the borrowing of the (conception of) *Bhakti* from Christianity, and in making this assertion, he has principally relied upon the remarkable legend contained in the twelfth book of the *Mahâbhârata* which says that the sages Nârada (*Adh.* 337, Cal. ed.), Ekata, Dvita and Trita (*Adh.* 338) had gone to the 'Svetadvîpa, "the white island," or "the island of the white ones," and that Nârada brought back with him from there the Pâñcharâtra doctrine there expounded to him by Nârâyana. Weber's explanation that this statement could only be explicable "if we recognize therein a tradition of the journey of Indian saints to Alexandria and of their having incurred there an acquaintance with Christianity," is, at the first sight,³⁰ very tempting. When we read in the *Mahâbhârata* that the white men living in the Svetadvîpa were filled with the highest passion for the one invisible God Nârâyana (*Mahâbhârata*, XII. 12,798) and that they worshipped him in their hearts with lowly muttered prayers (*Mahâbhârata*, XII. 12,787), the whole, to be sure, sounds as extraordinarily Christian. Lassen himself—who otherwise has firmly set himself against Weber's theory regarding the influence of Christianity in the development of Krishna-ism—is, by reason of this portrayal of the Svetadvîpa, led to the supposition: *Ind. Altertum.* II². 1118, 1119 [p. 31] that "certain Brahmins might have learnt to know of Christianity in a land lying to the north-west of their mother-country and might have brought to India some Christian tenets;" he is of the opinion that this land might be Parthia "since the tradition that the apostle Thomas had preached gospel in this land is old."

After reading that remarkable section (of the *Mahâbhârata*) I cannot, however, convince myself that there is contained in the legend the historical kernel which Weber and Lassen believe to find therein. The account is so marvellous and phantastic that I can only perceive therein the representation of a purely mythical land of blessed existence. The view of Barth (*Religions de l'Inde*, page 132) [=English Trans., Trübner's Oriental Series, p. 221] and of Telang³¹ that there lay here purely a product of poetic fancy appears to be thoroughly conclusive. The Svetadvîpa lies north-east (XII. 12,703) or north XII. 12,774) of the Mount Meru (and) on the other side of the Milky Ocean; the white

²⁹ E.g., by Weber, *Ind. Stu.*, I. 421-423; and Rœr in the Preface to his translation of the *Upanishad. Bibl Ind.*, Vol. XV., p. 36.

³⁰ *Die Griechen in Indien: Sitzungsber. Ber. Aka: Wissensch.* 1890, p. 930; cf. also *Ind. Stu.*, I. 400, II. 398 and ff; *Die Râma-Tâpantya-Upanishad*, Abhând. Berlin: Aka: Wissensch., 1864, p. 277. *Über die Krishna-janmâshţami* (The birthday festival of Krishna), *ibid.*, 1867, pp. 318-324: *Zur Indischen Religionsgeschichte*, p. 30 and elsewhere.

³¹ Pratâpa Chandra Ray, *Mahâbhârata* trans. XII, p. 752 note, following Telang's preface to his metrical translation of the *Bhag.*, a work not accessible to me. Hopkins also, *Religions of India*, pp. 431, 432, does not find any trace of Christianity in the Svetadvîpa episode.

resplendent residents of this land have no sense (organs), live without nourishment, are exuberantly odoriferous and are sinless; they blind by their lustre the eyes of sinful men and are further described with other fabulous particularities (XII. 12,704, and ff.; see specially *Sama-mushka-chatuskīh*.) When we now remember that the Indians had had in their own land, for centuries together, sufficient contact with the Greeks, it appears to me unbelievable that an Indian mission in Alexandria, Asia Minor or Parthia should have brought back home impressions, which could have served as the basis of any such legend, developed in relatively so short a time. In favour of the supposition, [p. 32] that nothing substantial seems to lie at the back of the story, might be mentioned this circumstance—amongst others—that the sages Ekata, Dvita and Trita are called the sons of the god Brāhman, and more especially the fact that it is Nārada who makes that fruitful journey to Svetadvīpa; because Nārada often emerges forth in the Indian literature serving as the intermediary between gods and men, and his home is as much in the heaven of the gods as on the earth of mortals. Moreover, the whole narration, in spite of the apparently Christian traces referred to above, bears a thoroughly Indian character.

Weber, *loc. cit.*, is further of the opinion that the name Christ, son of the divine(?) Virgin after it became famous in India, might have reminded the Indians of (the name of) Kṛishṇa, the son of Devakī (i.e. evidently of the divine goddess,) and thus it might as well be “that numerous Christian themes and legends, specially those of the birth of Christ amongst cowherds, of the stable and the asylum being the place of his birth, of the Bethlehemite slaughter of children, of the taxation of Emperor Augustine and such others reappear in the Indian legends of Kṛishṇa.” According to the showing of Weber’s suggestive essay “On the Kṛishṇajanmāshṭamī,” however, the Christian elements in the Kṛishṇa-myth are to be referred to so late a period that they hardly need be considered in connection with the question here treated of; and some traces, for which Weber supposes a Christian origin, are with certainty ascribed to a pre-Christian period (cf. Bhandarkar, *Indian Antiquary*, III, p. 14 ff.). Weber’s opinion that we have probably to recognise even in the first century A.D. an influence of Christianity on India and more particularly on the doctrines of Pāñcharātras is already refuted sufficiently by Lassen, *I. A. K.*, II.² 1121-1128; further, other weighty authorities have raised their voice against Weber’s theory.

No shadow of evidence has therefore upto now been brought forward to support the theory that [p. 33] the conception of *Bhakti*, with which we are immediately concerned, is derived from Christianity. The religious significance contained in the word *Bhakti* has nothing exclusively about it that is specifically Christian. Not only have devotion to God and faith in Him developed themselves gradually in other monotheistic religions: but even beyond the circle of monotheistic ideas, the two conceptions are to be found.³² And particularly in India we possess all the essentials on (the strength of) which we have to regard *Bhakti* as an “indigineous” fact as Barth says; since monotheistic ideas are to be found prevalent from (the time of) the *Rigveda* onward through almost all the periods of the religious history of India, and the powerful longings after the Divine, peculiar to the Indian soul from yore, must have developed such sentiments as Divine Love and Divine Faith in a popularly conceived monotheism.

³² Barth, *Religions de l’Inde*, 132 (= English Translation, p. 220-1).

Edmund Hardy, *Lit. Centralblatt*, 1903, No. 38, sp. 1269, points out that (the word) *bhakti* (in its Pāli form *bhaddi*) is to be found in the sense of "love", "self-resignation", in *Jātaka*, V. 340, 3, 6; 352, 11, and refers to *Theragāthā*, V. 370, where the word passes into the specific sense of "devotion to God." In this latter sense, might also be mentioned *Pāṇini*, IV. 3. 95 in conjunction with (*Sātra*) 98 (following). From these passages it follows that the word *Bhakti* has been used in the secular sense of "love", "devotion", "attachment", in the fourth century B.C., and that during the same period, a way was being prepared for the employment of the word to denote the relation of man to God. Even though "the *bhakti* which is spoken of (in *Pāṇini*, IV. 3. 95) be the same as the one treated of in the rules 96 to 100, and is to be understood only in the simple sense of "love", "devotion"—according to rule 96, it is applicable to inanimate things such as cake or pastry as the *Calcutta Scholia* explains it"—(Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, XIII. 349, 350), still the connection of the word "*Bhakti*" with Vāsudeva in rule 98 is at least [p. 34] a proof that in Pāṇini's time the use of the word *Bhakti* in the sense of "devotion to God" was in process of growth; and the opinion of Patañjali on this passage referred to above (regarding *Bhakti* with reference to *Tatrabhagavat*) proves that this sense of *Bhakti* was quite current in the second century B.C., and indeed much earlier. The supposition that the use of the word *Bhakti* in a specific religious significance might have been caused by a conception imported from outside, can be thus refuted.

Though indeed "devotion to God" can thus scarcely be claimed (as belonging) to the original Bhāgavata religion, still the belief of the Vāsudeva-worshippers was in any case permeated by this sentiment before the *Bhag.* came to be composed; since a new idea is (usually) explained in a manner *unlike* the one followed in the case of *Bhakti* as treated in the *Bhag.*, where this conception is ever and anon summoned forth as something self-evident.

If we were now to divide the development of the Bhāgavata religion into (different) periods, the *first period* must reasonably be allowed to last so long as this religion led a solitary life outside (the pale of) Brahmanism. In this first period, which might be reckoned as running from an undeterminable beginning to about 300 B.C., fall, probably, all the religio-historical events discussed hitherto in this section, i.e., briefly put, (a) the founding of the popular monotheism by Kṛishṇa Vāsudeva, (b) its being philosophically equipped with (tenets of) Sāṃkhya-yoga, (c) the deification of the founder of that religion, and (d) as I believe, the deepening of the religious sentiment on the basis of *Bhakti*.

The *second period* is characterised by the brahmanising of the Bhāgavata religion and the identification of Kṛishṇa with Viṣṇu. The great popularity of the legends and myths with which the personality of Kṛishṇa was surrounded must have excited the interest of the Brahmins; however, the basis for equating Kṛishṇa with Viṣṇu [p. 35] was indeed first given to them when Kṛishṇa was definitively elevated to the dignity of a God from a tribal hero. Against this view it might be objected that just as Rāma, as a purely human hero, came to be regarded by the Brahmins as an incarnation of Viṣṇu, and has become divine primarily in consequence of this identification, why should we not similarly say that Kṛishṇa as a (human) hero came to be regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu? To this it is to be replied that the fact of the matter lies indeed very differently in the two cases. Rāma, tender, pious and self-resigning, and a rigid moralist was a genuine Brahmanical character, that could more easily be assimilated to the Viṣṇu-cult than the popular conception of the powerful and active Kṛishṇa, about whom the Brahmins indeed knew

quite well from tradition that he had rejected the authority of the Veda and had withstood the Brahmanical theory of sacrifice—the great source of income of the Brahmins—(cf. *Bhagavadgītā*) in the same way as it was done after him (Kṛishṇa) by one greater than him, i.e. by Buddha, with greater results. Even Śaṅkarāchārya at a time when the Bhāgavatas had long since been immersed into Brahmanism, refers, towards the end of his critique of the Bhāgavata-Pañcharātra-religion (*Com. on Brahma-Sūtra*, II. 2, 42-45) to the anti-Vedic character of the sect. How can it be doubted that the Brahmins had admitted the Bhāgavatas into their own (Brahmanical) ranks—quite reluctantly indeed, but with a correct apprehension of the many advantages accruing therefrom, in order to be able to counteract the influence of Buddhism all the more successfully? Before Kṛishṇa Vāsudeva had become to the Bhāgavatas a spiritual being, could the Brahmins with any show of justification bring it about that Kṛishṇa showed an inner relationship with the Brāhmanical Viṣṇu? With the older character of Kṛishṇa—his being a man and a warrior—as it survived in the epical stories, the Brāhmins could readily accomodate themselves, since they could rely on their convenient *Avatāra* theory.

As the oldest evidence for the identification of Viṣṇu with Nārāyaṇa-Vāsudeva, the God of the Bhāgavatas, [p. 36] Weber mentions, *Ind. Stu.* XIII, 353, note 1, the passage in the *Mahānārāyaṇa Upanishad*=*Taittiriya Āraṇyaka* X. 1-6. As, however, we cannot yet say as to when this Upanishad-compilation might have been grafted on to the *Taittiriya Āraṇyaka* as its last book, this evidence loses all worth for chronological purposes. Quite different, however, is the circumstance known long since that Megasthenes in his account (of India) describes Kṛishṇa—under the name Herakles—as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu. The parallelism of Herakles with Dionysos (= Śiva) proves, *pace* Weber, *Ind. Stu.* II. 409, 410,—that Kṛishṇa was, at the time when Megasthenes lived in India, no more regarded as simply a tribal hero, but was already looked upon as Viṣṇu, i.e., as an incarnation of his. The identity of Kṛishṇa with Viṣṇu was therefore already firmly established between 302 and 288 B.C.,³³ and the Kṛishṇa-worship proper cannot be said to have arisen for the first time in the fifth and sixth centuries A.D., as Weber had opined many years ago (*Ind. Stu.* I, 400, note at the end).

In the meanwhile we can place the identification of Kṛishṇa with Viṣṇu and the antecedent deification of Kṛishṇa not much before 300 B.C., since during the second period in the development of the *Mahābhārata* text,—a period which Hopkins, *Great Epic*, 398, reckons on good grounds but naturally with the reservation of reasonable probability, from 400-200 B.C.—Kṛishṇa is known only as a demi-god (“no evidence of Kṛishṇa’s divine supremacy”). The supposition is not indeed unjustifiable that the remodellers of the Epic might have stuck to that character of Kṛishṇa, which, in spite of his deification, he possessed in the popular tradition; they could not have, however, held themselves aloof, for any long period [p. 37] from the Brahmanical conception of the identity of Kṛishṇa-Viṣṇu after this (conception) had been once raised to (a point of) dogma.

³³ Incidentally it might be added that Βαζοδης (= Vāsudeva) is to be found as the name of a King, manifestly a short form of a theophoric proper name, and, “evidently an Indo-Scythian one” on numerous coins belonging to a period just preceding and following our (i.e. the Christian) era, (Weber, *Ind. Stu.* XIII, 353, note 2). In this circumstance we could have an additional evidence—if it be still required—for (the existence of) Kṛishṇa-worship in a period preceding the birth of Christ.

This second period of the Bhāgavata religion could be, I believe, fixed from 300 B.C. to about the beginning of our (i.e. the Christian) era. In any case the original *Bhag.* might be assigned to this period (and in making this remark I do not wish to express myself just now regarding its date,) since in (the genuine parts of) the work, Kṛishṇa is not still identified with Brahman, but is designated oftentimes as Viṣṇu; (of the three passages X. 21, XI. 14 and 30, the last two belong to the old poem) and since the passage IV. 6-8 contains a reflection of the *Avatāra* theory.

The third period of the Bhāgavata religion for which I would postulate the period from the beginning of our (Christian) era to the commencement of the twelfth century, is specially characterised by the identification of Kṛishṇa-Viṣṇu with Brahman: in spite of the vedantification of Kṛishṇaism, however, the older *Sāṅkhya-yoga* elements hold on. In the former part of this period the remodelling of the *Bhag.* has taken place.

Along with this pantheistic conception of God which has been brought about quite consistently with the (spirit of the) time, there was developed an erotic comprehension of Kṛishṇa,³⁴—quite in consonance with the dual metaphysico-sensual nature of the Hindu character; this latter view revels principally in describing Kṛishṇa's love-sports with the cowherd-maidens, which are at the same time explained in a mystic sense. The allusions to Kṛishṇa's pastoral life are to be traced back to the supposition that Kṛishṇa as a human being was born in a pastoral people and had attained fame as their leader.

[p. 38] I might date the fourth period (in the history) of the Bhāgavata religion with its systematisation by Rāmānuja in the first-third of the twelfth century. The system of Rāmānuja that, as is well-known, still counts at the present day numerous followers not only in Southern India, but has also obtained wide currency as an important form of faith among many Brahmin families in Northern India, has been described most lucidly by R. G. Bhandarkar at the place referred to above.³⁵ When however Bhandarkar says at the end of page 74: "It was Rāmānuja's endeavour to . . . seek a Vedantic and philosophic basis for the religion of *Bhakti* or Love and Faith . . . , and thus the Pāñcharātra system which was independent of the Vedas beforehand, became a system of the Vedānta or an Aupanishada system," the statement is positively incorrect. And for this reason: the fundamental Vedāntic ideas were not first pushed by Rāmānuja into the religion of *Bhakti*; on the contrary they had found their way there many centuries before him, a fact disclosed to us by the *Bhag.*, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and other texts. I might (here as well) object to another mistaken view to be occasionally met with, viz., that Viṣṇu-ism is distinguished into Rama-ism and Kṛishṇa-ism according as it has a tendency to contemplation and speculation, or one to an inordinate enjoyment of life, and that therefore the system of Rāmānuja, or for matter of that the religion of the Pāñcharātras, is to be regarded as Rāma-ite.³⁶ Indeed, the Kṛishṇa-ite sect founded by Vallabhāchārya about A.D. 1500 has inordinate enjoyment of life written on its banner, and the lower classes

³⁴ In the latest parts of the *Mbh.* and in *Harivaṃśa*; this development, as is well known, reaches its climax in *Gitagovinda*.

³⁵ Cf. also *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*, ch. IV; Wilson, *Essays and Lectures*, ed. R. Rost, I. 34-36; Colebrooke, *Misc. Essays*, ed. Cowell, in the Article on the Pāñcharātra; or *Bhāgavata* I. 437-443; K. M. Banerjee, *Dialogues on the Hindu Philosophy*, 401 and ff; Hopkins, *Religions of India*, p. 496 and ff.

³⁶ This view was first propounded by Wilson, *Essays and Lectures*, I. 38, note and, 40, and Colebrooke, *Misc. Essays*, 2 I, 211, (*contra*, however, p. 439).

amongst the followers of Chaitanya, who at about the same time refashioned the religion of *Bhakti* in a popular manner, [p. 39] and in a spirit of opposition to Brahmanism, insisting on an ardent and ecstatic devotion to Kṛishṇa, can be scarcely distinguished in point of their morality from the followers of Vallabhāchārya. From this, however, no conclusion *a posteriori* could be drawn regarding the age when Kṛishṇa-ism became speculative like the Rāma-ism. And as regards the system of Rāmānuja, there are Rāma-ite elements pervading it, in as much as, for instance, Rāma like Kṛishṇa is looked upon as a Vibhava—a manifestation of Īśvara; and finally, every (point of) difference involved in the two conceptions of Kṛishṇa and Rāma is generally reduced to the lowest extreme—just as indeed Viṣṇu and Śiva are also merged together in the one personality of Hari-Hara; however, the system of Rāmānuja is in its basis thoroughly Kṛishṇa-ite as it is a continuation of the Pāñcharātra religion, the Kṛishṇa-ite character of which need not be proved, but is already guaranteed by the name of its God—Vāsudeva.

Among the modern works in which the doctrine of *Bhakti* is developed in agreement with those of the *Bhag.*, the first place is taken by the *Sāṇḍilyasūtras* an imitation of the (older) philosophical *Sūtras*.

I have here followed in a brief exposition the development of the Bhāgavata religion from the time of the *Bhag.* (and) beyond (as well) for the sake of completeness, as for the fact that Kṛishṇa-ism, from the time of the compilation of the *Bhag.* has obtained a preponderating significance in the religious life of the Indians, a significance none the least due to the powerful influence of this poem.

PART III

The Doctrines of the Bhagavadgītā.

The situation of the dialogue between Kṛishṇa and Arjuna is well known; still a short sketch of the same might perhaps be welcome to some that might consult this work. The Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas, after many years' quarrel, march against each other, prepared for open battle, to the Kuru-field—the province of modern Delhi—[p. 40] with their respective armies and allies. Although the two families, being closely related with each other have an equal claim on the name Kurus or Kauravas, this epithet is usually confined to the members of one party, *i.e.*, to the blind old king Dhṛitarāshṭra, his uncle Bhīshma, and to the former's sons, the oldest of whom is Duryodhana; only Arjuna, in spite of his belonging to the other party, is six times called in the *Bhag.* "a scion of the Kuru" or by some such name.³⁷ The course of the battle is narrated to the blind king Dhṛitarāshṭra by his charioteer Saṁjaya, on whom Vyāsa, the reputed author of the *Mahābhārata*, had conferred the supernatural power of knowing all the events of the war. The dialogue between Kṛishṇa and Arjuna occupies one of the first places in this narration of Saṁjaya, and this dialogue is called—to quote its full name—*Bhāgavadgītāpanishad* "a secret lore expounded by the revered one," though usually shortened into *Bhag.* or even simply called *Gītā*. At the sight of his close relatives pitched in the hostile camp, Arjuna is reluctant to begin the battle, and is lectured to by Kṛishṇa, who in his human form stands by Arjuna's side as his charioteer, upon the behests of duty. Kṛishṇa's admonitions and instructions strengthen themselves in the sequel, and in the eleventh *Adhyāya* Kṛishṇa discloses himself to Arjuna as the sole God and the Ruler of the Universe, who has assumed the form of a Yādava hero.

Hopkins, *Great Epic*, 384, regards the *Gītā* as a "purely priestly product"; this view appears to me to be a gross misinterpretation of the essence of this poem, in which the Veda and the Brahmanical ritual is censured and the lustful covetousness of the Brāhmaṇas severely criticised (II. 42-46). It is just therein that the *Gītā* is not a priestly [p. 41] product that lies principally the religio-historical significance of the work.

In so far as it concerns the tenets of the "re-fashioned" *Bhag.* one might still refer even to-day to the well-thought out work of W. von Humboldt, whose famous treatise maintains its value, though the scholarship of our days evidently differs from him on a few points, and though, in my opinion, that profound scholar often sees too much meaning as lying (hidden) in the words of the *Gītā*.

If we were now to keep in view the original and not-yet-Vedāntised *Gītā*, as I have tried to peel it out from its present form, it is hardly necessary to allude to the fact that it shares the common Indian beliefs regarding the transmigration of the soul, the retributive power of actions and the possibility of freedom from the distressing revolution of lives.

Not only the characteristic feature of the *Bhag.* according to which devotion to God is the climax of all knowledge, marks out the poem as a text-book of the Bhāgavatas; but this fact is also recognisable from its epithets for God (Kṛishṇa, Vāsudeva, Bhagavat, Puruṣhottama). I find the Bhāgavata doctrine in a special but important point in the *Gītā*, viz., in XV. 7, where God says that the individual soul has proceeded from him and is a part of himself.³⁸ We have seen in part II above that the knitting together of the monotheism with the tenets of the Sāṃkhya-yoga is above all a process characteristic of the Bhāgavatas.

This knitting together necessitates, in various ways, a forced interpretation and a distortion of the two systems; since thus only could the theism of the Bhāgavatas be provided with the tenets of the avowedly atheistic Sāṃkhya system and with those of the Yoga system, only outwardly furnished with a formal theistic appearance. [p. 42] If therefore the *Bhag.* discloses numerous discrepancies from the genuine Sāṃkhya-yoga doctrines, i.e., from the doctrines as expounded in the respective text-books of the two systems, it would be entirely a mistake to perceive here an older stage of the Sāṃkhya-yoga.

The Sāṃkhya system is mentioned by name six times in the *Gītā* (II. 39, III. 3, V. 4. 5. XIII. 24, XVIII. 13, cf. also XVIII. 19,) and its fundamental tenets are set forth in their unmixed purity at II. 11-16, 18-30, III. 27-29, V. 14, VII. 4, XIII. 5, 19 and ff. Besides, the whole poem is permeated by the influence of the Sāṃkhya tenets, and principally by the theory of the three *Gūṇas*. However the terms of the Sāṃkhya (system) are not quite always used in the *Bhag.* in their technical sense, but constantly in a sense which is in keeping with the current literary usage. Thus *buddhi*, *aḥamkāra* and *manas*, in many places, to be sure, denote the three internal organs of the Sāṃkhya system, but *buddhi* and *manas* occasionally meet us in the sense of "mind, heart, understanding, view," and *aḥamkāra* in the sense of "egoism, pride." *Prakṛiti* too is not always matter—or the primal matter—but stands in the sense of "nature, essence, natural condition" at III. 33 IV. 6, VII. 4, 5, 20, IX. 8, 12, 13, XI. 51, XIII. 20, XVIII. 59; similarly *ātman* has not

³⁸ See besides the well-known passages regarding the Pāñcharātra-tenets, Madhusūdana Sarasvat in Weber, *Ind. Stu.* I, 11.

always its philosophical sense, but is to be translated as "essence", "mind", &c. Thus Śaṅkara explains *ātman* as the internal-organ, and often enough by *antaḥkaraṇa*, e.g., at V. 21, VI. 10, 36, 47; XIII. 24; though in these cases it would be well to take it in the sense of the empirical self (i.e. of the Viśiṣṭātmān of the text-books) connected with its limitations. In many places (IV. 21, V. 7, VI. 10) the commentators go to the length of even explaining *ātman* as the body.

The relation between the Bhāgavata religion and the Yoga tenets rests on reciprocal influences. The Bhāgavatas have taken over the conception of Yoga, [p. 43] but have explained it differently, and given the word the sense of "self-surrender to God, devotion concentrated on God."³⁹ On the other hand the Yoga system has taken over the idea of God from the Bhāgavata religion. I have shown at great length in the *Encyclopædia of Indo-Aryan Philology and Antiquity*, III. 4, p. 50, how the idea of God is understood in the *Yoga-sūtras*, and how it is ushered into the system of the (Yoga) doctrines in a completely superficial, unconnected manner, disturbing the connection (of the *sūtras*). If one were to eliminate from the *Yoga-sūtras* (those *sūtras* viz.) I. 23, 27, II. 1, 45, that treat of God, there would be caused // in the text no lacuna; on the other hand, something would drop away which militated against the entire presumptions of the Yoga system. If indeed the borrowing over of the conception of God into the Yoga system signifies a concession to the Bhāgavatas, the same is the case in a higher measure with Īśvarapraṇidhāna (mentioned in *Yoga-sūtras*, I. 23, II. 1, 45) in the sense of self-surrender to God, in which Rajendralāla Mitra, *Yoga Aphorisms*, p. 28, has already recognised a borrowing from the Bhakti system, i.e., from the religion of the Bhāgavatas. Īśvarapraṇidhāna is perfectly synonymous with Yoga from the Bhāgavata point of view.

I must leave it undecided whether the many-sided rôle which Yoga plays in the *Bhag.* entirely conforms with the position it has occupied in the Bhāgavata religion, or whether the author of the *Gītā* did not utilise in a very great measure the tenets of the Yoga system. I am, however, inclined to accede to the first alternative. The words *yoga*, *yogin* or other radically connected forms, occurring quite often in the *Bhag.* had necessarily to be rendered in the translation by a series of different expressions. Sometimes the meanings so imperceptibly pass into each other that one is apt to become doubtful as to what meaning to choose. The following passages in part, [p. 44] though they do not contain the word *yoga*, treat evidently of the *yoga* practices which form the subject-matter of Patañjali's text; IV. 27, 29, 30; V. 27, 28; VI. 10 ff.; VIII. 8-14; XVIII. 33. In the great majority of the passages, however, *yoga*, *yogin* and other verbal derivatives of the root *yuj* have a significant meaning characteristic of the Bhāgavatas, and designate respectively self-surrender to God, devotion to him, and a self-surrendering devout saintly being. Further, *yoga* when it is connected with *karman*, stands (III. 3, 7, V. 1, 2, IX. 28, XIII. 24) in its original sense of, "performing or carrying out of the work."⁴⁰ Relying on this sense of the word, there appears in *Gītā* the Yoga doctrine (particularly in the third *Adhyāya* and V. 2 ff.) explained away as the doctrine of conscientious discharge (of one's duties), and placed in opposition to the Sāṃkhya, which is called the theory of correct

³⁹ "The *Bhaktimārga* is connected with the *Yoga* and has developed out of it." Jacobi, *Göt. Gel. Anz.*, 1897, p. 277.

⁴⁰ The instrumental *yogena* possesses to our literary sense, in such cases directly or approximately, the meaning of a preposition "by means of." Cf. Böttlingk, *Bemerkungen zur Bhag.* III. 3, XIII. 24.

knowledge. This peculiar explanation of Yoga, however, must not have first been brought forward by the author of the *Bhag.*; one might rather regard the recognition of both the ways of salvation—the Jñānamārga and the Karmamārga—which are mentioned side by side in *Bhag.* III. 3, XIII. 24 (at the latter passage Sāṃkhya-yogena is used in the sense of Jñānamārga) and which without being particularly mentioned stand side by side in the poem, as a tenet peculiar to the Bhāgavatas. The *Karma-yoga* of the Bhāgavatas though later mixed up with the ritualistic *Karmamārga*, preserves however in the *Bhag.* its genuine sense of "conscientious performance of one's duties without (regard for) personal interest." The *Jñāna-yoga* of the Bhāgavatas consists of a knowledge of God and a knowledge of nature in the Sāṃkhya sense, and involves in itself the renunciation of all actions.

It certainly merits consideration that even in so late a stage of development of the Bhāgavata religion as in the system of Rāmānuja, the first two of the [p. 45] five ways that lead to emancipation are called the *Karma-yoga* and the *Jñāna-yoga*.⁴¹ Rāmānuja's third way of salvation is *Bhakti-yoga* (already mentioned in *Bhag.*, XIV. 26); the fourth, the *Prapatti-yoga* is an offshoot of the *Bhakti-yoga*, and the fifth, the *Achāryābhimāna-yoga* is evidently a modern addition.

Finally, the word *yoga* meets us in the *Bhag.* in a still different sense, which indeed has been developed from the conception of "action", viz., in those passages where the *yoga* ✓ of the God is spoken of, i.e., his wondrous power (IX. 5, X. 7, 18, XI. 8, 47) or where God, in accordance with this sense, is called *yogin* "possessing wondrous power" (X. 17) or *yogेश्वरा* "the lord of wondrous power" (XI. 4, 9; XVII. 75, 78).

We might now proceed to exhibit in a short sketch the tenets of the genuine *Bhag.*, i.e. the Bhāgavata doctrine provided with elements of Sāṃkhya and Yoga, much differently explained. It may not be very desirable to follow the sequel of thought of the *Bhag.* (step by step,) since it deviates from one thought to another, and continually mixes with one another the different recognised standpoints, all the more so in its practical aspects.

We begin with the theoretical (*lit.* systematic) part of the *Bhag.* and first with the idea of God. God is—as would be scarcely necessary to repeat after the preceding remarks—a conscious, eternal, and all-powerful being "the beginningless great Ruler of the World" (X. 3). He is not only different from the changing world, but is also different from the immutable soul of the human being (XV. 17-19); He is therefore a spirit in a different and higher sense than the Ātman of the creatures. When it is said (VII. 4-6) that God possesses two forms—a higher spiritual one, by means of which the world is held up, and a lower [p. 46] material one, out of which everything proceeds—which according to the Sāṃkhyas belongs to the Prakṛiti, it is not to be understood that matter constitutes a half of God's being; it is rather meant that matter follows its blind course not independently by itself, but acts under the guidance of God; in other words, God works in matter, and acts by it. This is placed quite beyond the range of doubt in other passages of the *Bhag.* God deposits the seed in matter for being unfolded (XIV. 3-4); he is likewise the father of all beings, while matter is to be compared to the womb of a mother (XIV. 4). God directs the origin, development and dissolution of the Universe (IX. 7, 8, 10), and in this sense he calls himself the origin and the end of the

⁴¹ R. G. Bhandarkar, *Report*, 1887, p. 69.

entire world (VII. 6, X. 8), and identifies himself with Death (XI. 32.) All the conditions of beings originate from him (X. 4-5); He directs their destiny, i.e. rewards them according to their deeds, and makes the beings revolve in the circle of births "like unto the figures of a puppet show" (XVIII. 61). Whatever God does, comes to pass only for the sake of the world, for, to God himself there is no wish to be fulfilled and no object to be striven after (III. 22, 24). "Every time when Right is on the wane, and Wrong rampant," God, who exists from all eternity and is immutable, creates himself a-new, i.e. takes a new form of incarnation "for the defence of the good and the annihilation of the wicked, and thus to securely establish the Right" (IV. 6-8). Since the deed of God is an action of the matter ruled by him, and never originates from an egoistic motive, God is not bound down by his actions (IV. 13, 14; IX. 9). He can therefore be never ensnared in world-existence. The visionary picture of God in the 12th *Adhyāya* is a dramatic production, intended to work on the phantasy (imagination), but is of little significance for the proper doctrines of the *Gītā*.

The relation of God to the world of mankind does not entirely conform to a rigid law of recompense; [p. 47] on the other hand, God loves human beings who know him and are devoted to him with all their hearts (VII. 17, XII. 14-20; XVIII. 64, 65, 69), and he emancipates from all sins everyone who resorts to him entirely (XVIII. 66). In this passage (and also at XVIII. 56, 58, 62, 73) is indeed to be found the doctrine of divine favour (*Prasāda*) which we come across in some of the *Upanishads* of the middle period⁴² (*Kaṭha*, *Sveta*, *Muṇḍaka*), and which as a consequence plays so predominant a part in the Indian sects.

Even though God directs the world-process, it is however 'matter', as we saw above, which does all work (III. 27, V. 14, XIII. 20, 29). From the primordial matter, originates the world, into which it goes back (VIII. 18, 19); the idea of evolution and reabsorption as much as the conception of the world-periods is therefore taken over from the Sāṃkhya system. All the theories in the *Bhagavadgītā* regarding matter generally agree with those of the Sāṃkhya system. The three *guṇas* play here (in the *Bhagavadgītā*) the same rôle as in the Sāṃkhya system; they affect by their actions the soul in bondage (XIV. 5 ff.), and the results of their activity make themselves felt in life step by step, as has been set forth in a very thorough fashion in *Adhyāyas* XVII and XVIII. The physiological exposition of the internal organs and the senses is that of the Sāṃkhya system (III. 40 42; XIII. 5). All these similarities, however, are not for the doctrines of the *Bhagavadgītā* of that much significance as the fundamental theory regarding the nature of matter borrowed over from the Sāṃkhya, from which proceeds the philosophical consideration in *Adhyāya* II. Though indeed matter is not something created by God, still it is present from eternity onward, and it unceasingly underlies all progress and change. All its products and effects are finite; its actions, such as joy and sorrow, come and go, and therefore it is not right that one should be influenced by them (II. 14).

[P. 48] In contrast to the mutability of what matter gives rise to, stands the immutability of the *spirit*. As a matter of fact, the spirit (the soul, the self) is to that degree like matter in that both are eternal and imperishable; since what is, has ever been, and will always be; "to a non-existing thing, no existence can be imparted; to the existing,

⁴² See Hopkins, *Great Epic*, p. 183.

no non-existence" (II. 16) ; but the great difference between matter and spirit consists in this that the spirit is never capable of change. When it is said (XIII. 21) that the spirit enjoys the (manifestations of the) *guṇas*, and that its attachment to these *guṇas* is the primary cause of the spirit's rebirth, the real point is simply a picturesque way of expression, which is entirely to be explained in accordance with the Sāṃkhya view. As a matter of fact, the spirit dwells in life, absolutely not doing anything—"neither acting nor causing one to act" (V. 13-15), and remains untouched by all actions and influences of matter. This has been expounded in a noble language in the second *Adhyāya* of the *Bhag.* He who therefore knows that the spirit is the true self "I" that leaves an old body and enters into a new one, just as a man casts off old clothes and takes on new ones (II. 22), and knows that the spirit can neither be changed nor destroyed,—he is not grieved at the sorrow and death of anyone, *i.e.*, at those things which affect only the destructible body.

All this is pure Sāṃkhya philosophy ; in spite of this, however, the apprehension of the spiritual principle in the *Bhag.* is essentially different from that in the Sāṃkhya philosophy : not exclusively philosophical, but appreciably religious. The individual soul does not, according to the *Gītā*—which expounds the belief of the Bhagavatas—possess from all eternity a separate existence, but it has detached itself as a part of the Divine Soul (XV. 7 ; cf. also XVI. 18 ; XVII. 6). The expression *mamāiśvāśo jīvaloke jvabhūtaḥ sanātanaḥ* (XV. 7) is so clear that one must be indeed a credulous follower of Śaṅkara to understand the word *amīa* in this important passage, in a Vedāntic sense as equivalent to "an imaginary, an apparent part." The individual souls are therefore of [p. 49] divine origin ; they appear in conjunction with matter, which in itself is not in the position of bringing about any change, but which has given rise to life and consciousness in the world. The duty of a man is to so behave himself that his soul could return back to its starting-point—the God.

With this we might proceed to the *practical* part of the doctrines of the *Gītā*. Here, to begin with, stand the two ways of salvation in contrast with each other, one of which consists in the renunciation of life and in striving after knowledge, and the other, in dutiful and disinterested actions. Although this second way of salvation is in many places regarded as the better one (III. 8, V. 2, XVIII. 7), and according to the whole connection of the *Gītā* is to be looked upon as the proper ethical ideal of the poem,⁴³ still, the author (of the *Gītā*) who, according to what I have said above, is a faithful interpreter of the Bhāgavata tenets in their practical teaching as they were prevalent in his times, has not ventured to cast off the way of emancipation (consisting in) renouncing the world and in abstract knowledge. The view that freedom from the cycle of births could be won through meditation by absolutely detaching oneself from the world, was, from centuries ago, so firmly rooted in the thoughtful circles of the Indian people, that it could not be any longer seriously contended against. There remained no other alternative but to let the two ways pass current side by side, and to propound that right action as much as knowledge—the latter pre-supposing the non-performance of works (the state of non-action)—would lead to emancipation. Since, therefore, in the *Gītā* sometimes the one and sometimes the other standpoint emerges forth, and occasionally the ideal of quietism is distinctly held superior to that of actions (VI. 3), there have arisen inconsistencies and confusion, which could have been avoided in any definite rejection of the quietistic standpoint. [p. 50] The two standpoints are in the *Gītā* squared with each other on the explanation

⁴³ Compare also the so-called *quintessence veræ*, XI. 53.

that the discharge of duty, which is done without any regard for consequences and without any selfish interest, loses its retributive power, and that consequently, for the doer thereof, the world no longer continues to be. According to this view, such kind of work, therefore, is the same as the non-doing of work (incidental) to the path of knowledge.

The knowledge to be attained through the quietistic path of salvation is, in many passages of the *Gītā*, described entirely in conformity with the Sāṃkhya system, as (consisting in) differentiation between spirit and matter (XIII. 23, XIV. 19); and as a result of this differentiation, the release of the knowing man from the necessity of rebirth is stated irrespective of his behaviour (XIII. 23). This might be regarded as an isolated recognition of the genuine Sāṃkhya ideal. In general, according to the standpoint of the *Bhag.*, the knowledge that brings about emancipation is not confined (only) to distinguishing spirit and the matter; on the other hand, this recognition of difference might simply be regarded as a *sine qua non* of the knowledge of God, which primarily leads man in truth to the highest weal.

The other path of salvation—the selfless performance of duty—is preached in the *Bhag.*, at every step in a great variety of expressions. The performance of duty would not generally lead to its goal so long as it is accompanied by any hope of the reward. One should do the ordained (duty) without attachment, in repose and equanimity (of mind), pervaded by a uniform sentiment towards everyone, treating alike the agreeable and the disagreeable, joy and sorrow, success and failure, without any wish and without any personal interest whatsoever. The deeds of one, who acts in this state of mind, unconcerned with the ephemeral products of matter (II. 14), and entirely in accordance with the commands of Duty, and after the Divine pattern (III. 22), dedicating to God the fruit of all his actions—[p. 51] such deeds do not lie within (the domain of) the law of recompense (IV. 22, 23; IX. 27, 28; XVIII. 12, 17). The injunctions that are laid down here, postulate the rejection of the performance of Vedic works; this rejection being expressed without any reservation in the original *Gītā*. All ceremonies, indeed, of the Brahmanical ritual entirely serve selfish wishes, and therefore stand in sharp contrast to the ethical ideal of the *Gītā*. It is therefore said (XVIII. 66) “Leave off all holy observances,” and at II. 42-45 is expressed open scorn at the reward of the Veda, which refers only to the material world, and can hold forth only the prospect of an ephemeral reward (cf. also IX. 20, 21). Indifference to what the Śruti teaches is likewise a condition precedent for the obtainment of salvation (II. 52-53). That there is pure Sāṃkhya doctrine underlying all this insistence need scarcely be mentioned.

Whichever of the two ways of salvation one might betake oneself to, one must overcome the difficulties inherent in the constitution of one's nature. When it is said (III. 33) that “beings follow (their) nature,” and when at XVI. 1 and ff. there is a distinction made between men as those who are born to a divine (inheritance of) nature, and those to a demonic one, this predestination is to be regarded as a working of the former *karman*. There is no word in the *Gītā* of predestination as such; on the other hand, the presupposition of moral freedom can be recognized as (pervading) the work quite through. One is entirely at liberty whether he would or would not fight against the hindrances that lie in the way of emancipation, and whether he would strive after a lower or after a higher ideal. In the way of the realization of this last, innate ignorance (*avidyā*)

places itself in opposition (v. 15) to the *Jñānyoga*; (in the case) of the *Karmayoga*, greed—likewise innate in human nature—which is a veritable enemy of mankind (III. 37, 43); [p. 52] want of faith and scepticism also are likewise fatal (IV. 40). As a serviceable means of successfully opposing these obstructions, there are recommended several of the *yoga*-practices (V. 27, 28, VI. 10 and ff., VIII. 10, 12 and ff.). In the case of one who does not succeed in submerging these obstructions, his *yoga*-practices are not thereby rendered useless; since such a man is born again in the best of environments, and finally does reach the highest goal (II. 40, VI. 41 and ff.).

The most important of those claims which the *Gītā* makes on the man seeking emancipation, I shall now finally refer to. As is known, the *Bhag.* is the song *par excellence* of Bhakti, the faithful and devout love to God. Devotion to God, (proceeding) as much from the path of knowledge, as from selfless performance of duty, leads with unconditioned certitude to the goal. The whole poem is permeated by this sentiment—to preach this doctrine was the whole poem composed. From devotion to God, springs knowledge of God (XVIII. 55), and this knowledge so works that the faithful offers up all deeds to God and leaves the fruit thereof to his care. Without distinction of birth or former behaviour, Bhakti guarantees to every one the certainty of emancipation—even to the wicked, to women, to the Vaiśyas and to the Sūdras (IX. 30-32). The main point, however, is not simply a mere transitory emotion of love: on the other hand, the whole being of a man must be permeated by an unfaltering (*ananya*, *avyabhichārin*)⁴⁴ devotion to God. If this be the case, the thoughts of a man on the point of death are (naturally) fixed on God. Particular emphasis is laid on this point in the *Bhag.* (VIII. 5, 9, 10, 13), since a man enters in that state of existence (*bhāva*) which he contemplates at the time of death.⁴⁵

In what light are we now to regard the condition of a man freed from worldly existence and made one with God? [p. 53] Is it unconsciousness as is taught in the Sāṅkhya-yoga? When the soul returns to its place of origin, is its individuality, which it once bore separately from and as a part of, the divine soul, obliterated? Most of the expressions which the *Gītā* uses to denote the existence of the emancipated (soul) are colourless, and are of no help in giving an answer to this question: *siddhi* (XII. 10, XVI. 23), *parā siddhi* (XIV. 1), *parā* or *paramā gati* (VI. 45, VIII. 13, IX. 32, XVI. 22, 23), *pada anāmaya* (II. 51) and *śāśvata pada avyaya* (XVIII. 56). Along with this, the *Bhag.* also designates the state of the emancipated soul diversely as quietude (*śānti*) or as the highest repose (*parā* or *naishṭhiki Śānti*) (IV. 39, V. 12, XVIII. 62), and by this is meant not the obliteration of consciousness for all eternity, but a state of blissful freedom of the soul, existing on individually, in the presence of God. The *Bhag.* offers no explanation of how indeed a soul can have a conscious existence without any reference to matter as is postulated by the Sāṅkhya-yoga. Evidently this is a view originating in the oldest period of the Bhāgavata religion, and has ever since represented a dogma of the Bhāgavata faith; and for this reason also it came about that when this religion was furnished with Sāṅkhya-yoga elements, this dogma was not supplanted by the mutually contradictory doctrine of the two systems. Out of the logical difficulties that follow from this, the faith of the believers helped them out.

That the author of the *Bhag.* as a matter of fact saw in the going of the emancipated soul to God, a continuance of conscious individuality, can be proved from the following

⁴⁴ See the passages in Jacob's *Concordance*.

⁴⁵ For the results of this theory, compare Barth, *Religions de l'Inde*, 136 (= English Trans., p. 228).

passages of the poem. Kṛishṇa says VII. 23, "those that worship God, go to God; while those that revere me, go to me," and at IX. 25, he repeats the same promise somewhat more fully. That the "going" to the Devas (or to the Pitṛis and Bhūtāni, IX. 25) can only mean a conscious continuance of an individual being, is clear. [p. 54] As the "going" to Kṛishṇa (or God) is spoken of along with that, no other meaning could have been intended by this "going", because of the parallelism and the correspondence of the expression (*yā* with the accusative). If one were still doubtful regarding this conclusion, I might refer him to XIV. 2, where God describes the emancipated⁴⁶ (ones) with the words, *mama sādharmaṃ āgatāḥ* "those who have attained sameness of essence with me." *Sādharma* does not signify oneness, sameness, identity (*aikya*, *aikāntya*, *tādditya*) but qualitative equality. From this it follows that emancipation, according to the *Bhag.*, is to be regarded as an elevation of the soul to God-like existence, as an individual continuance in the presence of God. In this connection it might further be mentioned that in XVI. 23, the condition of the emancipated is, after being described as *siddhi* and *parā gati*, called "*sukha*," happiness, bliss.

The doctrines here briefly worked out are to be met with not only in *Bhag.* but also in many other passages of the *Mahābhārata*; and, of course, the entire series of ideas of the refashioned Vedāntisized *Gītā*, is not to be regarded as something standing isolated in the *Mahābhārata*.⁴⁷ I believe, however—and the supposition is not over-bold—that the *Gītā* is the source from which these doctrines might have spread to other parts of the Epos, apart from these plagiarisms and imitations mentioned above, which can clearly be recognized as such.

I have now to offer a few words of observation on the question regarding the Buddhistic and the Christian influence in the *Bhag.* Buddhistic influence might be detected in the recommending of the golden mean in VI. 16, 17, [p. 55] and this supposition would gain ground by a reference to the occurrence of the word *Nirvāṇa* in the immediately preceding verse, VI. 15. As evidently the application of the word *Nirvāṇa* is not entirely confined to Buddhistic literary usage, (*Brahmanirvāṇa* occurs four times in the refashioned *Gītā*), and as the idea of the thoughtful moderation (the golden mean referred to above) could be explained on the ground of common human reflection, the Buddhistic influence in this passage might be regarded as very much doubtful, resting at most on very far-fetched reasons. And the pessimism which comes up to notice at XIII. 8 is not to be referred back to the Buddhistic influences, but must be derived from the tenets of the Sāṃkhya philosophy, which in this, as in other respects, lies at the root of Buddhism.⁴⁸

More important is the question regarding the influence of Christianity on the *Bhag.*, an influence which is often asserted and as often refuted. Any Christian influence in the original (genuine) *Gītā* is as, I think, quite precluded by its age, which I trust I shall establish with some degree of probability in the next part. I would also refer to what I tried to make good above regarding the genuine Indian origin of Bhakti. That there is a historical possibility of the author of the refashioned *Gītā* being acquainted with the tenets of

⁴⁶ The parallel expression IV. 10 *madbhāvam āgatāḥ* "have reached my state" finds its explanation in this passage.

⁴⁷ Compare Hopkins, *Religions of India*, p. 401 (top).

⁴⁸ The treatments of this question in Telang, *Introduction*, p. 24 and ff., rests on the erroneous supposition that the *Gītā* is anterior to Buddhism.

Christianity, is to be conceded; however, I do not think that any one has succeeded in raising this possibility into probability or into certainty. To me personally, there is no idea to be met with in the *Gītā* that could not be explained satisfactorily on the basis of the vast treasure of thought, or on that of the proper spiritual inheritance of the Indian people. In this question, I hold myself at a standpoint quite the opposite of F. Lorinser, who in the preface, notes, [p. 56] and appendix to his metrical translation of the *Bhag.* (Breslau, 1869) asserts his conviction with an earnestness and zeal, which might win esteem even from an opponent, that "not only did the author of the *Bhag.* know and probably utilise the writings of the New Testament, but also generally did weave into his system Christian ideas and views" (page v). Lorinser would even prove from which parts of the New Testament a larger number of "sentences are borrowed," and from which a lesser number of them; that the "epistles of St. Paul in their entirety, with the exception of the Thessalonians and the Philemon have been utilised" (p. 285). In this strain does he proceed. Lorinser was certainly a good theologian. In this case, however, he trod into a province with which he was not sufficiently familiar. That the Indian words appear in his writings very often in a false orthography and with false articles, is not purely an accident, but a symptom of the fact that he was not equipped with the requisite philological knowledge with which to judge of things Indian. Had Lorinser been more closely familiar with the history of the development of Indian thought, he would not have drawn so very emphatic conclusions from the "resemblances" collected together by him. These resemblances are for the most part entirely of a vague nature. They relate to likeness in thought and expression, which however finds its explanation in the similarity of the back-ground (*lit.* characteristics) of the New Testament of the *Bhag.* Even Weber who was inclined to concede to the Christian influence in India a wide field to range over, says *Ind. Liter. Gesch.*², p. 367 (=English Trans. p. 238, Note 252a) that Lorinser *has estimated much too highly* the bearing of his argument, and that the question whether to postulate or not any acquaintance of the *Bhag.* with the tenets of Christianity is still *sub judice*. Besides, Lorinser's theory has been refuted by such reputed sound scholars as E. Windisch, John Muir, Max Müller, C. P. Tiele and Telang, with such conclusiveness, [p. 57] that I need not refute it in detail any more.⁴⁹

PART IV.

The Age of the Bhagavadgītā.

Among those works which have contributed most to the understanding of the *Bhag.*, ranks, without doubt, K. T. Telang's English Translation of the poem⁵⁰ in the *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. VIII, Oxford 1882. Telang's attempt, however, to prove for the *Bhag.* a high antiquity,—an antiquity higher than Āpastamba's *Dharmasūtra*—has rightly found no countenance amongst the European Indologists. In the preface to his translation, p. 34, Telang, after an extensive argumentation, comes to the conclusion that the *Gītā* must be, in any case, older than the third century B.C., though we cannot say how much. Since we now know through Bühler's investigations that the

⁴⁹ Compare A. Holtzman, *Das Mahābhārata und Seine Teile*, part II, p. 152.

⁵⁰ The second edition of the work of 1898 though not much different (from the first edition) is unfortunately not accessible to me.

Āpastamba Dharmasūtra is to be placed in the fourth or fifth century B.C.,⁵¹ the *Gītā* must, according to Telang's line of argumentation, belong at least to the fifth century B.C.

The entire reasoning of Telang is critically examined by Böhlingk in the beginning of his *Bemerkungen* and has been proved to be completely baseless. The proofs (offered) by Telang are in fact so weak that one might wonder how a man of his learning and acumen should not have recognized their superficiality, if there were not (indeed) a psychological influence to account for this. To Telang, as to every Hindu,—how much-soever enlightened—it is an article of faith to believe in so high an antiquity of the *Bhag.* And where such necessities are powerful criticism indeed comes to an end.

The task of assigning a date to the *Gītā* has been recognized by every one [p. 58] who has earnestly tried to solve the problem, as being very difficult; and the difficulties grow (all the more) if the problem is presented twofold, viz., to determine as well the age of the original *Gītā* as also of its revision. I am afraid that generally speaking, we shall succeed in arriving, not at any certainties, but only at probabilities in this matter.

If we first take into consideration the *Gītā* in its present form, we might—in fixing its lowest limit—leave out of consideration all the testimonies for its existence that are posterior to Kālidāsa. Kālidāsa is the oldest author who refers to the *Gītā* and that he does so is firmly established by Telang (Introduction, p. 29). Of the two confirmatory passages which Telang brings forward⁵² the second one particularly is convincing, viz., *Kumārasaṁbhava* VI. 67, where Aṅgiras says to the Himālaya: *sthāne tvām sthāva-rātmānam Viṣṇum āhuḥ manśhiṇaḥ*. “Rightly do the wise call thee Viṣṇu in the shape of a mountain.” The reference is here (as already pointed out by the commentator Mallinātha) unmistakably to *Bhag.* X. 25, both in form and in sense. To Kālidāsa, therefore, who is to be carried back to the middle of the fifth century A.D.,⁵³ the *Gītā* was an authoritative work. We might therefore set down A.D. 400 *circa* as the lower limit of the *Gītā*.

It is not, however, to be supposed that the present *Gītā* first originated in a time that lies very near to this lower limit as fixed by us. The revision of the poem belongs to that period in the development of the *Mahābhārata* text which Hopkins, *Great Epic*, 398, places between 200 B.C. to A.D. 100-200 (Remaking of the epic with Kṛishṇa as all-god, intrusion of masses of didactic matter, addition of *Purāṇic* material, old and new). As a matter of fact, however, the present *Gītā* [p. 59] could be mostly attributed to the second half of this period. This follows from the fact that a considerable time must have elapsed before some one could venture to subject the original *Gītā* to a thorough revision and transformation. From the consideration, therefore, of the age of the genuine *Gītā* which too I shall forthwith try to fix, *the revision of the *Gītā* could not have taken place earlier than the first or second century A. D.; and if I were to fix upon the second century (as the period of the revision), I would still be placing it somewhat earlier than is usually the case (to do), and earlier than what John Davies, for instance, (The *Bhag.*,² 183,*

⁵¹ See Bühler's preface to his translation of this work,—[SBE. XIV].

⁵² The first passage is to be read as *Raghuvamśa*, X, 31 and not 67, as stated in Telang's work.

⁵³ See the latest literature on the question by W. Klemm,—ZDMG. 58, 290.

194, 200) has done, who with Lassen and Weber accepts the third century A.D.⁵⁴ The *Gītā* as it has come down to us cannot be much later than this. The history of the development of the *Mahābhārata* text teaches that. [p. 60] That the revision cannot be older depends principally on further reasons to be investigated. Such reasons are afforded by the following considerations.

In a verse of the *Bhag.* (XIII. 22) which belongs to the revised version, and in the *Nṛisīṃhatā. Upanishad*, II. 9.2, the two words *Upadrashtṛi* (the overseer) and *Anumantri* (the consenter) stand side by side, and the latter of these two words is so very rare that none can doubt the historical relation of the two passages. As in all other relations to the *Upanishad* literature the *Bhag.* is the borrowing party, so in this case also, we have to regard in this passage of the *Nṛi-Tā-Upanishad* the prototype, and in the first quarter of *Bhag.* XIII. 2 the copy thereof, because the word *Anumantri*, as an epithet of one form of the highest spirit, has been preserved in its originality in the *Nṛi-Tā-Upanishad* through the entire contents of the text; since *Anumantri* is synonymous with *Anujñātṛi* formerly used in this *Upanishad*, and this latter is spoken of as existing as a form of the *Ātman* in the second part (II. 2.8, 10, 13, 14; 3, 1, 6.14; 8, 6, 7; 9.33 here *Anujñātṛi* is used by the side of *Upadrashtṛi*). Now Weber, *Ind. Lit. Gesch.*² p. 186 (= English Trans., p. 167) has placed the *Nṛi-Tā-Upanishad* in the 4th century A.D., though later, *Ind. Stu.* IX, 62, 63, this date is reiterated only with reservation. As a matter of fact, however, it follows from Weber's statements at the latter place that the reason on which he has based this date is not tenable. Weber had had, with regard to many Indian works, a disposition to bring them down chronologically, and this is true also of the *Nṛi-Tā-Upanishad*. In any case, however, this secondary *Upanishad*—and with it the *Uttaratāpaniṣya*, latterly attached thereto—that comes into consideration as the source of the above-mentioned verse of the *Bhag.* should be placed in post-Christian period; and its being utilized by the reviser of the *Bhag.* points to the fact that he must not have in any case lived earlier than the second century A.D. The striking remark of John Davies, *The Bhag.*² p. 192, and ff.,

⁵⁴ The manifold resemblances which the *Gītā* bears in thought and expression to the *Upanishads* of the oldest and intermediary classes, do not prove the antiquity of the poem, because this is to be regarded simply as a dependence of the *Gītā* on texts partly belonging to a considerably high antiquity. Telang, in the notes to his translation of the poem, *SBE.* VIII, has referred to numerous parallelisms from the *Bṛih. Chān. Kaus.*, *Īśa*, *Kaṭha*, *Munḍa*, *Prasna*, *Maitra*, and *Śvetāś. Upanishads*, but so far as I can see, verbal or almost verbal borrowing of verses or parts thereof is confined to the *Kaṭha* and *Śvetāś. Upanishads* :—

- Bhagavadgītā* II, 19 = *Kaṭha* II. 19.
 „ II, 20 = *Kaṭha* II. 18.
 „ III, 42 = *Kaṭha* III. 10 (cf. VI. 7.)
 ✓ „ V, 13 = *Śvetāś* III. 18.
 „ VIII, 9 = *Śvetāś* III. 8.
 „ VIII, 11 = *Kaṭha* II. 15.
 „ XIII, 13, 14 = *Śvetāś* III. 16, 17.
 „ XV, 1 = *Kaṭha* VI. 1.

For fixing the date of the *Bhag.* its relationship with the later *Upanishads* only could be turned to any account, as indeed I shall soon below similarly utilize one such relationship (of the *Bhag.*) with the *Nṛisīṃhatāpīṭh*, undoubtedly a secondary *Upanishad*.

that our poem is closely related to the *Purāṇa* literature in its mythological and literary characteristics, [p. 61] points in the same direction:—"In fact it is impossible to read the *Bhag.* and the *Purāṇas* without feeling that we are treading upon the same ground." The view that had become prevalent for a long time that the *Purāṇas* represent a later phase of literature connected with the *Mahābhārata* must now be well-nigh revised, since Hopkins⁵⁵ has now proved that the eighteen *Purāṇas* were known before the completion (of the text) of the *Mahābhārata*. Apart from this, however, the similarity between the character of the *Bhag.* and the *Purāṇas* is to be regarded as a proof that the present *Gītā* cannot possibly be placed before the second century A.D.

In this connection, I might also urge one more linguistic consideration, which in its singularity is not indeed devoid of great importance. *Bhag.* X, 25 which belongs to the later revision contains the word *Himālaya*, the modern form of the older *Himavat*, this (latter) however, as is well known, still surviving in the later literature. According to the showing of the *Petersburg Dictionary*, Kālidāsa is the oldest author of any definite date, who employs the form *Himālaya* (and similar new forms *Himagiri*, *Himādri*). Even though the word *Himālaya* might indeed have been used before (the time of) Kālidāsa, still the use of that word makes an impression of relative lateness. I therefore believe as a whole, that even though I might not have brought forward any cogent proof, I would not be going much wrong if I were to place the *refashioned Gītā* in the second century A.D.

If we now fix our attention on the *genuine Gītā* it is unfortunately impossible to arrive at any chronological result on (the basis of a) resemblance with the *Mānava Dharmasāstra*. W. von Humboldt has already drawn attention to the parallels between ✓ Manu's law book and the *Bhag.*⁵⁶ However there is only one verse which (with a minor difference) [p. 62] is common to both the works; viz., *Bhag.*, VIII. 17—Manu I. 73. Telang in the preface to his metrical translation of the *Bhag.* p. 115,⁵⁷ is naturally of the opinion, in accordance with his conviction of the high antiquity of the *Gītā*, that Manu might have extracted the verse from the *Gītā*. However the thing could be just the other way, and besides there is still the third possibility that it might be a verse loosely floating about, belonging to the Brahmanical tradition, which both the works might have utilized independently of each other. When, further, Hopkins, *Great Epic*, pp. 19, 22, is, after a thorough investigation of the *Mahābhārata* and of the *Manusmṛiti*, firmly convinced that the present form of the text of Manu is later than the old Epic but older than the didactic Epic, while, Bühler (Preface to his Translation of *Manusmṛiti*, p. 98) declares our Manu-text as later than our *Mahābhārata*, the attempt to utilize the above-mentioned similarity for purpose of fixing the date of the original *Gītā*, is completely hopeless.

I believe, however, that the investigation regarding the age of the *genuine Gītā* could be carried to a definite result with a closer examination of another passage. At the beginning of the fourth *Adhyāya* which everyone regards as being old, Kṛishṇa says that he had taught in the preceding ages the secret of the *Yoga* doctrine to Vivasvat (=Sūrya, the sun, the birth-place of the warrior caste, *sarva-kṣatriya-vamśa-vija-bhūtāya Adityāya* as Mādhūsūdana says) and from him it passed on to Manu, Ikshvāku and the old sages of the

⁵⁵ *American Oriental Society Proceedings*, October 1888, p. 5; *Great Epic*, p. 48.

⁵⁶ See now all of them put together by A. Holtzmann, *Das Mahābhārata* IV, 127 (top).

⁵⁷ In Holtzmann, *op. cit.*

Kshatriya class (Rājārshi).⁵⁸ In course of time, however, the *Yoga* doctrine on this earth [p. 63] passed into oblivion and it was then being preached by Kṛishṇa to Arjuna once more.

How does this now in reality affect the antiquity and the vicissitudes of the *Yoga* doctrines? That the *Yoga* system is pre-Buddhistic is evident from the investigations of Kern (*Buddhism*, Vol. I, 470 and ff.) and of Jacobi, *Nachr. d. Gött. Ges. d. Wiss.* 1896, 45 ff. We know nothing of importance with regard to this system during the period between Buddha and Patañjali, and what is said in the *Bhag.*, IV. 2 regarding the decadence of the *Yoga* system (*sa kālena iha mahatā yogo naśṭhaḥ*) might well correspond with this historical reality. The composition of the *Yoga-Sūtras* by Patañjali must have taken place at about the same time as that of the *Mahābhāṣya*, i.e., in the middle or in the second half of the second century B.C. I now venture to assert that the *Yoga-Sūtras* in which the *Yoga* doctrines were fixed and infused with new life, must not have existed, or at least must not have acquired a general recognition and currency, at the time when the original *Gītā* came to be composed; otherwise it would not have been possible to put into the mouth of Kṛishṇa at the above-mentioned passage of the *Bhag.* the words regarding *Yoga* referred to above; since a poet generally makes his hero speak about events which are to be regarded as having occurred in a very remote past in such a manner as would correspond to the state of things existing in his own times. I therefore conclude from *Bhag.* IV. 1-3 that the author of the genuine *Gītā* did not know the *Yoga-Sūtras*, and that he therefore lived before Patañjali, presumably in the first half of the second century B.C. The contents and the language of the *Bhag.* speak against a much higher date thereof.

If it were to be urged against this position that the *Yoga* in the *Bhag.* might be different from that treated of in the *Yoga-Sūtras*, it might be replied that the present far-fetched sense of *Yoga* in the *Gītā* as "Self-surrender," "Devotion," presupposes the original conception of *Yoga* as "concentration of thought," [p. 64] and that the words *Yoga*, *Yogin* are still used in the *Bhag.* in their technical original sense.

According to my view, therefore, the genuine *Gītā* originates in the first half of the second century B.C., and the remodelling of the poem in the second century A.D.

Postscript.—In concluding this translation, the translator gladly acknowledges the help he received from others. Dr. Belvalkar of the Deccan College suggested the idea of translating the work for the benefit of the Senior Sanskrit Students of that College. Dr. Gune of the Fergusson College very kindly read portions of the translation in manuscript.—N. B. U.

⁵⁸ "It is remarkable that in this place it is not the priests but the kings that are mentioned as the ancient custodians of the *Bhag.*."—Holtzmann, *Das Mbh.*, II, 157. It would be more correct to say "as the ancient custodians of the *Yoga* doctrine expounded in the *Bhag.*."

APPENDIX

Regarding the passages of the Bhag. not originally belonging to it.

I. 1-19—These verses are shown in a smaller type (in the translation), because they relate to a description of the great battle in the midst of which the *Bhag.* (*Mbh.* VI (*Bhishma-parvan*) *Adh.* 25-42) has been interset. *Adhyāya* 43 connects itself with v. 19 (of the *Bhag.*) and the first three verses of this *Adhyāya* are in any case interpolated. In this *Adhyāya* the description of the uproar caused before the battle is again resumed, and it was necessary for the narrator to have done this, in order to remind the reader of the situation after the interpolation of the *Bhag.* *Adhyāya* 43, v. 3 cd.—*sahasaiḍbhyananta sa śabdas tumulo bhavat*—is a verbal repetition of *Adhyāya* 25, v. 13 cd. Before the *Bhag.* was interpolated, verse 4 of *Adhyāya* 43 followed therefore immediately after verse 19 of *Adhyāya* 25, the former with the statement that the gods and demi-gods arrived (on the scene) to witness the mighty war.

The *Bhag.* besides begins not with verse 1—as the traditional view holds—but only with v. 20 of the 25th *Adhyāya*. This indeed follows from the fact that in v. 20 Arjuna sees the enemy in battle order face to face; but according to the foregoing account he must have already seen the battle-array of the opposite party; thus in vv. 14, 15 he already shows himself (prepared) to open the attack, because he steps into the general war-cry with his horn. Perhaps also the word *atha* at the beginning of v. 20 is an external mark intended to show the beginning of the *Gītā*.

II. 17—A Vedāntic interpolation, necessitated by the mutual contrast (referred to in the sequel) between the transitoriness of the bodies, and the eternity of the spirit, that always takes new bodies and to which alone relate the expressions in the masculine genitive case in the following verse.

II. 72—A Vedāntic appendage.

III. 9-18—An interpolation of the *Mīmāṃsā* theory, which does not quite fit in with the connection. Verse 19 connects itself immediately with v. 8. In this latter verse Arjuna is asked to do the *niyatam karma*, i.e., to fight; in the passage interpolated, the significance of the sacrifice is imparted to the word *karman*. The interpolation concludes in vv. 17-18 with the description of a man who no more finds any use in the ritualistic regulations, and who is generally averse to action. Verse 19 and ff. stand in glaring contrast to these two verses.

III. 23—Spurious for the reason stated by Böhtlingk: "23b = IV. 11-b as already observed by Schlegel. The present tense there (in the latter case) is in order, but in the case on hand, one would have expected the optative (to correspond with the one in 23a.) IV. 11 is therefore older than 3.23." To this it might be added that the wording of the second line of our (present) verse has quite a different meaning than in IV. 11.

IV. 24—A Vedāntico-ritualistic appendage which mars the context, and which might have been occasioned by *Brahmagṇa* in v. 25 (to the latter is to be compared *brahmacharya*).

IV. 31, 32—A Vedāntico-ritualistic interpolation in the description of the sacrifice understood in a spiritual sense.

IV. 34—Interpolation for the purpose of recommending the scholastic discipline of the *Brāhmaṇas*. Line 2 conflicts with the circumstance that it is *Kṛishṇa* himself who is instructing Arjuna.

IV. 35—Vedāntic interpolation.

V. 6, 7, 10, 16-22, 24-26—Vedāntic interpolations.

VI. 27-32—Vedāntic interpolation, quite explicitly to be recognised as such, in that v. 33 is directly connected with v. 26.

VII. 7-11, 14, 15, 19, 25, 26, 29, 30—Vedāntic interpolations; vv. 7-11 intercept an exposition resting on a fundamental tenet of the *Sāṃkhya* (Philosophy). V. 26, according to which no one knows God, is along with v. 25, excluded for the reason that it contradicts v. 24, according to which, only the *unknowing ones* understand Him not.

VIII. 1-4; 20-28; IX. 1-6—Interpolations, based as they are on the standpoint of the Vedānta and the Brāhmanic theory regarding the auspicious and inauspicious time for death (VIII, 23-27), with the superficial nature of which, the original *Gītā* has indeed nothing to do. The whole character of the poem shows that. In IX. 7, 8 is resumed the consideration of (the point contained in) VIII, 18, 19.

IX. 16-19—A pantheistic interpolation in the midst of a description of the different kinds of the worshippers of God.

IX. 29—To be recognised as an interpolation because of its Vedāntic character and because of the contradictions which the first line presents to other passages of the *Bhagavadgītā*. Böttlingk remarks on this verse: "Kṛishṇa says here that he acts evenly with every one and that no one is odious or agreeable to him. How is this to agree with XII. 14 (better 13) and ff.?"—and we might add—with V. 29 VII. 17, XVIII. 64, 65, 69? All these passages in which Kṛishṇa either styles himself as the friend of all beings, or speaks of those persons who are dear to him, belong to the original *Gītā*, since they are not tinged with Vedāntic complexion.

X. 12-42—An elaborate exposition from the Vedāntic standpoint, at length degenerating into insipid details of a previous subject. An imitation of X. 20-39 is to be found in the *Īśvaragītā*, *Kārma-purāṇa* II. 7, 3-17: the text in the *Bhagavadgītā*, however, has quite a *Purāṇic* character.

One might suspect whether the first verse of the eleventh *Adhyāya* might not also belong to this large interpolation. It is curious that Arjuna should at this place say (when there are eight more *Adhyāyas* still to follow) that his perplexities had disappeared as a result of Kṛishṇa's instructions. At the end of the poem XVIII. 72 Kṛishṇa for the first time naturally asks Arjuna how it (his advice) affected him in general: and Arjuna's statement (v. 73) has its proper sense and justification there. I shall not however attach too much importance to any such want of consideration in the poem.

XI. 7, 13, 15, 16, 18, 19—Pantheistic interpolations. When it is said in these verses that the divine person of Kṛishṇa contains in it, the whole world and the gods and all beings and all things beside, and that this body is without beginning, without centre (*lit.* middle part) and without end, the whole stands in flagrant contrast with what follows; since in vv. 20-23 the worlds and all supernatural beings look at Kṛishṇa with astonishment and wonder, and this cannot be said of them, if they were contained in him; and in v. 32 Kṛishṇa says that he was about to do what an omnipresent being, pervading the whole universe, could not have said of himself.

XI. 37-40—Vedāntic interpolation.

XIII. 2—Vedāntic interpolation. Kṛishṇa styles himself here as the knower of the field in all the fields (as the soul in all the bodies); how could he then still hold in prospect in v. 3 any instruction regarding him who is the knower of the field?

XIII. 4—An interpolated verse, since the appeal to the *Upanishads* and to the *Brahma-sūtra* (and therefore to the Vedāntic sources) scarcely fits in, the principle of life in the sequel being described according to the theory of *Sāṅkhya-yoga*.

XIII. 12-18, 27, 28, 30-33—Vedāntic interpolations. Verse 27 appears to be fashioned in a Vedāntic sense after the pattern of v. 29. With regard to v. 31, it is doubtful whether it is to be expunged along with its neighbours. If the verse however might have belonged to the original poem, *paramātmā* ought to stand here quite in the sense of *ātman* as in VI. 7 and XIII. 22.

XIV. 26, 27—Vedāntic appendage. The question asked in v. 21 is answered by vv. 22-25.

XV. 12-16—An interpolation that disturbs the connection, and is based on the standpoint of Vedānta and Brāhmanic theology.

XVII. 23-28—An appendage regarding the use of the expressions *om*, *tat*, *sat* and *asat*, with a Vedāntic starting-point. The whole theory is here and in the *Bhagavadgītā* generally as little used as possible externally also this passage proves itself as being subsequently interpolated, since the Enumeration, based on the disposition previously mentioned in v. 7, comes to an end with v. 22.

XVIII. 45, 46—Interpolated verses because of the Vedāntic expression *Yena sarvam idam tatam* in v. 46. V. 45 stands in close connection with v. 46.

XVIII. 50-54—Vedāntic interpolation. When in these verses it has been mentioned as to how the perfected one goes to Brahman, we might ask as to why he should be admitted in v. 55 into union with Kṛishṇa, the personal God. Verse 54 forms a transition to the intercepted text of the original poem though in a clumsy manner, since one that has become Brahman has no more any occasion to compass the highest devotion to Kṛishṇa.

XVIII. 74-78—Sañjaya's concluding remarks, appended, for reason of the (poem's) insertion in the *Mahābhārata*.

INDEX

*Sup. stands for the Supplement, Garbe's Introduction to the
Bhagavadgītā, pp. 1—36.*

- abacus, of Aśoka pillars 291, f.; 294
Abbaside Caliphs of Irak 234
Abdallāh Muhammad, author of the *Zafar-al-Wāḡiḥ*, on the Fārūqī dynasty of *Khan-*
desh 113—115
Abd-ar-Rahmān, and Asīrgarh 182
Ābhīra Migration into India, date of .. 35, f.
Ābhīra, dyn., and Mahārāshṭra 156
Abhirāmā, Dīpdimaprabhu 98
Ābhīrapallī, an Abhīra settlement 35
Abu, mt. 168
Abul Fāzī, Shaikh, secretary to Akbar, and
author of the *Akbarnāma*, 179—183; 210;
on Alexander and Porus 245, f.
Abyad, fortified building (Haurān dist.) .. 177
Abyssinia 174
Achāpura inscrip. 288
Achārī, or Asāvārī, title of Chāhādā Chāha-
mana of Ranthambhor 243, f.
Achāryābhīmāna-yoga, fifth way of salva-
tion Sup. 23
Achhavata, Rikshavat, Sātapurā Hills, etc. .. 151
Achin, Atcheen, and Austria's commercial
venture in India in the 18th cen. 61
Achyutadēvarāya, Vijayanagara k., copper-
plates of, 80; 81; *kāvya*, in praise of .. 97—99
Achyutarāyābhīyudayam kāvya attributed to
Rājānātha 97—99
acquisition, the art of, (*kṛetike*), Aristotle's treat-
ment of it 233, 234 & n.
Ādhyātma-vidyā, philosophy 107
Ādil Khān, I. of Khandesh, 118; 185, f.; II., or
Malik 'Ainā, 118—120; 185, f.; III, or Alam
Khān 119—121; 185, f.
Ādil Shāh, I. of Bijāpūr, 'Alī, 142; II., 146 or
Ibrāhīm, 148; IV, 'Alī Khān Rāja, 143, f.; 182—186
Ādil Shāhī kings 144
Ādiparvan, the, and Kṛishṇa (Indrasenā) .. 281 & n.
Ādivarāha, epithet applied to Bhoja I .. 76
advertisement, E. I. Co.'s, referring to Wm.
Bolts 29, 30, 34
Afzal Khān, and Bhawānī of Tuljapur .. 300
Agamānta School of Brāhmaṇas, and Mul-
laṇḍram 99
Āgar, N.N.S. of Ujjain, possibly Ākara .. 151
Agaram-Mullaṇḍram, Praudhadēvarāya-
puram, or Mullaṇḍram 99
Agastya's Hill, Pottiyam 48
age, of the *Bhagavadgītā* Sup. 28—33
Aghdāf, modern Tube 174
Aghōraśivacharya, title of the poets of Mullaṇḍ-
ram 98, f.
Agni, and Buddha Sup. 10
Agobio, wolf of St. Francis 197
Āgra, and Akbar 186
agriculture, 233 and the Chaldeans, 234 & n.,
235 & n., 237 & n., 238, 240, f.; or *Rasi* .. 256 & n.
Agrimensores latine, the 235
ahin'ad 189, n.
Āhmad I, of Gujarāt, 116, f., 141; II., or Raṣī-
al-Mulk 141
Āhmad Khān 184
Āhmad Rāja, reputed founder of the Fārūqī
dynasty, and the saint Zain-ad-din,
114—117; 182, 185, f.
Āhmad Shāh Bahmani, and Khandesh .. 117; 186
Āhmadābād, and Khandesh 142
Āhmadnagar, and Khandesh, 120, 123, f.; and
Berar, 142, f.; and Akbar, etc. 144—148; 178—180
Āhmedavad, in, and Austria's commercial
venture in India 3
Āhmed Pīr, Hot Hakīm, Pīr of the Jackāls .. 207
'Ain-ad-dīn, Khvājā Jahān, ancestor of the
Fārūqī dynasty of Khandesh 114; 186
Ain-i-Akbarī, the, 210; and the stratagem used
by Alexander against Porus 245, f.
Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa, and the first mention of
the Andhras 70
aiwan, vaulted building at Machī (Seistan) .. 177
Ajātasatru, k., date 224
Ajmer, and Nahapāna's coins 75
Ājñā-lekha, an order 52 & n.
Ākara, and Āgar 151
Ākarāvanti, Mālwā, and Gautamīputra,
etc. 150; 153, f.
Akbar, and literature, 44; and Khandesh, 124;
141—144; 179—183; and the Dakan, 144
—148; and Lālam, 185; and Alexander's
stratagem against Porus 245, f.
Akbarnāma, the, and the Dakan, etc., 147 & n.,
148, n.; 178; 183; 186
Akshapāda, author of the *Nyāyadarsana* .. 191
akshaya-ntet, and *Ntet* 51
'Alā-al-dīn Bahman Shāh, founder of the Bah-
manī dynasty 114 & n.
'Alā-ad-dīn Khālji, of Delhi 113
Albérūnī, and the Gupta-Valabhi year, etc. .. 16; 20

- Aleppo, mosque at 176, n. }
 Alexander the Great, or Dhoulkarnain, 205 ;
 and Porus 245, f.
 Alexandria, and the last Kufic inscrip., 176, n. ;
 visited by Indian Sages Sup. 15, 16
 al-Hadr, or Hatra 172
 al-Haiyât, example of vaulted roof at 172
 'Ali Khân, Râja, Âdil Shâh IV 143, f. ; 186
 Alivardî Khân and Omichund 266—268
 Allahabad Pillar 191, f.
 al-Majdal, example of vaulted roof 172
 al-Umtaliyah, vaulted roofed church at .. 172
 al-Walid, and Mecca 174
 Amara, author, and the words *ghosha* and *mahâ-
 sâdri* 35, 36
 Amarakunḍu, near Berhampore, and the Sun
 god 219
 Amarâvati, *stûpa* inscrip. 155 ; 167
 Amarlâl, Uderolâl 201
amara, meaning of 193
amḍya, meaning of 74, 78 & n.
 Ambikâ, Ibâ, riv. 73 & n.
 America, and Austria's commercial adventure,
 90, 92 ; and erotic sculptures 217
 Amirchand, Omichund 256, f.
 'Amman, fort, Haurân dist. 177
 Amr-ibn al-Âs, built the first Egyptian mosque. 175
 Amtiyoka, Antiochus 297
 Anapâya, *alias* of Kavimalla 95
 Ancient Hindu Economics, or *Varttâ*, 233—241 ;
 275—279
 Andares, the Andhras 70
 Andhapura, Andhrapura 71
 Andhra, race, Pliny's description, 70, 71 ; terri-
 tory, and Pulumâvi, 153 ; rulers 298
 Andhrabhṛitya (post-) rulers of the Puranic
 list, identification of 298
 Andhra-dêsa, the Telugu co., 71 ; 155 ; and the
 Sâtavâhanas 156
 Anégondi inscrip. 287 & n.
aṅga, oldest portion of Jaina canon 190, n.
 Angirasa Ghora, *guru* of Kṛishṇa Devaki-
 putra Sup. 9
 Âṅgula, writer, and Kauṭilya 195, n.
 animal, and vegetable sacrifices 189, n.
 animals, in Mauryan sculptures .. 291, f. ; 294, f.
 Antigonus, and the Nabatæans 169
antika, any antique, Hobson-Jobson 196
 Antiochus, Amtiyoka 297
 Antiochus XII, and Damascus 170
 Antwerp, and the Priviledged Company of
 Fiume, etc. 57 ; 90
Anumantṛi, the consenter Sup. 3
 Anûpa, (in modern C. Provinces) and Gau-
 tamiputra 150
 Anvikṣiki, philosophy, 102—107, 109 ; *Anvik-
 shiki* 238, f. ; 241 ; 256
 Apabhraṃsâ, or Prakrit and the wide sound of
E and O, 37—40 ; 42, 43 ; 47 n. ; 48 ; 226, 227 n. ; 231
Aparājita, g. 51, n.
 Aparakakhaḍi, vil. in Nasik grant 152
 Aparāntikâ, and Ariaka, 77 ; Aparānta, West-
 ern coast of India 150, n. ; 154
 Âpastamba's *Dharmasûtra* Sup. 29, f.
 Aphsaḍ inscrip. 162
 Apilava, Apitaka, possibly Vedisri 72
 Apollo, wolf g., 208 ; and sun, at Bodh Gaya,
 212 ; 219
 Apollodotus, coins of 74
Apratihata, g. 51, n.
Apratihatacharya, title of Śâtakarni 72, n.
 Arab, conquest of Sind 205
 Arabia, Christian 172
 Arabic, words and Gujarati, 26 ; and Indian
 literature, 44—46 ; inscrip. in Kusair 'Amral,
 174 ; or Muslim, tradition of Alexander .. 246
 Arabs, and Nabatæans, 169 ; the Umayyads,
 174 ; and the River cult, 198 ; Chaldean agri-
 culture 234, 256
 Aramaic, and the Nabatæans 169
Aranya-parva, the, and the Tâmraparjî riv. .. 48
 Arcadius, imp. 172
 arches, vaulted, etc. of the Hindola Mahal,
 Mândû 169—174
 architecture, of the Haurân, 170 ; prehistoric,
 etc. 170, n. ; 171, 172, n.
 Aretas, first known Nabatæan ruler, 169 ; III.
 and IV., and Damascus 170
 Ariake, Aparāntikâ, 77 ; or Ariakea 150
 Aristotle, and economics, etc. 233, f. ; 256
 Ariviḷimangalam plates, of Śrîiṅgarâya II .. 79
 Arjun, and the crocodile, 197 ; or Arjuna,
 Pârtha, 168 ; and the *Bhagavadgîtâ*, Sup. 5 ;
 Indra, Kṛishṇa, other names of, Sup. 10, 12,
 13 & n. ; 14 ; 20 ; 33—35
 Arjunaka Sup. 12, 13
 Arka-Vaṭa tree, and the Kalpa-druma tree .. 214
 Armenian letter of Omichund, see Sidelights
 on Omichund 265
 Arratson, Petros (Khwaḍja Petrus) and Grigor
 (Gorgin Khan) Armenian merchants in Bengal
 (1757) 265, 269—274
 arrow-heads, stone, from Chota Nagpur 136
 Art, Indian, Persian, etc., see Mauryana 291
 art, of acquisition, (*ketike*) or science, of wealth
 234 & n. ; 256

- artha*, wealth or goods 235
- Arthasastra*, (The,) Explains 50—56
- Arthasastra*, see Authenticity of the *Kautiliya*,
157—161; 187—195
- Arthasastra*, refers to the Tāmaraparni riv.,
48; and philosophy, 101, n.; and *Vārtā*,
relation of .. 235, 236 & n., 239 & n., 240
- arthins*, suitors 54, n.
- Aruna*, charioteer of the Sun-god 212
- Arunagirinātha*, Sōnādrinātha, etc., poet of
Mullāṇḍram 94—98; 100
- Aryaman, Ayama, minister to Nahapāna .. 74, 78
- Aryan, settlements, and the Andhras, 70; race. 235
- Āryanivāsa*, Aryan settlement 35
- Asaka, Assaka, co., (Sans. *Āśmaka*) and Gau-
tamiputra 150
- Asalla Deva, Rai inscrip. of, 241, f.; or Āsala.
coins of 243, f.
- ascetics, Brahman, and vegetarianism .. 189, n.
- ashashu*, term in Rock Series XIII 297
- ashes, sacred, as medicine 207
- ashṭamātaraḥ*, eight goddesses 13
- Ashti, scene of a battle 178
- Asia, British settlements, etc., in, and Aus-
tria's commercial venture in India, 3, 5, 6;
33; 59; 60; 87; and the Umayyads .. 177
- Asia Minor, Indian Mission in Sup. 16
- Asiatic, Greek and Mauryan Sculpture .. 291
- Asiatic Company of Trieste, see Trieste .. 32
- Asika, co., unidentified, and Gautamiputra .. 150
- Asīrgarh, fort, 116, 118, 121, f.; 124, 142—146;
180—182; 185
- Āśmaka, Asaka, and Mulaka 150 & n.
- Āśoka, Notes, (from Vol. XXXIX, p. 64)
No. XII., Identification of Tambapaṇni
in the Rock Edicts 48, f.
- Asoka, inscriptions, Notes on 297
- Āśoka, inscrip., 52; 56; 71; 138; 209, f.; his
time-table of work, etc., 53, f.; and Buddhism,
55, n.; heretic emp., 109; and *ahimsā*, 189, n.;
stūpas, in Odra district, 209; date, 210; rail,
219; Rock Edict I and the word *Samāja*, 221;
and Kalīṅga, 224; and art, see Mauryana 291, ff.
- Āśrama, the fourth, and *ahimsā* 189, n.
- as-Salḥi Talā'i Mosque, Cairo 176, n.
- Assyria, and agriculture, 235; and Indian sculp-
ture, etc. 294
- śvamedha*, sacrifice and Śātakarṇi .. 71, 72, n.
- asva-sāstra*, veterinary science 239
- Asvins, Vedic gods 51, n.
- Atcheen, Achin 61
- Athenæus, general 169
- Ativirārāma Pāṇḍya, copperplates of 81
- ātman*, redemption 103, f.
- Ātma-Vidyā philosophy 108, f.
- Attiyūr, N. Arcot district, Brāhmāṇa settle-
ment 95; 100
- Auddālaki, a doctrine of, and the *Kāma-
sāstra* 188, n.
- Audumbarapura, N. Arcot district 100
- Augustine, emp. Sup. 16
- Augustus, Tiberius, on coins 77, n.
- Aurnavābha, probably the Teacher in the
Bṛihad-āraṇyaka Upanishad, and the worship
of Trivikrama-Vishṇu 84
- aurangs*, factories 266
- Aśānasāḥ school of philosophy 187
- Aśānasas, rivals of the Barhaspatyās. 102, 105, 107 & n.
- Austria's Commercial Venture in India, in the
Eighteenth Century, (contd. from Vol. XLVI,
p. 286) 1—15; 23—34; 57—69; 85—93
- Authenticity of the *Kautiliya* .. 157—161; 187—195
- automobile, *satarūbil* etc., Hobson-Jobson .. 196
- Avalāna*, the, and the week days 112
- Avanti, 78; Ujjayini 151
- Avatāra* theory, and Kṛishṇa Sup. 18, 19
- Ayama, Aryaman 74; 78
- Ayyaṇa J., Bādāmi Chālukya k., 286; 11., 287 & n.
- Bābhravya Pañchāla, supposed first writer on
Kāmasāstra 189
- Bādāl pillar inscrip. 165
- Bādāmi, inscrip. and the Śaka era, 70; co., the
Chālukyas of 286 & n.
- Bādarāyaṇa, author, and a *Monā'sā Sātra* .. 157
- Buga Bahar Sher, Uderolāl 202
- Baghdād, the Khan Ortlma mosque, 175 & n.;
196; and the *gufar* (boat) 244
- Baglāna, fief, and Malik Rāja 113
- Bahādūr Shāh, Qadr *Khān* of *Khūndesh*, and
Akbar 179—183; 185, f.
- Bahādurpūr, near Burhānpur 180
- baharānas*, spiced dough balls 202
- Bahmani, dyn., 113, f.; or Bahmanids 117
- Bahrām Khān 114, f.; 184
- Bāhuka, Nāla 283
- Bairagi, temple attendant 202
- Baithana, Paithan, ancient Pratishṭhāna, cap.
of Siro Pulemaios 153
- Bakkur, fort 206
- Bala, his Śāranātha inscrip. 298
- Balāditya, Narasimhagupta, date, 161; and
Mihirakula 163
- Balasiri, and Gautamī 161, n.

- Buleokuros, k., 151; Vilivayakura 153
 Bali, g., and the Sun god 220
 Baliapatam, Beliapatam or Valarpattanam
 near Cananore, and Austria's commercial
 venture 10, n.; 13, n.
 Baloches, and the River god 206
 Balochistan, and Bibi Dost 207, 208
 Balqa, Steppe, Moab, ruins near 174
 Bambridge, E. I. Co.'s servant 61
 Bāṇa, first reference to Kālidāsa 246—248
 Bāṇabhāṭṭa 167
 Banās, two rivers of the name in W. India .. 73, n.
 Banda, U. P., stone implement from 135, f.
 Bandanīkeya-ghaṭṭa, Chāluka cap. 289, n.
 Bangaon, in Bundelkhand, Trimūrti image
 from 136
 Bāṅkāpura, Chāluka cap. 289
barajhānji, temple ornament 213 & n., 214
 Barake, Dwārakā 77
 Bargaon, ancient Nālanda, inscrip. at 111
 Bārhaspatyas, school of philosophy, 102, 104 &
 n., 105; 107; 187
 Barnagore, Bārānagar, Dutch settlement .. 58
 Barnāsā, Sans. Parnāsā, and the Baṇās: 73 & n.
 barrel-vaults, in roofing 169, 172—175
 Barth, on Kṛishṇa, Sup. 10, 14; and *Bhakti*,
 Sup. 15, 16, n.; 27, n.
 Barugaza, Broach 74; 77, 78
 Barwell, Rich., E. I. Co.'s servant 33 & n.
 Barygaza, Cambay 77
 Basantagadh, in Sirohi, sun temple at 219
 Basra, and the *bellum* (boat) 196; 244
 Baudhāyana 84, n.
Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra, and the week days. 112
 Bauer, Austrian captain 6; 85; 92
 Beck, Mr., E. I. Co.'s servant, Bombay 7
 beef, as food 189, n.
Beginnings of South Indian History, Book-
 Notice. 265
 Belgāme, inscrip. 287—289
 Belgioioso, Count, Austrian Ambassador in
 London 63 & n.—68
bellum, (Ar. *belam*) boat (Hobson-Jobson) 196; 244
 Benares and Gaṅgaikonda-Rājendra Chōla-
 dova I 94; 99
 Bengal, Gulf and Province, and Austria's com-
 mercial venture, 12, n., 29 & n.; 69; 74; 90,
 91; and the Pālas, 109; and Akbar, 143; and
 the Sun god, 219; Council, (1757) 265, f.;
 and E. I. Co.'s trade, 266; and Clive, 274;
 Northern, or Pundravardhana-bhukti .. 162; 165
 Berar and Khandesh, 117, f.; 121—124; 141—
 145; and Akbar, 148; 178; and Sultan Dāni-
 yāl 180
 Besnagar, female statue from 296
 Bettigo, Greek form of Potigai 49
 Beypore and Wm. Bolts 12
 Bhadrāyanīya monks, and the Nasik Caves. 151, f.
 Bhāgalpur grant, and Mudgagiri 109; 111
Bhagavadgītā, Garbe's Introduction to the,
 Sup. 1—36
Bhāgarata-Champu 97—99; 125, n.
Bhagavād-Gītā, the, and Sind .. 198, 199 & n.; 204
 Bhakti, oldest evidence of the word, Sup. 14;
 idea, in India, and Christianity, etc.
 Sup. 15—17; 19, f.; 27
Bhakti-yoga Sup. 23
 Bhandar, brother of Uderolāl 200
 Bhandarkar, Sir R. G., and the Abhiras, etc.
 35; 43, n.
 Bhandarkar, D. R., and the Vikrama era .. 20
bhang, Indian hemp, and cholera 284 & n.
 Bhāradvāja, and the *Arthasāstra* 187, f.
 Bhārangi inscrip. 288
 Bhāravi, 160; and Kālidāsa 249, f.
 Bharhut topos 214
 Bharukachha, modern Broach 73 & n.; 78
 Bhāskarārya, of Mullāṇḍram, author of the
 Prasannakārya 94; 96
 Bhāṣya and *Sūtra* styles 190—192
 Bhawānī of Tuljapur, and Afzal Khan .. 300
 Bhīma I., II., Bādāmi kings 286
 Bhim-kot, fort, in Sind 204 & n.
 Bhipur, near Narwar, stone inscrip. from,
 242—244
 Bhishma Sup. 20
 Bhiṣari Seal, inscrip. 161—166
 Bhudai Thakurs, of Sind 201 & n.
 Bhūmaka, Kshatrapa k. 73
 Bibi Dost, Saint, in Balochistan, 207; Madonna, 208
 Bihar, inscrip. from, 109; or Uddandapura,
 110; 111
 Bihārī, poet, quotations from 25, n.; 47
 Bijāgarh 122, ff.; 141, f.; 144
 Bijapur and Ahmadnagar, 146—148; 178, f.;
 the butcher incident of 300
 Bikaner, 225 & n.; Darbar Library 228 & n.
 Bikhira column 291, f.
bi'l-balam, bill-bellum, a river boat, Hobson-
 Jobson, 196; or *bellum* 244
 Bilgi, Bilgey, in N. Kanara, and Austria's com-
 mercial venture 15 & n.
 Bilhāṇa, on Sōmēśvara II 290
 Billiapatam, Bimlipatam and Wm. Bolts 10—13
 Bindusāra and Aśoka 71
 birch-bark Ms. 167
 birth, and rebirth, cycle of Sup. 25
birudas, of Arunagirinatha, etc. 96—98
 Bishnavpur, Vishnupur 204, n.
 bitumen, wells, at Hitt 244

- Black Hole of Calcutta, and Omichund** .. 265, f.
- Black Pagoda** 220, n.
- Bloom, Ben., E. I. Co.'s servant, Bencoolen** .. 56
- Boddam, governor at Surat, and Wm. Bolts** .. 2
- Bodhagayâ-pedestal inscrip.** 110
- Bodh-Gayâ, inscrip. of Gopala II., 111; Sculpture, 212; 213, n.; sun temple** 219
- Bodhâyana, and the *Arthashastra*** 157
- Bodhi-tree** 214
- Bohâra, tn., and Uderolâl** 204
- Bührlingk, and the *Bhagavadgîtâ* Sup. 1; 3; 22; 30; 34; 35**
- Bolts, Wm., Lieut-Col., see Austria's commercial venture in India** .. 1, ff.
- Bombay, see Austria's commercial venture in India, 1, ff.; finds of submerged trees on the Island** 49, n.
- boots, on Trimûrti image** 136—138
- Boro Budur, sculptures**
- Bosra, Era**
- Bostra, Haurân, Nabataean kingdom** ..
- Bowles, Dan., Capt. of the *Snow* Vienna** .. 61, f.
- Brahmâ, Brimha g., 2; and the sun** .. 136, f.
- Brahmadeva, writer** '39
- Brahman, image, Konarak temple, 218; the Absolute, etc., in the *Bhagavadgîtâ*, Sup. 2, 3; and Krishna, Sup. 4. 5; and the Sages. Sup. 16; and Krishna, etc.** .. Sup. 19; 35
- Brahman, ascetics, & vegetarianism, 189 n., 190, n.**
- Brâhmanas*, and Gaugâikonda Râjendra Chôladeva I, etc. 94, f.; 99; and beef, 189, n.; and the *Agrimensores latine*, 235; and the *Bhagavadgîtâ*** Sup. 21
- Brahmânî, image** 137
- Brahmanical, version, of history of Mihirakula, 19; faith, and Ushavadâta, 73 & n.; 74; rule, and the Panjab, 203; ritual, and the *Bhagavadgîtâ*** Sup. 26
- Brâhmanism, and the *Bhagavadgîtâ*** .. Sup. 5, 6; 11, 12; 17; 20
- Brahmans, and Ushavadâta, 73; 76; or Brahmins, of Sind, 197; and Uderolâl, 203; and *Vârtâ*, 240; and Christianity, etc. Sup. 15; 17, 18**
- Brahmasûtra*** Sup. 35
- Brâhmî, inscrip. on coins** 75
- Brahmishtha, son of Mudgala** 280; 283 & n.
- Brioncourt, M. Anquetil, French Consul, Surat** .. 2
- Brihaspati, and the Lokâyata philosophy, 104 & n., 105, f.**
- British, Government, etc., and Austria's commercial venture in India, 2—7; 65—68; 93; and Omichund** 267
- Broach, and Austria, 3; ancient Bharukachha, 73 & n.; 78; or Baruga, 74; and cotton, etc. 77, 78**
- Brown, Mr., with Wm. Bolts** 13
- Brussels, Brucells, and Austria's commercial venture** 57; 9
- Buddha, law of, and Mihirakula, 18; 84 n.; and the elephant, etc., in carving, 213; 215—218; death of, 224; and the *Bhagavadgîtâ*, Sup. 10—13; 18; 33**
- Buddhism, and Asoka, 55, n.; in Syria, 297; and Vaishnava worship, 84; and the River cult, 198; and the *Daryâpanthi* religion, 204; and Orissa, 209, f.; and Hinduism, etc., 214. 217. 218; and the Bhâgavata religions, etc. Sup. 18; 28, n.; 33**
- Buddhist, version of the story of Mihirakula, 19; monks, and Ushavadâta, 74; monks, and the Nâsik Caves, 151, f.; image inscrip., Sâr-nâth, 161, f.; ruins, in Sind, 204, n.; influence, in Sun temple, in Konarak, 209; ornaments, etc. in temples 213, 214; works, and economics, 256; relics, 290; influence, in the *Bhagavadgîtâ*** Sup. 28
- Buddhistie, philosophy** 106—109
- Buddhists, and *ahimsâ*, etc.** .. 189, n.; 190, n.
- Budhagupta, pillar inscrip. 16, 20; date, 18; 160; copperplate, 162; 165; 11** .. 17; 167
- Budhâis, or Vardharis, Thakurs** 203
- Bühler, the late Dr., and the age of the *Âpas-tamba Dharmasûtra*** .. Sup. 20, 30, n.; 32
- Bukka II, copperplates of, 79; and Brâhmanas, 95**
- Bukkur, isl., and Uderolâl** 202; 204
- Bundelkhand, Trimûrtis from** 136; 138
- Burford, British ship (18th cen.)** 60
- Burhân-ad-dîn, Saint, and Burhânpûr, 116; 180. 183**
- Burhân-ad-dîn, of Ahmadnagar, 145, f.; Nizam Shâh II** 147, f.
- Burhân-i-Ma'âsir*, and the Fârûqi dynasty of Khandôsh, 113, f.; and the *Waq'at'iy Nizâm-shâhiyyah*, 120 & n.; 121; 142; 143, n.; 147, n.; 148 & n.**
- Burhânpûr, cap. of the Fârûqi dyn., 116—118; 120—125; 142; 179—182; 185**
- Butler, H. C., and Nabataean architecture, 170 & n., 172 & n.; 174, n.—175**
- Byzantia** 174
- Cadiz, and Wm. Bolts** 91
- Cesars, of Orissa, Kesari kings** 210
- Cahill, Capt. J., and Austria's commercial venture** 1; 2
- Cairo, Ibn Talûn mosque, 175; the as-Sulhî Talâ'i** 176, n.

- Caius, on coins 77, n.
cajan, *Cajanus Indicus*, (Malay *káčang*)
dd plant 1 & n.
 Calcutta, and Austria's commercial venture,
 31—34; and Surāja'ddaula, etc., 266—269; 273
 calendar, Jewish; and India 112
 Caliphs, Abbaside 234
 Callandar, A. J., witness for Wm. Bolts .. 68
 Callicut, and Wm. Bolts 12
 Cambay, and Wm. Bolts, 10; or Barygaza .. 77
 Campbell, agent for Wm. Bolts 91
 Chānakya, 158, n.; and the *Mudrārākṣasa*, etc.,
 190, n.; see Chānakya 48
 canal, ancient, in Kalinga, and Hāthigumphā
 inscrip. 223, f.
candil, *candi* (Candy) Portuguese measure .. 15
Caṇḍisataka, a work by Bāna, suggested
 origin of 167
 Chandragupta, and Kautīliya, 159; 193; 195;
 see Chandragupta 53
 Cannanore, and Wm. Bolts 12
 Cape, of Good Hope, and Austria's commercial
 venture 2; 6; 68; 85; 93
 Capoll, Rajah Mohaur, of Delagou Bay, and
 Wm. Bolts 1
 capital, of Aśokan pillars 291; 293, f.
 Car festival, in Konarak, etc., 209; or Ratha
 Yātrā 212
 Caraka 104, n.
 Cārayana, and the *Kautīliya* 189
 Carnac, Gen. J., and Austria's commercial ven-
 ture 4 & n.; 8—10
 Carnicobar, isls., and Austria's commercial
 venture 12, n.
 carrick, carrikar, cargo boat 12
 Cārvāka, founder of the Lokāyata philosophy. 104
 Carwar, tn., and Wm. Bolts 13; 15
cash, tin *pitis* 28
castra of Qastal 177
 cave, inscriptions, Nasik, 70, f.; 73—78, n.; 151
 —153; 222; Khāṇḍagiri 209; 211; 214; 216;
 Udayagiri, etc. 216
 ceremonies, in temples, etc. 211, f.
 Ceres, g. 208
 Ceylon, ancient Tambapānnu and India, 48;
 Greek Solen 49
 Ceylonese Chronology, uncertainty of 20
chabātra, garden, and Gaurthi 274
Chachndma, the, and Arabs in Sind 198
 Chāhaḍa Achāri, Rānā, Chāhamāna Chāhaḍa
 of Ranthambhor and Chāhaḍa of Narwar. 243, f.
 Chāhaḍa Deva, Rajput, founder of Narwar
 dyn. 242—244
 Chaitanya, and *Bhakti* Sup. 20
- Chakora, hill, and Gautamiputra 151
 Chakrapālita, officer under Skandagupta. 162 n.; 164
 Chaldeans, and agriculture 234; 256
 Chalukyas, western, Kalyāni Chronology of,
 285—290
 Chammak, vil., grant by Pravarasena II .. 165
 Chāmpānēr, tn. 121; 123
 Chāmuṇḍa Raya, and the Śravaṇa Belgolā
 statue 139
 Chānakya, 48; Visnugupta or Kauṣilya, 101;
 109; (Cānakya, 158, n.; 190, n.) see *Kautīliya*,
 157, f.
 Chanda, R., and the Ābhīras 35, f.
 Chānd Bibi, regent of Ahmadnagar .. 148, f.
 Chandarnagar, and Austria's commercial ven-
 ture, 31; 57, f.; and Calcutta refugees, 265;
 attacked by British 267
 Chandrabhāgā, Chenab, riv. 218
 Chandragupta, his daily routine, 53—55; and
 Seleucos, etc., 70, f.; and Chānakya, 101; 138;
 date, 146; 159; and Hāthigumphā inscrip. 223
 Chandragupta II, date, 20; or Devagupta .. 165
 Chandrāvati, Paramāra eo. 168
 Chandwar, and Cuttack 210, n.
 Changiz Khān 141—143
 chank shell, *Turbinella rapa*, fisheries .. 48
 Charakas, ascetics 73 & n.
 chariot races, and women 281; 283
 Chashtana, founded the second Kshatrapa
 dyn. 153—155
 Chatur, form of Satur 61, n.
Chatuḥshashṭīkalāśāstra, the sixty-four *kalās*,
 239
 Chaturmukha-Kalkin, Kalkin, or Kalkirāja... 18
 Chauthri, and Gaurthi 274 & n.
chemin-de-fer, *sham-in-dafar*, Hobson-Jobson. 196
 Chenab, Chandrabhāga riv. 218
 Chen Haun-Chang, Dr., on Confucius and
 economics 256
 Cherrika, Chirakkal 8; 11
Chhāndogyopanishad, the, and Krishna,
 Sup. 9 & n.; 11, 12
chhat, festival, and sun worship 219, n.
 Chhāyā, wife of the sun, image 136
 Chidambaram, Puṇḍarikapura 94
 Chikhalapadra, in Kāpur 78
 Chikka-Māgaḍi inscrip. 288
 children, and Uderolāl, 202; slaughter of, in
 Bethlehem Sup. 16
 China, and Austria's commercial venture, 57;
 85; 88—92; and economics, 235; 256; and
 Alexander 245
 Chingiz Khān 246

- China, Kistnâ dist., Śātavāhana inscrip. . . 156
 Chinsura, and Austria's commercial venture,
 30, 31, 34; Shaasthi image at, 219; and Cal-
 cutta refugees 265
 Chintāmani, jewel 220
 Chirakkal, Cherrika, on Malabar coast, ancient
 Kolattiri 9, n. 11
 Chitor, siege of (1534) 123
chivara, monk's garment 73
 Chola kings and Muḷḷandram 94; 99
choleṣa, a Faquir's cure for 284
 Choaroes, k. of Persia 174
 Chota Nagpur, stone implements from, 135; or
 Chūtiya Nagpur 118
 Chowra, Soury, a Nicobar isl. 13
chrematistike and *ktetike*, science or art of
 wealth, etc. 233, 234 & n.
 Christ, Jesus, date of, and the Ābhira immigra-
 tion into India, 35, 36; worship, and the
 cult of the Child Kṛishṇa 84; Sup. 16
 Christian, era, 36; 44; architecture, in the Hau-
 rān, 170; 175; inscrip. in Syria, 172; influence.
 in the *Bhayaṇadgītā* Sup. 28, 29
 Christianity, and the cult of the Child Kṛishṇa,
 35; and the wolf of Agobio, 197; and *Bhakti*,
 etc. Sup. 15 & n., 16
 Christians, the Ghassanides 177
 Chronology of the Western Chālukyas of
 Kalyāṇi 285—290
 Chronology, revised, of the last Gupta emperors
 161—167
 chronology, Ceylonese, uncertainty of 20
 Churāi, vil., in Bengal, Viṣṇu statuette in . . 216
 Church, Rich., Resident, Tellicherry 8
 Church, of Julianos, Umm-al-Jamal and others,
 vaulted roofs of 172
 Chūtiya Nāgpūr, ancient Jhārkhand, 118; or
 Chota Nagpur 135
 clay records and agriculture 235; 256
 Olive, Robt., and Omichund, etc. 265—269;
 273 & n., 274
 cloth, blue, merchandise, 62; trade in 89, 91
 clothes, unwashed, for brides 197
Cloud-messenger 251, f.; 253, n.
Cobenzel, Austrian ship 68; 85—92
 Coia Khitan (Manucci) for Khwāja Khizr . . 206
 coinage, Strait Settlements 28
 coins, of Toramāna, 19; Roman, 74; of Naha-
 pāna, 73—77; his Jogaḷtembhi hoard, 149,
 f.; of Viḷivayakura, 153; Mālaya, of Puḷumā-
 vi, etc., 75, n.; 155, f.; of Bālāditya, 163; 166;
 Gupta, 164 & n.; 165; of Medieval India,
 etc., 241 & n., 243 & n., 244; of the Ya-
 mas, 299; of Vāsudeva Sup. 18, n.
- Colastria, Port, Kolattiri 9 & n., 10, 11
 Collett, Matt., E. I. Co.'s servant and Kāsim-
 bāzār 265
 colour epithets and names, in India Sup. 14
 Colours, flag, ensign, English, and Austria's com-
 mercial venture, 1, 2; 10, 11; 15; Imperial, of
 Austria 12—14; 33, f.; 64, 66; 92, f.
 columns, or pillars. Aākan, etc. 291, ff.
 commercial venture in India, see Austria's . . 1, ff.
 Committee, Select, and the Foreign Dept. 266 & n.
 Company, (Imperial India) of Fiume, etc. 57
 & n.; or Society, Commercial, of Wm.
 Bolts, 85—87; Imperial Asiatic, 57 n., 58; 64;
 66; 91, 92
 Company, E. I., and Austria's commercial
 venture, 15; 57; 68; 69; 85, n.; 93; slaves for,
 56; officers, obliged to go through the ranks,
 84; and Omichund 266, f.; 269
 composers, of Vijayanagara copperplates, en-
 gravers of *śāsanas*, lists of, 79—81; pedigree
 of *śāsanam* composers 82, f.
 Confucius, and wealth, or economies . . 235; 256
 conquest, of Gujarat, 198; Arab, of Sind . . 205
 contractor, *kuntrachi*, Hobson-Jobson . . . 199
 Contribution towards the Early History of In-
 dian Philosophy 101, ff.
 Cook, Capt. 90 & n.
 copper, trade in 58; 89; 90
 copper-plate, documents, Vijayanagara, lists
 of, with composers, etc. 79, ff.; grant, of Rud-
 rasena II, 165; Narasimha Deva II. 210, 212;
 of Yayāti Keśari, 211; of Keśava Sena, 220;
 of Malaya Varmma, in Kureṭhā, Gwalior . . 242
Cormorant, British ship, and Wm. Bolts . . 8; 29
 Cornelius Palma, Roman governor of Syria . . 170
 Coromandel Coast, and Austria's commercial
 venture 12, 13; 57; 68; 90
 corruptions, of European words in Mesopota-
 mia 196
 Cosmas, monk, and India 19
 Cosmic Illusion, or Māyā Sup. 3; 7
 cotton, etc., trade, and Wm. Bolts, 31; and
 Broach 77
 countries, (and mountains) ruled by Gautami-
 putra Śātarkarpi 150, ff.
 courtesans, science of 189
 cowherds and Kṛishṇa, 84; and Christ, and
 Kṛishṇa, Sup. 16; cowherd-maidens and
 Kṛishṇa Sup. 19
 crocodile, *vāgho*, in Sind, 197; and the Jews. 197 n.
 crown, of Uderolāl 200 & n.
 Cruz, João de, Austrian pilot 67

- cults, Vaishnava, etc., 84; in Sind, the River, Uderolāl, etc., 198; 204—208; religious, of India and Mexico, etc., 217; Solar, 218—220; of Krishna .. 5; 9; 11, n.; 17
- Cunningham, Sir A., and coins of Mediæval India .. 241; 243, n.
- cure, for rabies, 204; a Faqir's, for cholera. 284
- currency, Malay, in Trengganu .. 28
- curse, of the Duvāsas .. 248; 251, f.
- customs, in River cult, 198; marriage, of Thakurs .. 203
- Cuttack, 210, n.; see Katak .. 210
- Cyrus, palace of .. 293
- Dahanū, Dāhanukā, creek .. 73 & n.
- Dahi, inscrip. of Gopāla Rāja .. 241
- Dahrasena, Traikūṭaka, k., copper-plate grant of .. 78
- Dakan, 113; and the Bahmani dyn., 114; and Khândesh, etc., 115; 117, f.; 121; 127; 142—149; and the Mughals, 179, f.; see Dekkan. 69
- Dakhamita, Dakshamitrā, wife of Ushavadāta. 73
- Dakṣiṇāpatha, Dekkan .. 71, f.; 151; 154
- dāl, food, from the *Cajanus Indicus* .. 1, n.
- Damaṇa, Damaṇagaṅgā, river .. 73 & n.
- Damascus, and the Nabateans, etc., 170; and Umayyads .. 174
- Damayanti, Indrasenā .. 281—284
- damful, to deceive .. 196
- Dāmodara, the Child-Krishna .. 84
- Damodarpur, in Bengal, copperplate from. 162
- daṇḍanti, state-craft, 102, f.; 107; 236; 238—241; 256, f.; 264
- Daṇḍin, and Sanskrit poetry .. 264
- Danes, and Austria's commercial venture 30 & n.
- Dāniyāl, Sultan, son of Akbar .. 180; 185
- Darius, inscrip. of, 138; palace .. 293
- Darpan, and Ganesha .. 209
- Daryāpanthi, or Thakurai religion .. 200; 203
- Daryāpanthis, monotheists, 202; and marriage, 203, f.
- Dārya Shāh, last Imād-Shāhī k. .. 124
- Dāśapura, modern Mandasor, and Ushavadāta .. 73, 77, 78
- Dasyu, tribe, of Viśvāmitra, and the Ābhīras. 70
- Date, of the Ābhīra migration into India .. 35, f.
- Date, of Pāṇini and Kātejāyana .. 138
- date, of Chandragupta, 140; of last Gupta emperor, 161—163 & n.; of the Hindola Mahal, 176; of the Hātāgumpha inscrip., 223; of Buddha's death, 234; of the *Bhagavadgītā*. Sup. 90
- Dattaka, and the courtesans of Pātatiputra .. 189
- Dā'ūd Khān, of Khândesh .. 119—121; 184—186
- Daulatābād .. 114—116; 120; 123
- Davis, J., and the *Bhagavadgītā* .. Sup. 30, 31
- Davva-Sangaha (*Dravya-Sangraha*) by Nemi-chandra Śidhānta-Chakravarti, (Book-Notice) .. 139
- death, of Maria Teresa, 85, n.; of Buddha, 224; and God .. Sup. 24; 34
- Deepchund, Dīp Chand, partner of Omi-chund .. 266, n.
- deg, metal pot, and Uderolāl .. 200
- deification, of founders of sects in India, of Krishna .. Sup. 9; 11; 17; 18
- Dekkan, of the Satavahana period, 69—73; 149—156; see Dakan .. 113
- Delhi, ancient buildings, etc. 176, f.; Topra, 201; see Dihli, 113; ancient Kurufield .. Sup. 20
- Denmark .. 34
- deposition, regarding Austria's commercial venture .. 58
- Department, of worship and temples, Mauryan institution .. 51
- Desūk, and the curved character .. 176, n.
- Devagupta, Chandragupta II .. 165
- Devakī, m. of Krishna .. Sup. 9; 11; 16
- Devāndhīpiya, title of Tissa and of Aśoka, 48; or *Devāndhī-priya* .. 128
- Dēvarāya IV., copper-plates of .. 79
- development, of the Bhāgavata religion. Sup. 14
- Devil, the, Iblis .. 205
- de Vogüé, and Nabatean architecture, 170, n.; 171 & n.; 172 & n.
- dhakkā, drum .. 94
- Dhakkā Sabhāpati, or Sabhāpati .. 94; 96
- Dhār, Lat Masjid .. 177 & n.
- Dhārāvarsha, k. .. 168
- Dharma-nīti, and *dharma lipi* .. 56
- Dharmaśāstra*, 50; and *Arthaśāstra* .. 187
- Dharmasūtra*, work by Āpastamba, antiquity of .. Sup. 29
- dharmayuktas* .. 55
- Dhauī, Aśoka inscrip. .. 209—211
- Dhoulkarnaim, Alexander the Great .. 205
- Dhritarāshṭra, k. .. Sup. 20
- Dhvani-doctrine .. 191, n.
- Digambara, Jaina sect .. 139
- Dihli, and Khândesh, 113—116; etc., 123, f.; 123; see Delhi .. 176
- Dilāwar Khān, and Māndū .. 176
- Dillipa, character .. 247, f.
- dināṭima, drum .. 95

- Duṇḍima-Sārvaśhaṇṇakavi, Sōṇādri or Aruṇa-*
giri, 96—99; author of the Rāgharābhya-
dayam 100
- Dionysos, Siva Sup. 18
- Dipakarni, k., and the Yaksha Sāta 69
- dipīsta* and *dipi*, of Aśoka inscrip. 56
- discipline, disciplines, Vedic 19
- Dixon, armoured, with Capt. Cook, and Wm.
 Bolts 90 & n
- Doctrines of the *Bhagaradgītā* Sup. 20—29
- documents, (*sasanas*) Vijayanagara, writers
 of 79, ff.
- dogs, in Sind cult 208
- dollar, etc, Strait Settlements 28
- Doumar Layna, Saiva cave, Ellora 211, n.
- Drake, Roger, President, Bengal Council 266
- Drāmila, and Kautilya 195, n.
- Dronāchārya, and the Pāṇḍavas 240
- drum, *dhakkā*, 94; or *diṇḍima*, 95; and Udero
 lāl 200
- Drupada, and Indrasenā 281, f.
- Druses, of the Haurān, their houses 171
- Dundas, Capt. of the *Royal Henry* 31
- Durbar Hall, Hindola Mahal, Mānd 169
- Durvāsas, curse of 248 251, f.
- Duryodhana Sup. 20
- Dutch, the, and Austria's commercial venture
 36 & n.; 34 57 58 68
- duty, in the *Bhagaradgītā* Sup. 26, 27
- Dvīta, sage Sup. 15, 16
- Dwārkā, Barake 77
- dynasties, reigning with the Andhras 298
- E* and *O*, the wide sound of, with special refer-
 ence to Gujarātī (from Vol. XLVI, p. 304)
 21, ff.; 37, n.; 225, ff.
- Earl of Lincoln*, E. I. Co.'s ship, later the *Joseph*
and Theresa 30
- East, The Ancient, stray expressions of thought
 on material interests 234, ff.
- East India Company, see Company, E. I. 15
- East Indies, and Austria's commercial venture,
 57, n.; 85 & n.; 88, 89, 91—93
- Eastern Ghāṭs, Mahendra 151
- eclipse, solar 16, f.
- Economia*, domestic management 234, n.
- Economic Principles of Confucius and His*
School, a work by Dr. Chen Huan-Cheng. .. 235
- Economics, The Ancient Hindu, *Vārtā*, 233—
 241; 256—263; 275—279
- Edicts, Rock, and the identification of Tam-
 bapanni, 48, 1.; edicts, not proclamations. 51
- Edipur grant of Keśava Sena 216
- Egmont*, E. I. Co.'s ship 29
- Egypt, and Wm. Bolts, 92; the first Mosque
 in, 175; and the Kufic character 176, n.
- Ekata, sage, and Svetadvīpa Sup. 15, 16
- el-Aksa mosque, Jerusalem 176, n.
- elephant, symbol of Buddhism, etc. 211
 & n. 244; 216
- Elchpūr 147; 145, f.
- Elphā, Hās, and Khwaja Khizr 206
- El Khizr, *ca.* of Alexander the Great, and
 Maccasians 205
- Ellora, cave, 211, n.; 213; Sun temple 219
- emancipation, the five ways, of Sup. 23; 27, 28
- Emperor, of Austria, and Austria's commercial
 venture, 92, 1.; of Byzantium 174
- Emperors, see Gupta 161, ff.
- Empire, Gupta 163, of the Ptolemies and
 Seleucids 169
- Empress, Maria Teresa 85, n.; 93
- Endogamy, and the Thakurs 209
- England, and Onuchund 263
- English, the, and Austria's commercial venture
 1, 2, 15, 57, 1.; 91, f.; and Onuchund, 266;
 attack the French, 267, or British .. 268; 273, f.
- engravers, etc., of copperplates, etc. 79, ff.
- Epistles, of St. Paul, and the *Bhagaradgītā*, Sup. 29
- Epitome of Jamnia, by Parachand Nahar, M.A.,
 and Krishnachandra Ghose Vedānta
 Chintamani, Book-Notice 140
- equinoxes, procession of 255
- Era, Eras, Mahāva and Vikrama, etc., 6, 20; the
 Gupta, 20; 162; Christian, and the date of the
 Abhīras, etc., 36; 44, 45; of Bosra, 172;
 Chālukya-Vikrama 290 & n.
- Eran, pillar inscrip. of Budhagupta, Boar ins-
 crip. of Toramāna 18; 165
- erotic, sculptures, Komarak, etc., 216;
 C. America, 217; see Sup. 19
- Erotinus, date 169
- Eryxias*, work by Plato, and economics 233
- Europe, and Austria's commercial venture, 3;
 staples, in India, 15; Ancient, and stray expres-
 sions of thought on the material interests. 233
- European, Nations, and India, 4; commodities,
 for trade in India, 7 (or staples) 10; 15;
 words, corruptions of, 196; Indologists, and
 the age of the *Bhagaradgītā* Sup. 29
- Europeans, and Surāj'ddaula 267
- exogamy, in cult of the River God, Sind 198; 203
- extracts, from the *Uttarapurāṇa* of Guṇabhadra,
 26, f.; and the *Trilokasāra* Palm-leaf Ms. 22

- Factory, Factories, Austrian, in Delagoa Bay,**
 10; 15; Cannanore, 12; the Nicobars, 13; 61;
 66; Kalot, 64, n.; British, at Onore .. 15
Factory Records, Old, Notes from .. 56; 84
Faizi, poet, and envoy to Khândesh .. 148
Faqr's cure for cholera .. 284
farmân, Mogul, 5; see firmans .. 140
Fârûqi dynasty, of Khândesh 113, ff; 141, ff; 178, ff.
Fâtin ide dynasty .. 176, n.
faujâdr, phousdar, chief police officer, Hug-
li, 31; or fouzdar .. 32
female, statues, from Bosenagar, etc. .. 296
Ferishta, and Maratha history, 300; see Firish-
ta .. 113
Fife, Mr., and Wm. Bolts, 12; or Fyf .. 13
finish, to be done for .. 196
Firdausi, on Alexander and Porus .. 246
Firishta, on the Fârûqi dynasty of Khândesh,
 113—116; 118—121; 124; 142—144; 147,
 n.; 178; 183; 185; see Ferishta .. 300
firmans, Mughal, to Śvetâmbara church, 140;
see farmân .. 5
Firûz Shâh, and Malik Râya, etc. .. 113—116
Fiume, Priviledged Company of, 57 & n.;
ship-building centre .. 91
flag, see colours .. 1
Flavius Scos, house at Haiyât .. 172
Fleet, the late Dr J. F., and the Mâlava era,
 etc., 16, f.; and inscrip., 18, 20; 223 & n.,
 224; and the W. Châlukyās, 285 & n.;
 287 & n.; 289 & n.
Fontana, Nicholas, surgeon on the Joseph
and Theresa .. 12, n.
foot-prints, and Trivikrama Vishnu worship, 84 & n.
Foreign Department, from Select Committee, 266, n.
forgery, literary .. 194
Fort St. George, and] Austria's commercial ven-
ture .. 7; 56—59; 61—63; 84
Fort William, and Austria's commercial ven-
ture .. 31—34; 67
Fox, C.J., Joint Sec. of State .. 90 & n.; 91; 92
Francis, Sir Wm., and Wm. Bolts .. 30 & n.
French, trade, etc., and Austria's commercial
venture, 3; 57; 58; 61; and English, at war,
 68; aid the English, 265; attacked by, 267; 269
Friday, mosque, Asirgarh .. 185
Fulta, on the Hûgli, and Calcutta refugees .. 265
Fûr, possibly Porus .. 245, f.
- Gadaq inscrip.** .. 287
Gaṇapati Râja, his Surwaya inscrip. and coins
 241; 243, f.
Gaṇesa, g., in image, 137; and Darpan .. 209
Gaṇeshrâ, W. of Mathurâ, inscrip. at .. 73
Ganga, kings, and Orissa .. 210
Gaṅgaikonda Râjendra Cholaḍêva I., and Man-
dâra .. 94; 99
Ganges, riv., and the poets of Mullandram .. 99
Garbe's Introduction to the Bhagavadgîtâ Sup.1—36
Garcia, Joan de, Austrian pilot .. 67
Garuḍa, g., image .. 137
Gâthâ-Sapta-sati, the, and Vikrama .. 112
Gauḍiya, School of Sanskrit poetry .. 264
Gaurthi, in Bengal, Omichund's letter from,
 272—274; and *chauthri* .. 274 & n.
Gautama, quoted the Vaikhânasa, 84; 104 &
 n.; and the Nyâya system, and Uśanas. 107 & n.
Gautama, and Ahalyâ .. 284
Gautami, father of Nahapâna .. 112
Gautami, Balasiri, m. of Gautamiputra .. 151 & n.
Gautamiputra Śâtakarpi .., date, 72; coins of,
 etc., 149; Lord of the mountain ranges,
 and the Nasik caves, etc. .. 151—156
Gayâ, and Nârâyaṇapâla, 109; inscrip., 110,
 111; Sun temple .. 219
Gaya-Peak, Vishnupada .. 84
Geldner, on the Rîgveda-Samhitâ .. 280—284
genealogical tree, Gupta, 17; table .. 284
genealogy, of the śāsanam engravers of the Vi-
jayanagara Empire, 82; of the poets of Mul-
landram, 96—98; of Fârûqi dynasty, 183—
 186; of Indrasenâ .. 280; 283; n., 284
Gentoo, Hindu .. 269
Genuineness of the Vṛttis in Mammata's
Kāvya-prakāśa, an additional proof for .. 23
George, see Fort St. George .. 7
Ghassanides, Christians, buildings attributed
to them .. 177
Ghaṭāka, possibly a Kshatrapa .. 73
Ghazni kings, and the Hindu revival in Sind. 203
Ghazni Khân .. 184; 186
Ghorâis, sub-division of the Thakurs .. 203
ghosha, unit of the Aryan settlement, etc. .. 35 & n.
Ghotakamukha, and the Kautilya .. 189
Gilpin, astronomer, with Capt. Cook, and Wm.
Bolts .. 90 & n.
Girnar inscrip. .. 54; 78 & n.
Goa, and Austria's commercial venture. .. 11; 13
God, and god-idols of the Mauryas, 51 & n.;
 of the River, 198; of the Waters, Uderolâl,
 203, f.; 206; in the *Bhagavadgîtâ*, Sup. 2, 5, 9,
 11 & n., 12, 15, 17, 19—21, 23, f., 26, 28, 33, 34, f.
goddess, of learning, temple of .. 221
- Gabbiati, J., and Wm. Bolts' Company.** 86; 88
gadd, mace .. 136

- gods, and the Yoga system Sup. 22
 Gogo, and Wm. Bolts, 1; or Goda 3; 7,
 Goloonda, and Berar, 122, f.; 142; 144; 178, f
 gold coinage, of Kadphises II
 Gommatesvara, statue at Śrāvana Belgola .. 139
 Gonardiya, and the *Mahābhāshya* 181
 Good Hope, c. 2, n.;
 goose frieze in temples 213 & n., 214
 Gopāla II., inscrip. of 110, 11
 Gopāla Rāja, Dahi inscrip. etc. 241, f.
 gorakṣhā, trade 256
 Govardhana, Govardhan-Gaṅgāpur, W. of
 Nāsik, and Ushavadāta 73 & n., 74; 78
 Government, British, in India 2,
 Govinda-Krishṇa, the cowherd, 84; or Indra. Sup. 10
 Græco-Roman inscrip. on coins 77
 grāma, unit of a settlement 31
 Grant, Capt., of Chandernagore 31
 Great Britain, and the Mogul Emperor, etc. 5; 14
 Great Duke of Tuscany, Austrian ship .. 68, 69
 Greece, and economics, 240; or science of wealth. 256
 Greek, inscrip. of Kaṣṛal Bā'ik, 172; sculpture,
 etc. 291; 294; 296
 Greeks, and Yavanas, 138; and Chaldean ag-
 riculture, 234; and Indra Sup. 16
 Green, Nath., Consul at Trieste .. 57 & n.; 90—96
 grit-stone, and pottery, significant finds near
 Kulasekharapattanam 49
 Guadalete, battle 174
 gufar, guffar, riverboat, Hobson-Jobson .. 244
 Giuseppe and Teresa, Austrian ship. *Joseph*
and Theresa 1, 3
 Gujarāt, and Khāndosh, 113; 115—118; 121—
 124; 141, f.; 147; and Gautamiputra Śāta-
 karni, 149; probably ancient Kuruka, 150;
 and the Second Kshatrapa dyn., etc. .. 153; 156
 Gujarātī, and the wide sound of *E* and *O*. 24—
 28; 37—47; 225—232
 Guṇabhadra, on Mihirakula, 19; extract from
 the *Uttara-purāṇa* 20—22 n.
 guṇas Sup. 24, f.
 Guneriya inscrip., of Mahendrapāla 110
 gunpowder, trade in 89, f.
 guns, landed from Austrian ships, 13; and
 ancient Indians 105, n.
 Gupta Emperors, the last, revised chronology
 of 161—167
 Gupta Era and Mihirakula, New Light on (contd.
 from Vol. XLVI, p. 296) 16—23; 166
 Gupta, empire, invaded. 17; inscrips., 19, 20;
 coins and kings, 164 & n., 165; era, date, 20;
 165; viceroy 198
 Guptas, Imperial, genealogical tree, 17; Early,
 and Kalkirāja, 19; in inscrip. 161, f.; the
 later, 166; and Schwan 204
 Gupta-Valabhi year, etc. 16; and Saka .. 17
 gur, sugar 202
 Gurjara-Pratihāras and Magadha, 109; and
 Bihār 111
 Gurusvāmi, son of Tyāgarāja, 94; family of.. 95, f.
 gurusiṣyasa^ṃptāna, sequence of teachers and
 pupils 158
 Gwalior inscrip., of Toramāna, 18; of Mihirakula,
 219; Museum, and the Narwar inscrip. .. 242, n.
 Haidar 'Ali Khān, Nabob, and Wm. Bolts, 12;
 89; see Hyder 'Ali 13
 Hakusiri, Śaktiśrī 72
 Ḥamid Khān 184
 Ḥammām as-Ṣarakh, building in Moab .. 174
 hammerstone, from Singhbhum 135, f.
 Hampe, Pampe, Vijayanagar cup. 287
 Happy Sayings, a work by Akbar 245
 Hārāhā inscrip., and Īśānavarman 162
 Hardy, Ed., and the *Bhagavadgītā* Sup. 17
 Harihara II., copperplates of. 79; Harihara,
 inscrip. 288
 Hārī-Hara, Viṣṇu and Śiva Sup. 20
 Harṣavardhana, patron of Maṃṛā 168
 Harshacharita, the, and Kālidāsa 246, f
 Hartmann, Franz, and the *Bhagavadgītā* .. Sup. 1
 Ḥasan Khān, 143; Malik Iftikhār 186
 Hasan Shāh 185, f.
 hasbu-'l-hukum 5
 Hāthigumphā inscrip. 72; 209; 222—224
 Hatim Tai, and Khwāja Khizr 205
 Hatra, al-Hadr, S. of Mosul, vaulted roof build-
 ing 172
 Haurān, Bostra. architecture of .. 170, f.; 177
 Hawke, the ship 15
 Hegner, J., and Austria's commercial venture,
 61—63
 heliolatry in Tlascalla, 217; in India, 218, 219 & n.
 Hemachandra and the wide sound of *E* and *O*,
 27, n.; 43, 44; 46
 hemp, Indian *bhāṅg*, and cholera 284 & n.
 Herod, and Damascus 170
 Hesiod, 8th cen. B.C., author of *Works and*
Days 233
 Hillebrandt, A., and the *Kauṣīkiya*. 151 & n.; 192
 Hillsborough, Earl of, Sec. of State. .. 64, 65 & n.
 Himālaya, Himagiri, etc., ancient Himavat. Sup. 32

- Hindi, and the wide sound of *E* and *O*, 24; 26;
27, n.; 30, n.; 43—47 & n.; 228, n.; 231 & n.; 232
- Hindola Mahal at Mândû, vaulting system of. 169, ff.
- Hindu, gods, ornaments, etc. in Hindola Mahal,
176; remains, and mosques, 177; revival, in
Sind, 203; calendar, and Mai Pir, 208; cus-
toms, in temples etc, 211, f.; and Buddhist
ornaments, etc. 213—217; temple, sites, 220,
n.; theatre, 223; or Gentoo, 269; religion,
and Kṛishṇa 10
- Hindu Economics, the Ancient, and *Vārtā*
233, ff.; 256, ff.; 275, ff.
- Hinduism, and Jainism, 140; in Sind, 197, f.;
205; and Kṛishṇa Sup. 11
- Hindus, or Marāthās, 2; and Khāndesh, 118; in
Sind, 197—205; 207; and tree worship, 214;
220, n.
- Hindustan, and Akbar 143
- Hippargo in Bijapur dist., 153; and Hippokou-
ra, cap. of K. Baleokouros, not definitely
identified 151; 153
- hiraṇya*, gold coin, as a tax 50, 51
- Hiri-Chavūfi, Chālukya inscrip. at 287
- History, of the Maratha People, Book-Notice,
290, f.
- History, Early, of Indian Philosophy, a Con-
tribution towards 101, ff
- History, S. Indian, Beginnings of, Book-Notice. 263
- History, political, of the Dakkan, of the Sāta-
vāhana period 69, ff.; 149, ff
- History, of early Buddhism 84
- Hitt, bitumen wells of 244
- Hiuen Tsiang, on Mihirakula, 18; date, 19;
Yuan Chwang, 150, n.; and Sind .. 198; 204, n.
- Hobson-Jobson, in Mesopotamia, spread of
196; 244
- Hoernle, Dr., and the Guptas, 161; 163 & n.—165
- Holland, High and Mighty United States of .. 34
- Holland, John, Lord Mayor of Madras .. 59
- Holtzmann, and the *Bhagavadgītā*, Sup. 1 & n.—
4; 10, 11; 29, n.; 32, n.; 33, n.
- Holwell, J. Z., hero of the Blackhole of Cal-
cutta 266
- Home of Kālidāsa 264 & n.
- Hopkins, E. W., and the *Bhagavadgītā*, Sup.
1—6, n.; 8, & n.; 10, n.; 11, n.; 15, n.; 18, 19, n.;
21; 24, n.; 28, n.; 30; 32
- hornblende-schist, rock, implements of .. 135
- Hornby, Wm., E. I. Co's servant, and Wm. Bolts 7
- Hot Hakim, Ahmed Pir, Pir of the Jackals .. 207
- Hougley, tn. Hūglī 31
- Hoyasala-dēvi, q. to Sōmēsvara 289
- Hoyasaleswar, temple 213
- Hughes, Sir Ed., Commander, E. Indies, and
Austria's commercial venture. 57 & n.—59; 63, 64
- Hūglī, riv., and tn., and Austria's commercial
venture, 29, f., (Hougley) 31; 265, f.
- Hulēgundi, inscrip. 290
- Hūli, Chālukya inscrip. 289
- Hultzsch, Dr., and the Tambaparānni riv., 49; and
the word *dipista*, etc. 56
- Humāyūn, emp., and Mandasor, etc. 123
- Humboldt, W. von, and the *Bhagavadgītā*
Sup. 1; 3, n.; 8; 21; 32; & n.
- Hūpa, conqueror, Mihirakula; empire, in
Oxus Basin 19
- Hūpas, and the Guptas, etc. 17
- Hunavalli, inscrip. 287
- Husain Nizam Shāh I 146, 148
- Hūshang, governor of Mândû 177
- Hūvinahadagalli, inscrip 290
- Hydaspes, and Alexander 245
- Hyder Ali, Haider 'Ali, and Austria's commer-
cial venture 12; 13, 89, 91
- hypergamy, and the Daryāpanthis, 203; and
the Thakurs 208
- Ibā, Ambikā riv. 74 & n.
- Iblis, the Devil 205
- Ibn-al-Athir historian 174
- Ibn-Tūlūn, mosque in Cairo 175
- Ibn Wahshiyah, author of *Nebatean Agri-
culture* 235
- Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh II, of Bijāpur .. 148; 178
- Identification of some of the Post-Andhra-
bhṛitya Rulers of the Puranic list 298
- identification of the poets of Mullandram
and the Sāsana writers of the Vijayana-
gara kings, 98, 99; of Kṛishṇa-Vishṇu, with
Brahmin Sup. 19
- idol, temple, and Akbar, 185; god idols of
the Mauryas 51 & n.
- Ikshvāku, sage, and the Yoga teaching Sup. 32
- Ikshvāku dyn., and the Śātavāhana dyn. .. 156
- Ilīās, Elijah 206
- Imād Shāhi, dyn. 142
- image, images, Trimūrti, in Peshāwar Muse-
um, 136, f.; at Sārnāth, 161, f.; in Hindola
Mahal, Mândû, 176; fragments, at Mashīta,
177; of Buddha, in Hindu temple, 217, f.;
of Sun god 219 & n.
- Imām, the, and the *mihṛāb* 175
- Imperial Majesties of Austria 1; 3—9;
11, f.; 14, f.; 32—34

- implements, stone, from Singhbhum .. 135
- Imrulquis, Lakhmia k., and the Romans .. 177
- imshi*, (Arab *mashî*), to go out. etc., Hobson-Jobson .. 196
- incarnation, of the River God, in Sind, 198, f.; of Uderolâl .. 203
- India, and Austria's commercial venture, 1, ff.; 29, ff.; 57, ff.; 85, ff.; visited by Song Yun and Cosmas, 19; Abhirâ migration into, 35, f.; & Ceylon, 48; changes, in level of land and sea, 49; and the Jewish calendar, 112; invaded by Taimûr, 115; and Mihirakula, 163; and the vaulting system, 169; and magic, 197; and Yuan Chwang, 209; and temple sculpture, 211, f.; 214; other sculptures, 293; and women's orthodoxy, 189, n.; and tradition of sciences, 191, n., 192; and literary forgeries, 194; and sun worship, 218; mediæval, coins of, 241 & n.; 243, n.; the *Brâhmanas*, and *Vârta*, 235; 239; 256, f.; and King "Four," (Alexander), 245, f.; and Kâlidâsa, 264; and Ormichund, 269; 272, n.; and the British, 274; and Vinasphara, 298; ancient, and the stage, 222; Central, and Gautamîputra, 149, 151; North, and the Kushanas, 153; South, or Dakshinâpatha, 71, 72; and Gautamîputra, 151; 154; West, and the Kshatrapas, 73; Kings of, 153; and the Śâtavâhana dyn., 156; and Arjun, 197; and the *Bhagavadgîtâ*, Sup. 1 & n., 2; 7; 9; 11; 13—16; and Christ Sup. 16; 18; North and South .. Sup. 19
- Indian Philosophy, a Contribution towards the Early History of .. 101, ff.
- Indian, campaign of Alexander, 245; History, see Beginnings of, 253; calendar, 254, 255 & n.; goods, in Bengal, 266; hemp, or *bhang*, 284 & n.; bull, Sârânâtha Pillar, 294; other sculptures, 295; South, inscrip. and *Vârta*, 257; Spiritual life, and the *Bhagavadgîtâ*, Sup. 2; mysticism, Sup. 7; Sages and Christianity, Sup. 15; people and renunciation, etc. Sup. 25; 28; 29
- Indians, ancient, and guns, 105, n.; and the *Bhagavadgîtâ*, Sup. 4; and the Greeks, Sup. 16; and Krishṇa .. Sup. 20
- Indies, E., and Austria's commercial venture, 30; 85; 88; 89
- individual soul, see soul .. Sup. 25; 27, 28
- Indo-Bactrian, rulers of the Panjab .. 263
- Indologists, European, and the age of the *Bhagavadgîtâ* .. Sup. 29
- Indra, g., Jupiter Pluvius, image, 218; Govinda, and Krishṇa .. Sup. 10
- Indraloka, and Maudgalya .. 281
- Indrasena .. 280, ff.
- Indus, riv., called the sea, 197; and Uderolâl, etc. .. 199; 204; 206—208
- industries, sciences, and *Vârta* .. 102—104; 109
- influence, Buddhistic, in the Sun temple, Konarak, 209; Buddhistic, and Christian, in the *Bhagavadgîtâ* .. Sup. 28
- Inscription, the Hâthigumphâ .. 223
- Inscriptions, Aśoka, Notes on .. 297
- Inscriptions, Amarâvatî *stûpa*, 155; Andhra, 71; Anêgondê, etc., 287 & n.; Arabic, 174; 176 & n.; Aśoka, (edicts 48, 40; 71;) 51—53; 56; 138; 297; Bādâmi, 70; Belgaum, 287 & n.—289; Bhagalpur grant, 109; 111; Bhitari seal, 161—166; Bihar image, 109 & n.—111; Bodh Gaya, 110, f.; Budhagupta, etc. 16 & n.; 18 & n.; 50; Châlukya (W.) 285—290; Christian, in Syria, 172; on coins, 75; 241, f.; Copper-plate, 79—81; 162; 165; 210—212; 220; 242; of Darius, 138; Eran stone pillar, 18; 165, f.; Girnar, 54; 78 & n.; Greek, 75; 172; Gumeriya, 110; Gupta, etc. 19, f.; 50—57; referring to Gupta history, 161—167; Gwalior, 18; 219; 242, n.; Hârâha, 162; Hâthigumphâ, 72; 209; 222, f.; Junâgaḍh, 150 & n.; 151 & n.; 154, f.; 162, n.; 164; Junnar Cave, 70; 73; 74; 78; Kâhâra pillar, 20; Kalsi, 53; Kanheri, 70; 76; 151; 155; Kârle, 70; 73 & n.; 74; Khâravela, etc., 216; Koḍa-kanî, 288, 289 & n.; Konarak, 211 & n.; Krishṇa, 71, 72, n.; Kshatrapa, 70—73; 75; Magadha, 109, f.; Mandasore, etc., 16 & n.; 50; 163; Mândû, 177; Nahapâna, 72; 74; 75; Nâpâghât, 71, n., 72, n.; Nasik, 74, 75 & n.; 149—156; Nebatæan, 169—171; Pala, 165; of Râjâ-raja 1, etc. 99; Râtaul plate, 243; Sanda, 288; Sârânâtha, 298 & n.; Sârânâtha, etc. 16 & n., 17; 161—167; Sogol, 287; Śâtakarni, 71 & n., 72 & n.; Stone, Bhitari, 161—166; Eran, 118; 165, f.; of Narwar Rajputs, 241—244; *Stupa*, Amarâvatî, 155; Jagayyapetta, 156; Sânci, 72; in Syria, 172; Temple, Bhimpur, 242; Khajurâho, 137; Sun, 219, n.; Taldagundy, 257, n.; Talgund, 278; Taxila Scroll, 70; Vishṇupâda, 110; Wadagêri, etc., 290; on Dekkan history, 70—78 & n.; referring to Shîvajî .. 300
- intercourse, with prostitutes .. 189
- interests, material, stray expressions of thought on, in ancient Europe, 233; in the ancient East .. 234, f.
- invasion, Huṇa, of the Gupta empire, 17; of India, by Taimûr, 115; of Khândesh, 118, ff.; of Mahmûd of Ghazni .. 206
- Irak, and the Abbaside Caliphs .. 234
- iron, trade in .. 89; 91

- Isānavarmman, and Skandagupta .. 162; 166
 Islam, in Syria, 172; 174; and the *mihrab*,
 175; and Akbar, 185; in Sind .. 198; 200
 Isle of France, and Wm. Bolts .. 90
 Ismā'il Shāh, k. .. 146, f.
 Isvara, the sun, 137; or Vibhava, Krishna,
 Sup. 20
 Īśvaradatta, coins of .. 156
 Īśvarasena, Ābhira k .. 156
 Ītihāsa-Vedā, and the *Arthasāstra*, 236 & n.;
 237; 239, n.

 Jabālā, story of .. 186, n.
 Jackals, and Ahmed Pir .. 207, f.
 Jagadekamalla, Jayasinha II, W. Chālukya
 k. .. 285; 288
 Jagayyapeta, *stūpa* inscrip. .. 156
 Jahāngir, Sulṭān Salīm .. 181
 Jahāngir, Nasir Khān of Khāndesh .. 185, f.
 Jaimini, and the *Mīmāṃsā Sūtra* .. 157
 Jaina, authorities, and Gupta dates, etc., 18;
 and Mihirakula, 19; literature, 20, 21, n.;
 Matha, at Kolhapur, Kannada MSS. from,
 21, n.; origin, of the Khaṇḍagiri caves, 209;
 and Hindu, and Buddhist, ornaments in tem-
 ples, 216; works and economics .. 256
 Jains, and *ahimsā*, 189, n.; and the term
 sātra .. 190, n.
 Jainism, Indian and European philosophical
 systems, and Hinduism, 140; in the Kumāri
 Hills .. 210
 Jaipur, and the Mālavas .. 75
 Jajapella or Yajvapāla dynasty .. 241, ff.
 Janam-bakti, Story of Uderolāl and the Daryā-
 panthis .. 202
 Janmejaya Mahābhava Gupta, Somavamsī
 k., 210; copper-plate of .. 211
 Jasavanta Sonigaro, Song of .. 47
 Jason, High Priest, and the Nebatæans .. 169
 Jaṭadharēsa Dikshita, poet, of Muḷlandram .. 94
 Jayādāman .. 154, n.
 Jayāditya, and the word *ghoṣha* .. 35
 Jayanta, g., in the *Arthasāstra* .. 51, n.
 Jayasinha II, W. Chālukya k., 285; Jagadi-
 kamalla, 288, f.; III .. 290
 Jebel Haurān, S.E. of Damascus, Nebatæan
 tombs in .. 169
 Jemo Rajbati, etc., near Berhampur, and the
 Sun-god .. 219
 Jering, (Patāni) and tin *pitia* .. 28
 Jerusalem, the el-Akṣa mosque .. 176, n.
 Jesus Christ .. 35

 Jewish, calendar, and India .. 112
 Jews, and the crocodile .. 197 & n.
 Jhai-jo-Goth, tn., in Sind, and Uderolāl, 201,
 f.; 204
 Jhaḷakikara, and the *Kāvya-prakāśa* .. 23 & n.
jhari, *timahli*, waterpot .. 200; 202
 Jhārkhand, modern Chūtiya Nāgpūr, and
 Adil Khān II of Khāndesh .. 188; 185, f.
 Jhimpir, Hindu resort in Sind .. 204 & n.
 Jinaprabhasūri, and Śātavāhana .. 69
 Jinasena, and the *Meḡhadūta*, 17; and Mihira-
 kula, etc. .. 19
 Jñānamārga, Brahmanical philosophy, 108;
 Sup. 23
 Jūāna-Yoga .. Sup. 23
 Jodhpur, marriage custom .. 197
 Jogae bhī, Nāsik dist., find of Nahapāna's
 coins .. 74, f.; 149
 Jogimārā cave, Ramgarh Hill, and *sam-*
 dja .. 222, n.
 Joseph, emp. of Austria, 6; 59; (II) .. 63, n.
Joseph and Theresa, or *Guiseppe*, Austrian
 ship, 3; 4; 7; 10—14; 29; formerly *Earl of*
 Lincoln .. 30, f.; 57; 67, f.; 89
got, lamp of Uderolāl .. 200 & n.—202
 Julfa, near Ispahan, 61, n.; 68, n.; dialect .. 274
 Julianos, Church of, at Umm-al-Jamal .. 172
 Junāgaḍh inscrip., 150 & n.; 151; 154—156;
 162, n.; 164
 Junnar; cave inscrip., 70; 73, f.; tn., Mughal
 head-quarters .. 78
 Jupiter, Pluvius, Indra .. 281

 Kabir Khān of Khāndesh .. 179, f.
kāchang (Malay) *Cajanus Indicus*, dal
 plant .. 1, n.
 Kachchha, and Rudradāman .. 154
Kādambarī, a work by Bāpa .. 248
 Kādarav[ī], or Kādārō[ī], Chālukya cap., 289;
 inscrip. .. 290
 Kadphises I., Kujula-Kadphises, and Naha-
 pāna, 76, f.; II., his gold coinage, etc. .. 76, f.
 Kāfri, Caffree, native of S. Africa .. 56
 Kāhām pillar inscrip. .. 20
 Kaiser, emp. of Byzantium .. 174
 Kalachuryas, overthrew the Chālukyas .. 286, n.
 Kalhana .. 18; 167
 Kālidāsa, Notes on .. 246, ff.
 Kālidāsa, home of .. 264 & n.
 Kālidāsa, and the Hunas, 17; 167; and Vāt-
 syāyana, date, 195; and the *Bhagavadgītā*,
 Sup. 30; and the word *Himālaya* .. Sup. 32:

- Katla and Dimna, or The Fables of Bidpai*, and "Four," (Porus) k. of India .. 245
- Kalīnga*, conquered by Aśoka, 71; 224; canal, and the Nanda kings .. 223, f.
- Kaliot, Caliaton*, in S. Kanara, Austrian factory .. 64 & n.
- Kalkin, Kalkirāja*, or *Chaturmukha-Kalkin*, tyrant, and *Mihirakula*, a comparison .. 18; 19
- Kallowrath, 34; Count Kollowrath*, etc., Austrian ship .. 59; 60; 64
- Kalpadruma*, Tree of Desire, and the *Arka-Vaṭa* .. 214; 216 & n.
- Kalpa-Sūtra*, and the sciences .. 256 & n.
- Kalsi* inscrip. .. 53
- Kalyāṇi*, and the W. *Chālukyās* .. 285, ff.
- Kāmakōṭīśvara pīṭha*, (*Śaṅkarāchārya maṭha*, *Kumbhakōṇam*), victory pillar in .. 94; 96
- Kamalātmikā*, image, and *Śrī* ..
- Kāmandaki*, and *Kautilya*, 106; 108, 109; 159 & n. 160; 193
- Kāmasāstra*, development of, 188 & n.; and *Kālidāsa* .. 195
- Kāmasūtra*, 190; 192, f.; 195; and *saṃāja*, 221 & n.; 222
- Kanāda*, author .. 104, 190, f.
- Kaṇaverajātaka*, and *saṃāja* .. 221
- Kāichunṇḍala*, and the men of *Mandāra* .. 94
- Kanbhagiri Hills, Kṛishnagiri* .. 151
- Kanheri* inscrip. and the *Śātavāhana* dyn., 70; 76; 151; 155
- Kanishka's empire*, extent of .. 298, f.
- Kānvas*, and *Śiśuka* .. 71
- Kāpura*, and *Kāpur-āhāra*, possibly *Surat* .. 78
- Karabēṇā, Kāveri*, riv. .. 74 & n.
- Kuradīhalli* inscrip. .. 287
- Karājika*, vil., and *Ushavādāta* ..
- Kārikās*, and *Mammaṭa* ..
- Karkh, Karkhā de Ladān*, tn., palace ruins near ..
- Kārie*, inscrip. and the *Śātavāhana* dyn., 70; 73 & n.; 74
- Karmamārga* .. Sup. 23
- karmānta*, manufactures .. 239
- Karṇa-yogu* ..
- kārshāpaṇas*, coins .. 76, f.
- kārukeśilavakarma*, profession of artists, etc. 238
- Karūr, Karaura* .. 151
- Karvand, Thalner* .. 115
- kani*, agriculture .. 256
- Kāśikā*, and the word *Mahāśūdrī* .. 36
- Kāsimbāzār*, E. I. Co.'s factory, and Wm. Watts and *Surajū'ddaula*, etc. 265; 267; 273, f.
- Kaṣṛ al-Bā'ik*, in the *Haurān*, and vaulted roofs 172
- Kaṣṛ Khāraneh, Kuṣair*, building of the *Umayyad Khalifs* .. 173, f.; 177
- Kaśyapa* .. 214
- Katak*, and the *Somavaṃśi* kings, 210; *Chand-war*, 210, n.; caves .. 216
- Katchall, Cachoule*, a *Nicobar* island .. 13
- Kathāsar-taḡara*, a work by *Somadeva*, mentions *Śātavāhana* .. 69
- Kaṭhiāwar*, ancient *Surat*, *Surasṭra*, 150; and the second *Kshatrapa* dyn., etc., 153; 156; and *Sind* .. 198
- Kātyāyana*, and the word *mahāśūdrī*, 36; *date*, and *Pāpini* .. 138 & n.
- Kautilya*, the, on the Authenticity of, 157, ff.; 187, ff.
- Kautilya*, the, and *Vārtā*, 235 & n.—238 & n. 239, n.; 240 & n.; 257
- Kauṭilya*, *Chāpakya*, author of the *Arthasāstra*, 48; 50—52; and the *Nandas*, 55; *Viṣṇu-gupta*, 101 & n.—104 & n.; 106 & n.—109; see *Kauṭilya* .. 157, ff.
- Kauṭilyam*, the .. 101—103, n.
- Kāveri, Karabēṇā*, riv. .. 74 & n.
- Kavi-Diṇḍima*, *Diṇḍima-kavi* .. 99
- Kavimalla*, *Anapāya*, court poet, defeated by *Sōnādrī* .. 95; 100
- Kaviprabhu*, poet .. 98
- Kāḍya*, of *Rāma* .. 96
- Kāvya Uśanas*, *Uśanas* or *Śukra* .. 105
- Kāyaparakāśa*, a work by *Mammaṭa*, additional proof of the genuineness of the *Vṛttis* on it .. 23
- Kedgerce, Khijiri*, tn., and Austria's commercial venture .. 29; 31
- Kelantan*, tn., and value of tin *pitis* .. 28
- kellak*, (Ar. *kelek*), large skin raft, *Hobson-Jonson* .. 244
- Kembhāvi*, inscrip. .. 289, n.
- Keropothros, Koralaputra*, k. .. 151
- Keśuri*, dyn., *Cæsars* of *Orissa*, 210; and the lion symbol .. 211 & n.; 213
- Keśava*, a name of *Kṛishṇa* .. Sup. 10, n.
- Keśava Sena*, *Edilpur* grant of, 219; copper-plate .. 220
- Keśī*, charioteer of *Mudgalāni*, 280; or *Ke-sini* .. 283
- Ketū*, planet .. 112
- Khāfi Khān*, author of the *Muntakhab-al-Lubāh*, 183
- Khaharāta* or *Kshaharāta*, family name of *Nahapāna* .. 73
- Khajurāhā*, near *Bundelkhand*, *Trīmurti* image from .. 137 & n.; 138
- Khajuraho*, group of temples .. 213
- Khalifate*, mosque of the time .. 175
- Khalif Walid*, and the *mihṛāb* .. 175
- Khaṇḍagiri*, *Jaina* caves .. 209; 211; 214; 216

- Khândesh**, and the Fârûqî dynasty, 113, ff.; 144, ff.; 178, ff.
- Khânjahân**, Fârûqî, officer under Muḥammad bin Tughlaq of Delhi, and ancestor of the Fârûqî dyn., 113; or Khvāja Jahân.. 114; 116; 143
- Khānkhānān**, officer .. 148; 178, f.
- Khān Orthma**, mosque, Baghdād .. 175, f.
- Kharāneh**, Kasr, or Kusair Kharāneh .. 173, f.; 177
- Khāravela**, k., and the Hāthigumphā inscrip. .. 209; 210 & n.; 222—224
- Kharoshthi**, inscrip. on Nahapāna's coins, 75; 77; on Chashtāna's .. 153
- Khijiri**, Kedgerce, at Hūgli mouth .. 29; 31
- Khillats**, Muhammadan term, and *hiraṇya* .. 50
- Khotan**, ear festival .. 209
- Khusrav**, Sultan, son of Jahāngir .. 181
- Khutbah**, recited, in name of Nasir **khān**, 117; 121; and of Akbar .. 141
- Khvāja Jahân**, and **Khânjahân** Fârûqî .. 114
- Khvāja Khizr**, cult in Sind, 198 *zīrat*, 204, f.; and Mikail, Elijah, etc. .. 206, f.
- Kielhorn**, the late Prof., and the W. Chālukyas, 285 & n.; and the *Bhagavadgītā* .. Sup. 12
- killing**, slaughter, and meat-eating .. 189, n.; 221
- Killpatrick**, Major, J., Bengal C. .. 266
- King**, Mr., E. I. Co.'s servant .. 84
- kingdom**, of Nahapāna, extent of .. 75, f.
- kings**, Vijayanagara, and their copperplate engravings, 79, ff.; science of, etc., in the *Arthaśāstra* .. 159; 187; 193
- Kirttivarman III**, Bādāmi Chālukya k. .. 286
- Kitāb-al-Aghānī**, and buildings in Kusair 'Amrah .. 174
- Kiu-cho-lo**, co., and Kukura .. 150, n.
- knowledge**, divisions of, 256, f.; or learning, 239, n.
- Kodakam** inscrip. .. 288
- Kōlatiri**, Kōlatāṇḍ or Colastria, in N. Malabar, now Cherakkal .. 9, n.
- Kolhāpur**, and Hipponkoura, coins from .. 153
- Konarak**, Sun temple, alleged Buddhist influence in .. 209, ff.
- Konkan**, and the Dakan .. 117
- Koran**, the, and Ta'bib-ribu .. 200
- Korkai**, on the Tāmraparni river, ancient port for gem trade, 48; early settlement of civilised man .. 49
- Krishna**, g., the Child, 35; or Dāmodara, 84; Govinda, the Cowherd, 84; cult, mentioned by Megasthenes, 55, n.; Sup. 18; and the Daryāpanthi religion, 204; and Samdipani, 240; in the *Bhagavadgītā* .. Sup. 2, ff.
- Krishnā**, dr. of Drupada, see Indrasenā .. 280
- Krishna**, Andhra, k. .. 71
- Krishna II**, Rāshtrakūta k. .. 286
- Krishnadēvarāya**, copperplates of .. 79, f.
- Krishnaism**, and Christianity. Sup. 15; 16; 18, n.
- Krishṇa-Śātakarṇi** .. 156
- Kriṣṇarāja III**, Rāshtrakūta k. .. 19
- Kriyāśakti** Paṇḍit, family guru of Vijayanagara kings .. 98
- Kshaharāta**, (and Khaharāta, family name of Nahapāna, 73) dyn., and the Śātavāhanas, 72; and Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, 149; destruction of .. 153
- Kshatrapa**, title, of Chashtāna, etc., 153; 154 & n.; dyn., of Ujjain .. 156
- Kshatrapāvan**, Persian title .. 7
- Kshatriyas**, and *daṇḍanāti*, 240; or Kshatriyas, and Spiritual life in India, etc., Sup. 9; 12; 14; Sages, and *yoga* teaching, Sup. 33
- kleśike**, acquisition, and *chrematistike*, 233 234 & n.
- Kubera**, lord of wealth .. 253
- Kufic**, character in inscrip. .. 176 & n.
- Kujula Kadphises**, Kadphises I .. 76
- Kukura**, probably Gujarāt .. 150 & n.; 154
- Kulasekharapattanam**, tn., and port, significant grit-stone finds near .. 49
- Kumāragupta I**, date, 17, 163, f.; II, inscrip. of, etc., 20; 161—167; 111 .. 17; 167
- Kumārasambhara**, a work by Kālidāsa .. 18
- Kundrācho**, contractor .. 196
- Kuru-field**, modern Delhi .. Sup. 20 & n.
- Kurus**, and Krishna .. Sup. 10; 11
- Kūs**, and the last Kufic inscrip. .. 176, n.
- Kuşair al-Hallābāt**, ruins, 170; mosque .. 175
- Kuşair** 'Amrah, E. of Jordan, probably Umayyad palace .. 174, 177
- Kusair Kharāneh**, Kharāneh .. 173
- kusana**, *kusanas*, possibly coins, from Kushana .. 74, 76, f.
- Kushana**, dyn., and currency .. 76
- Kut Gāpān**, Tak Eivan, building .. 173
- Ladup**, Nadup .. 135
- Lakhmid**, dyn. .. 177
- Lakshmi**, image, 137; 216, vegetarian goddess 208
- Lakshmikanth** Sinai, Luximicant Sinoy, agent for Wm. Bolts .. 13; 15
- Lalitāditya**, and the Sun temple, Martand .. 218, n.
- Lāl Sahib**, 200; Lāl Udero Sāin, holy leader, 202; Lāl Wadero, names of Uderolāl .. 203
- Lassen**, on **Krishṇa**, Sup. 11; 13, n.; 14, n.; 15; 31
- Lāt Masjid**, Dhār .. 177
- Lauria Araraj**, Lauria Nandangarh, Aśokan pillars .. 291; 293.

- Law, Jean, French chief, Kasimbâzâr .. 267
 Law-code, of Manu, 238; of Āpastamba .. 239, n.
Laws, (Plato) and economics .. 233
 learning, goddess of, 221; divisions of, 239, n.;
 or knowledge .. 256, f.
 legend, of Kṛishṇa and Indra, Sup. 9; of
 Buddha, Sup. 10; *Mahābhārata*, of *Bhakti*
 and Christianity .. Sup. 15, f.
 Leghorn, and Wm. Bolts .. 30; 68; 90
Leopold, Austrian ship .. 3, 4; 8
 letter, Armenian, of Omichund .. 265
 Lewis, E. I. Co.'s agent, and Wm. Bolts. 4; 6, 7, 8
 lighting, in vaulted roofs .. 169; 172; 173
limes, Roman .. 177
 Lindeman, Julius, Austrian seaman .. 60; 64
 lion, symbol, of Keśari kings .. 211 & n.; 213
lipi, despatch, etc. .. 52 & n.; 56
 liquor, manufactured by Austrians, in India .. 13
 Lisbon, and Wm. Bolts .. 91
 lists, of Vijayanagara copperplates, etc. 77, ff.;
 of Fārtiqī rulers, 184, ff.; of available MSS.
 on *Vārttā* .. 258, ff.; 275, ff.
 literature, Arabic, Persian, and Indian, 44;
 Sanskrit, and economics .. 256
 Lokāyata, philosophy .. 102; 104—106; 108, f.
 London and Vienna, courts of, 3; see St. James 5.
 Lorinser, and Christianity, the *Bhagavadgītā*
 Sup. 29
 Low countries, and Austria's commercial
 venture .. 85
 Lucius, on coins .. 77, n.
- Macey, Lieut., of Chandernagore, and Austria's
 commercial venture, 57; or Macé 58—60; 63, f.
 Macha, range, unidentified .. 151
 Machi, in Seistan, vaulted roofed palace ruins. 177
 Madagascar, and E. I. Co.'s slaves .. 56
 Madakara, or Mattamy, 12; or Madḍacana, 13;
 fort near Baliapatam .. 12, n.; 13, n.
 Madhia, vil. near Bundelkhand, Vishṇu Tri-
 mūrti from .. 137
 Madhusūdana, g. .. Sup. 12
 Madhyadeśa, and the Pāndavas .. Sup. 11
 Madirā, g., in the *Arthasāstra* .. 51, n.
 Madonna, Bibi Dost .. 208
 Madras, and Austria's commercial venture,
 32, f.; 57—67
 Madura, Madoura .. 151
 Mafoome, riv., E. Africa .. 1
 Magadha, Pratihāra occupation of .. 109, ff.
 Magadha, and the Guptas, 162, 166; 189; and
 the Nandas, 224; and Vinasphari .. 299
 Magha, and Kauṭilya .. 160]
- magic, in India .. 197
Mahābhārata, the, and animal sacrifice, 189, n.;
 and the crocodile, 197, f.; and *Vārttā*, 238;
 and the name Indrasenā, 281—284; and
 the *Bhagavadgītā*, Sup. 1 & n.; 2; 4; 5 n.,
 6, n.; 8—13, n.; 15, & n.; 18—20; 28—32 & n.
Mahābhārata Adīparba, and Nāgas .. 214
Mahābhāshya, of Patañjali, and the word
ghosha, 35 & n.; 36 & n.; 195; and Kṛishṇa,
 Sup. 12 & n.; date .. Sup. 33
 Mahādeva, Trimūrti .. 136, f.
 Mahādevī Anantadevī .. 164
mahaiḷa (Ar. *mahayalah*) river sailing boat,
 Hobson-Jobson .. 244
 Mahā-kshatrapa, title of Nahapāna, 74; of
 Chashtana, etc. .. 154, f.
 Mahārājādhirāja, title of Puragupta .. 164.
 Mahārāshṭra, and the Śālivāhana-śaka, etc., 70;
 73; and Gautamiputra Śātakarni, etc., 149;
 152; 154; and the Abhīras .. 156
 Mahārāshṭri, and the wide sound of *E* and *O*. 226, n.
 Mahāśiva Gupta or Yayāti Keśari, Soina-
 vaṃśī k. .. 210
mahāsūtri, meaning of .. 36
 Mahendra, Mahinda, the Eastern ghāṭs .. 151
 Mahendrapāla, Gumeriya inscrip. of .. 110
 Maheśvara, or Śiva images .. 218
 Mahipāla I., and Bihar .. 111
 Māhishmati, cap. of Anūpa .. 150
 Mahmūd III., of Gujārāt, 124; and Khāndesh 141
 Mahomed of Ghazni, and Sind .. 203; 206
 Mahomedans, Panjabi, and the Indus, 197;
 and Uderolāl .. 199; 201; 203
 maiden, seduction of .. 189
 Mai Pir, Virgin .. 207, f.
 Makara, Macara, sea-monster, and Hinduism,
 198; 214
 Makaradhvaja of Sind, and Mayūradhvaja of
 Gujarat .. 198
makoo, contraction of Ar. *mā yakūn*, there is
 none; Hobson-Jobson .. 196
 Makrizī, and the introduction of the *mihṛāb* .. 175
 Malabar, and Austria's commercial venture, 14; 91, f.
 Mālava, and Vikrama, eras .. 20
 Mālavas, and Mālavas, 75 & n.; and Ushava-
 dāta .. 76
 Malay currency in Trengganu .. 28
 Malaya, southern part of W. Ghāṭs .. 151; 253
 Mālavas, Mālavas and Uthamabhadras .. 75 & n.
 Malaya Varma Deva, Rajput k. of Narwar,
 241; a Pratihāra .. 242, n.
 Mālgaṛh, fort, and Akber .. 181
 Malik 'Ainā, of Khāndesh, Adil Khān II .. 118
 Malik Rāja, reputed founder of Khāndesh, 113;
 or Rāja Ahmad .. 114, f.; 182; 185, f.

- Mallanāga, personal name of Vāṭayāyana .. 189
 Mallikārjuna, copper-plates of .. 79
 Mallikārjunabhaṭṭa, poet .. 94
 Mallinātha, and the *Meghadūta*, 251; and the *Bhagavadgītā* .. Sup. 30
 Mālwa, and Bhūmaka, 73; and Khāndesh, 113; 115—118; 121; 123; and Akbar, 124; 143—146; 148; 180; or Akarāvanti, 150, 153; and the 2nd Kshatrapa dyn., 153; and the Śātakarṇis, 72; 154; and Budhagupta, 162; E., and the Abhira dyn., etc., 156; W., and Kālidāsa .. 264, n.
 Māmala, dist., Māval .. 78
 Mambaras, Nambanus, 77; or Nahapāna .. 78
 Mammata's *Kāvyaaprakāśa*, an additional proof of the genuineness of the *Vṛtīs* on it .. 23
manārat (Ar.) minaret, and marionette .. 196
 Manasā, serpent goddess .. 214
Mānava Dharmaśāstra, and the *Bhagavadgītā* Sup. 32
 Mānavāḥ, School of Philosophy, 187; or Mānavas .. 102; 107; 109
 Manawalli, inscrip. .. 28
 Mandāra, vil., and Mullandram .. 94
 Mandasore, inscrip. and Dr. Fleet, 16; 20; 163; Daśapura, 73, n.; 78; and Nahapāna's coins, 75; and Humayūn .. 123
 Māndū, the vaulting system of the Hindola Mahal at .. 169, ff.
 Māndū, and Akbar .. 141
 Mangalore, and Austria's commercial venture. 12 & n.; 13; or Mangalore .. 15; 91
mānjhi, manjee, master of native boat .. 31
 Manu, and the Sāṅkhya and Yoga systems, 107; 109; and Kauṭilya, 159, n.; and Vārttā, 237 & n.; code and the *Kauṭilya*, 238; and the *Bhagavadgītā* .. Sup. 32
 Manucci, and the Zīārāt of Khwāja Khizr .. 206
 MSS., Kannada, 21, n.; Trilokasāra Palm-leaf, extract from, 22; Māravāḍi, etc., and the wide sound of *E* and *O*, 24, f.; 44—47; 225 n. —229, n.; 232; and Vārttā, 241; 257; 258—263; 275—279; see Orme .. 265 & n.
Manuṣmṛiti, the, and the *Mahābhārata* .. Sup. 32
 Marakh, k., of Tatta .. 198; 201
 Marakh Wah, canal, in Sind .. 204
 Maratha People, a History of, Book-Notice .. 299
 Marāthas, Hindus, and Wm. Bolts .. 2, 3; 6
 Marāṭhi, and the wide sound of *E* and *O* .. 45
 Māravāḍi, MSS., and the wide sound of *E* & *O*, 24, f.; 44—47
 Maria Theresa, and Austria's commercial venture, 57, n.; 58, f.; 63, n.; death of .. 85 & n.
 marionette, (Ar. *manārat*), minaret, Hobson-Jobson .. 196
 marriage, customs of Thakurs of Sind .. 203
 Marseilles, and Wm. Bolts .. 91
 Martand, Kashmir, Sun temple .. 218; 220
 Marwari, the wide sound of *E* and *O* in it. 225—232
mashi, Ar., to go, and *imshi* .. 196
 Mashita, frontier fort, Hauran dist. .. 177
 material, of Aśokan pillars .. 292
 material interests, stray expressions of thought on, in Ancient Europe, 233; in the Ancient East, 234, f.; or concerns. 236, ff.; and the Chaldeans .. 256
 Māth inscrip. .. 300
 Mathurā museum .. 296
mati, earthen pot .. 202
 Mattamy, for Madakara .. 12
 matter, the theory of, in the *Bhagavadgītā*, Sup. 24—27
 Maudgalya, *rishi*, Mudgala .. 281 & n.; 282 & n.
 Maurya, dyn., and the Andhras, etc. .. 70; 71
 Mauryan empire, and Kauṭilya .. 158
 Mauryana .. 291, ff.
 Mauryas, their god-idols .. 51 & n.; 101
 Māval, Māmala, dist. .. 78
 Max Müller, and the *Bhagavadgītā* .. Sup. 29
 Māyā, m. of Buddha .. Sup. 13
Māyā, the Cosmic Illusion .. Sup. 3; 7
mā yakūm, Ar., it is becoming nothing, and *makoo* .. 196
 Mayūra, contemporary and rival of Bāṇa-bhaṭṭa .. 167, f.
 McKennie, Capt. J., 1; or McKenny, and Wm. Bolts .. 2
 meat-eating, 189, n.; and *samāja* .. 221
 Mecca, and al-Walīd .. 174
 Medinah, mosque, and the *mīhrāb* .. 175
 Meerut pillar .. 291
 Megasthenes, on Chandragupta, 53; 55, n.; and the Andhras, 70; and Krishna .. Sup. 18
Meghadūta, the, and Jinasena, 18; a difficulty in it .. 251, ff.
 Meghavarṇa, k. of Ceylon .. 20
 Mehar, in Sind, Ghorāi centre .. 203
 memorials, in Austria's commercial venture 61—66
 Menander, coins of .. 74
 Mendeff, Manoel, Austrian quartermaster .. 67
 Merjaniyeh mosque, date .. 175
 Mers, from Sind .. 198
 Meru, mt., 168; and Maudgalya, 281; and Svetadvipa .. Sup. 15
 Mesopotamia, the spread of Hobson-Jobson in .. 196; 244
 Mesopotamian method of vault-building .. 172; 177
metabletike, unnatural exchange .. 234, n.
 Mettaippāḍi, Sansk. Talpagiri, an *agrahāra*, N. Arcot dist. .. 94, f.; 100

- Mexico, and the Sun-god** 217
- Michell, Peter, E. I. Co.'s servant** 85
- migration, Ābhira, into India** 35, f.
- Mihirakula, and the Gupta Era, New Light on** 16, ff.
- Mihirakula, defeated, 163 & n.; and arly heliolatry** 219
- mīhrāb, the, date of introduction** 175
- Mikail, Archangel, and Khwāja Khizr** 206
- Mīmāṃsā, system of philosophy, 106; 109; 257; and the Vedānta** . . Sup. 6 & n., 7 & n. 8 34
- Mīmāṃsā Sūtras** 157
- Mīmāṃsā, two** 101; 106, f.
- minbar, in Aleppo mosque, and curved character** 176, n
- Minhāju-d-din, historian, and Chāhaḍa Achāri Rāḍā of Ranthambhor** 243
- Minnagara, cap. of Nahapāna's kingdom, 77; several places of the name, identification of mirdāsi, hereditary position**
- Mir Jā'fir, Nawāb Nāzim, 267, n.; 268 & n.; and Omichund, 269; 273; Meer Jaffier** . . 270; 274
- Mir Kāsim, son-in-law of Mir Jā'fir** 268 & n.
- Mir Khudāyār Khān Lāti, Yar Lutf Khān** . . 267 & n.
- Mirzās, overran Khāndesh** 142
- Mirza Sahib, and Ta'lib-i-ibn Ustād** 206
- Mlechchhas, the Abhīras** 35, f.
- Moab, the, steppe of Balga** 173, f.
- Modoura, Madurā** 151
- Mogul, Empire, 44; rule, in the Panjab** 203
- Moguls, of Surat and Wm. Bolts, and the E. I. Co.** 2, 3; 5
- Monastery of St. George, in Samel, 172; monasteries, in Orissa** 209
- money-lending, 233; and Vārtā (usury) 234n.; 237, f.**
- monks, Buddhist, and Ushavadāta** 74—76
- monotheistic religion, established by Krishna. Sup. 9; 11; 16; or monotheism** . . Sup. 17; 21
- monotheists, the Daryāpanthis** 202; 204
- Moon-god, image** 218
- Moors, and Khwāja Khizr** 206
- Morvi, copper-plate** 16, f.
- Moslem, cult, in Sind** 204, f.
- Mosques, at Kusair al-Hallābāt, Medinah, first Egyptian, Ibn-Tūlun, (Cairo), Khan Orthma, etc., 175 & n.; Merjaniyeh, Aleppo, el-Aksa (Jerusalem) as-Salih Talā'i, 176 & n.; Dilāwar Khān, Lat Masjid at Dhar, 177; Asirgarh, 185; of Khwāja Khizr** 206
- Mount, Abu, 168; Meru** 168; 281; Sup. 15
- Mountain ranges, in dominions of Gautamiputra** 151
- Mrigāṅka, deer symbol** 137
- Mubārak, of Khāndesh, 123, f.; II, and Akbar** . . 144
- Mubārak Khān, of Khāndesh, 118; I** 185, f. |
- Mubārak Shāh, of Khāndesh, and Akbar, 141; 182; II** 183—186
- Mubāraku'ddaula, Nawāb Nāzim of Bengal** . . 29, n.
- Mudgagiri, Munger, and Nārāyaṇapāla** . . 109; 111
- Mudgala, rājā of N. Pañchōla dyn., or a fishi,** 280; 282—284
- Mudgalāni, wife of Mudgala, and Indrasena,** 280, 282
- Mudrārāksasa, the, and Kauṭilya, 158, n.; or Cāṇakya** 190, n
- Mughal, emperors, their firmans, etc., to Svetāmbara Church, 140; empire, 143; and the Dakan** 148, f.
- Mughals, and the Dakan** 178, f.
- Muhammad I., Bahmanī, 114, f.; II, 114; 143; and Akbar** 144
- Muhammad I., of Khāndesh** 122
- Muhammad bin Tughlaq, of Delhi, 113—115; tomb** 176
- Muhammad Qutb Qutb Shāh of Golkondah** . . 178
- Muhammad Shāh I., Muhammad I. of Gujarat** 185, f.
- Muhammad Shāh II., of Khāndesh, 141, f.; 184—186**
- Muhammadian, architecture, of the Haurān, 170; 175, f.; period, of Maratha history** . . 300
- Muhammadans, the Umayyads, 174; and Mōdū** 177
- Mūlaka, co., and Gautamiputra** 150 & n.
- Mūlasthn, Multan** 218
- Mullandram, poets of, and the śāsana writers of the Vijayanagara dynasty, 79; and Māndāra, 94; 97, f.; or Praudhadōvārāyapuram, 99, f.**
- Mullens, J., Austrian sailor and Wm. Bolts** . . . 61
- Multan, and Sufi learning, 205; or Mūlasthn, and Sun worship** 218
- Munger, Mudgagiri** 109, 111
- Muntakhab-af-Lubāb, the, and the Fārūqis** . . 183
- Murād Sulṭān, 148; 179; death of** 180
- Murañjamura copper plate of Yayāti Kośari** . . 211
- Muriya, Chandragupta** 223
- Murshidābād, and Wm. Watts, etc. (1757) 265 & n.—270; 273, f.**
- Murtaza Nizām Shāh I., of Aḥmadnagar. 142—146**
- Museums, Indian, 294; Mathurā, Victoria and Albert** 296
- Mushta'qi, nom-de-plume of Ta'lib-i-ibn Ustād, 205**
- Muslim, tradition, of Alexander 245 (Arabic)** . . 246
- Mussalmans, and Khwāja Khizr, 204; and Hindus** 205; 207
- Muttagadūr inscrip.** 289, n.
- Muttra, and Sun worship** 218; 220
- Muzaffar I., of Gujarāt, 115, f.; II, 122; III** 141, f.
- Muzaffar Husain Mirzā, and the Dakan** . . 180 f.

- Nabatæan Agriculture*, a work by Ibn Wahshiyah, 235 & n.; 256
- Nabatæan tombs, near Damascus, the architecture of, etc., and the Hauran .. 169, f.
- Nabatæans, Arabs of S. E. Palestine .. 169; 235
- Nabob, the Mogul; and Wm. Bolts, 2; 5; 8; 11; or Haidar Ali Khan, 12; 13; or Mubārakuddaula .. 29—31; 34
- Nadup, Ladup, S. of Kalimati, stone implements from .. 135
- Naga, worship, and the Mauryas, etc., 51 & n.; Nāgas and Buddhism .. 214
- Nāgaṇakavi, court poet of the Ballālas .. 97, f.
- Nāganikā, q. to Śātakarṇi .. 71; 72 & n.
- naḡara, unit of a settlement .. 35
- Nahapāna, and the Śātavāhanas, 73 & n.; coins of, 74 & n.—76; or Nambanos, 77, f.; or Nahavāṇa, 112; and Gautamīputra, etc. .. 149, f.; 154
- Naib Sūbadār, Naib Suba, deputy governor of Bengal .. 29
- Nainārāchārya, and Kavimalla .. 100
- Nala, and Nālāyani, or Indrasenā, 281, f.; or Bāhuka .. 283, f.
- Nalagiri, Narwar .. 241, f.
- Nālanda, Bargaoon .. 111
- Nālāyani, Nārāyani, or Nala .. 281
- Nambanus, Mambaros, Nahapāna .. 77, f.
- Nānāghāt cave inscrip. .. 71 & n., 72
- Nānāngola, perhaps Nārgol, W. of Sanjān .. 73
- Nancowry, Nicaoree, a Nicobar isl., and Austria's commercial venture .. 13; 61
- Nanda, k., 193; and the Hāthigumpha inscrip. 223, f.
- Nandas, 55; and Chāṇakya .. 101; 103
- Nandavardhana and Pāṇini, 138; or Nandivardhana, and the Hāthigumpha inscrip. 224
- Nandin, and the Kāmasāstra .. 188
- Nandurbār, tn., in Gujārāt .. 115—117; 124; 141
- Nanhū, Muḡaffar III., of Gujārāt .. 141
- Naples, and Wm. Bolts .. 92
- Nārada, and *Vārta*, 238; and Śvetadvīpa. Sup. 15, f.
- Narasimha Deva, Gaṅga k., copperplates of, 210; 212
- Narasimhagupta, k., 17; and Bālāditya, date, 161; 163, f.; 166
- Narasimha Nātha, temple, Orissa .. 216
- Nārāyaṇa, Sup. 12; 15; Vāsudeva and Kṛishṇa, Sup. 18
- Nārāyaṇapāla, k., grants of .. 110, f.; 165
- Nārāyaṇi, and Indrasenā .. 181, ff.
- Narendra, Nandenduh, etc., names of Chandragupta .. 55
- Nārgol, Nānāngola .. 73, n.
- Narnāla, tn. .. 142
- Narwar, Nalagiri, and the Yajvapāla dyn. 241, ff.
- Narwar *Kacheri* inscrip. .. 242, ff.
- Nasarpur, in Sind, and the River god, etc., 198; 200—204
- Nāsik inscrips., 70, f.; 73—78, n.; 151—153; 222
- Nasir Khān, of Khāndesh and Jahāngir .. 186
- naṡa, itinerant actors .. 221, f.
- naṡaka, or drama, of Rāma .. 96; 223, n.
- Nature, g., and Uderolāl .. 203; 206
- Navāgrama, etc., Puttur, in N. Arcot .. 95; 100
- Nawāb Surāju 'ddaula, and the British, 265 & n.—270
- Nayapāla, k., of E. Magadha .. 111
- Necropolis, at Persepolis .. 293
- Negus, k. of Abyssinia .. 174
- Nellūru inscrip. .. 287
- Nemāra inscrip. .. 177
- Nemicandra, on Mihirakula .. 19
- New Light on the Gupta Era and Mihirakula (contd. from Vol. XLVI, p. 296) .. 16, ff.
- New Testament, and the *Bhagavadgītā* .. Sup. 29
- Nicks, J., E. I. Co.'s servant .. 84
- Nicobar Isls. and Austria's commercial venture, 13; 61; 62; 66
- Nigliya, pillar .. 291
- Nilakanṡhakavi, Brāhmaṇa, of Mandāra .. 94
- Nirgrantha Jainas, and Kalkirāja .. 18
- Nirukta of Yāska .. 195
- Nirvāṇa, the word, and the *Bhagavadgītā*. Sup. 28
- Nṡtisāra, a work by Kāmandaki, 104; age of, 108; and Kauṡilya .. 109
- nṡtisāstra, political ethics .. 239
- nṡvi, and *akṡhaya-nṡvi*, explained .. 51
- Niḡam Shāhi kings of Aḡmadnagar .. 120; 148, f.
- Nizāmat, Government of the Nawab Nazim of Bengal, etc. .. 29 & n.; 34
- Note, on the Yajvapālas or Jajapellas of Narwar .. 241, ff.
- Notes, from Old Factory Records .. 56; 84
- Notes on Kālidāsa, I., Early references, 246, ff.; II., Kālidāsa and Bhāravi, 249, f.; III., A Difficulty in the *Meghadūta*, 281, f.; IV. Second Difficulty, in the *Raghuvansha* .. 253, ff.
- Notes, on Aśoka Inscriptions—the term *Aśashu* 297
- Nṡsimha, form of Viṡṇu .. Sup. 6, n.
- Nṡivarmma, Rajput k. of Narwar .. 241
- Nuno da Cunha, Port. governor of Diu .. 123
- Nūr-ad-Dīn, and the Aleppo mosque .. 176, n.
- Nyāya, philosophy, 101 & n.; 104 & n.; 106; 108; 109
- Nyāya-Bhāṡhya, the, 102 & n.; 103 & n.; 107; 109
- Nyāya-Sāstra .. 103; 107
- Nyāya-Sūtra .. 102; 104, n.

- O* and *E*, the wide sound of, with special reference to Gujarātī (contd. from Vol. XLVI, p. 304) 24, ff.; 37, ff.; 225, ff.
- Oakley, Ch., E. I. Co's. servant 59
- Occupation, Prātihāra, of Magadha 100, ff.
- Ostroi, exclusive privilege of trade 90; 92
- Odra, *stāpas* 209
- Oeconomics* (Xenophon) 233
- Officers, of E. I. Co., obliged to go through the ranks 84
- oikonomike*, household management 234
- Old Factory Records, Notes from 56; 84
- Oldenberg, and Buddha Sup. 10
- Oldenburgh, Duchy 6 n.
- Om*, holy syllable Sup. 6 n.
- Omar, (Aumec, 'Umr) Beg, agent for Mir Jā'fir 269
- Omichund, New Light on 265, ff.
- Onore, tn., E. I. Co. 13; 15
- origin, Indian, of the *Bhagavadgītā* Sup. 28
- Orissa, shrines in, 209, f.; ornaments of, 216 f.; 224
- Orme, MSS., and India, 265 & n.; 266 & n.; 267, n.; 268, n.; 269, n.; 270, n.; 273 & n.
- Osiab, Jodhpur State, Sun temple 219
- Ostrogoth, Roderick 174
- Oxus, Vaukṣū, riv., 17; and the Hūpa emp. 19
- Ozenc, Ujjini, cap. of k. Tiastenes 153
- paḍika*, *patika*, a coin 76, f.
- pahlā pallan*, Pily Phultum, first regiment. 7 & n.
- paintings, wall, in Kuṣair 'Amrah 174
- Paithana, 69; Paithan, Baithana, Pratishtāna, etc. 150 & n.; 151; 153
- Pāla, dyn., of Bengal, 109—111; inscrips. 165
- palaces, ruins of, in the Hauran, 172; 174; of Cyrus, Darius and Xerxes 293
- Pāli, texts Sup. 10, n.
- Palm-leaf, MS., the *Trilokasāra*, extract from, 22; record, Puri, 210; temple, Puri 218
- Pampe, Hampe 287
- Pāñchālas, Aryans Sup. 13, n.
- Pāñchālī 264
- Pāñcharātrā, and *Bhāgavata*, Sup. 12; and Nārada, Sup. 15; and Christianity Sup. 16; 18—20
- Pāṇḍavas, and Droṇāchārya, 240; and Kṛishṇa, Indrasenā, 281, f.; and Kṛishṇa, etc. Sup. 9; 11—13; 20
- Pandion, Pāṇḍya k. 151
- Pāṇḍya, co., and Aśoka institutions 48
- Pāṇini, and the wide sound of *E* and *O*, 46; on Śiva, etc., 51, n.; 84; and Kātyāyana, dates of, 138; and the Kṛishṇa sect, etc. Sup. 12; 13 & n.; 17
- Panjab, and Akbar, 145; and the Thakurs 203
- pantheistic doctrines, and the *Bhagavadgītā*, Sup. 3—5; 19; 35
- panther, *wāgh* 197
- Panuco, tn., and erotic sculptures 217
- Pār, Pārādā, riv. 14 & n.
- Paramādirāja, Yaramādirāja 242
- Pārāśarā school of philosophy 187, f.
- Parāśurāma, in temple sculpture 215
- Pārḍi, Surat dist., Dahrasena grant at 78
- Pargiter, Mr., and the *Ṛigveda-Saṃhitā*, 280; 282—284
- Parisā, council of ministers 52 & n.
- Parīṣiṣṭaparva, the, and Čāṇakya 190, n.
- Parivata, Pāriyātra, part of the Vindhya-range. 151
- Parṇadatta, governor of Surāshtra, under Skandagupta 164
- Parṇāsā, Barṇāsā, riv. 73, n.
- Pārtha-Parākrama Vyāyoga, of Parāmara Prahādanadeva, Book-Notice 168
- Parthia, and St. Thomas, etc. Sup. 15; 16
- Parthian, rise, date 138
- Parthians, and vaulted roofing, 172; or Pārthivas 138
- Pārvatī, g., image 137
- parwāna*, Mogul 5
- Pāṭaliputra, and Maurya worship, 51; the courtesans of, and Dattaka, 189; ear festival, etc. 209; 297, f.
- Patañjali, and *Mahābhāshya* and the word *ghoṣa*, 35, f.; 195; and Maurya worship, etc., 51 & n.; 138; and Kṛishṇa, etc., Sup. 12; 17; 22; 33
- Pāthri, and the Mughals 178
- Patitṭhāna, Paithan 150, n.
- Patua 291
- pattamār*, express messenger 7; 8
- Pattanesvari, temple, and the Sun-god 219
- Paṭṭar, Putterah, Paṭṭara (Malayālam), foreign Brāhmans 8 & n.
- Pearle, the frigate 56
- pedigree, of the *śaśanam* composers of the Vijayanagara empire 81
- Pelagios, phil. *dux*, and Kaṣr al-Ba'ik 172
- pepper, trade, and Bimlipatam, 10; 11; 13; 15; 89; 91
- periods, of the Bhāgavata religion Sup. 19
- Periplus, the, and Greek coins 74; 77; 78
- Perriman, J., Capt. of the *Pearle* 56
- Persepolis, the Necropolis, etc. 293; 295
- Persia, 174; 206; and Mauryan sculpture. 191—197
- Persian lang., and Gujarati words, 26; and Indian, 44, f.; tradition, and Alexander etc. 245, f.

- Persians, and vaulted roofing, etc. 172; 177
 Petra, Nabatean co., and Rome 170
 Petros, see Arratoon 268
 phallic symbols, in temples 217
 Philosophical systems, Indian, European, and Jainism 140
 Philosophy, Indian, 101—109; and religion, combination of Sup. 14
 phirmaunds, of trade, Mogul 4; 5
 phonetic process, and the wide sound of *E* and *O* 37
 Phousdar, *faujdar*, 31; *fouzdar* 32
 pillars, of victory, 94; 96; 213, n.; see Mauryana 291, ff.
 Pīṇḍitakāvada, tn., and Ushavadāta 73
 Pir Muḥammad Khān, governor of Malwa 124
 Pir Patho, cult of 204; 207
 Pīṣāṇipadaka, vil., in Nāsik grant 152
 Pischel, Prof., and the wide sound of *E* and *O*, 43 & n.
 P'i-shen-p'o pu-lo, for Bishnavpur, Vishnupur, 204, n.
pitis, cash, in Trengganu 28
 Plassey, Palāsi, battle, etc., and Omichund, 269, f.; 273, f.
 Plato, and economics 233 & n.
 Pliny, and the Andhras 70
 Poets, of Mullandram, Vivēkapatramā 79, ff.; 94, ff.
 Poksharas, Pushkar, W. of Ajmer, three places of the name 75 & n.
 Polemaios, Sri-Pūṣumāvi 151; 153
 political economy, first use of the name .. 234
 political history, of the Dekkan, of the Śāta-vāhana Period 69, ff.; 149, ff.
 Polity, 236; 240; 257; see *Dandāniti* 102
 Polyacatt, Pulicat 61
 Pondicherry, and Wm. Bolts 12
 Poonah, and Wm. Bolts. .. 3, 4 6, 7, 8; 10
 Popham, Step., E. I. Co.'s servant .. 67, f.
 porcelain, trade in 89; 91
 Port L'Orient, and Austria's commercial venture 57—59
 Portuguese, trade, in India 3; 4
 Porus, and the stratagem used by Alexander, 245, f.
 Potalaka, Potigai (Greek Bettigo) 48, f.
 Potana, Potali, cap. of Aśaka 150
 Potiyam or Potigai, mt., or Agastya's Hill .. 48, f.
 pounder, stone, from Chota Nagpur 136
 Prætorium, at Umm-al-Jamal 172
 Prahlaḍanadeva, Paramāra Yuvarāja, writer .. 168
 Prajñā, wisdom 217
prajñāpāṇas, public proclamations of Aśoka .. 52
 Prākṛit or Apabhraṃśa, and the wide sound of *E* and *O* .. 25, f.; 37—41; 43—45; 231
praṇaya, gift of affection, a tax 50, f.
prapṣe, gratuitous distribution of water .. 74
 Prapatti-yoga Sup. 23
 Prāsāḍavallabha, ancestor of Arunagiri .. 94; 96
Prasannakāvya, a work by Bhāskarārya .. 96
 Pratihāra Occupation of Magadha 109, ff.
pratijād, coronation oath 50
 Pratishṭhāna, or Paiṭhan, birthplace of Śātavāhana, 69; cap. of Mulaka, 150; Baiṭhana .. 153
prati-vedakas, ushers 54 & n.
 Praudhadēvarāya, k., copperplates of, 79; Mahārāya, and the poet Śōṇādrinātha. 95; 96; 100
 Praudhadēvarāyapuram, or Mullandram. .. 99, f.
 Pravarasena II., Chammak grant of 165
 predestination, and the *Bhagavadgītā* .. Sup. 26
 prehistoric architecture 170
 pre-Mussalman, times in Sind 197
 Prester, John, of Abyssinia, legend of .. 246
 Princeton expedition and architecture in the Hauran 172
 Prithvi, earth goddess 216
 Prithvīrāja, Chāhamāna k., coins of 243
 Priyadarśi, and Aśoka 51
 proclamations, of Priyadarśi, 51; *prajñāpāṇas* 52
 prospectus, of Wm. Bolts' Company, 85, ff.; note on 88, ff.
 prostitutes, intercourse with 189
 Provincia Arabia, Nabatean kingdom 170
 Ptolemaios, Klaudios, and W. India 153
 Ptolemy, on Minnagara, 78; contemporary with Gautamiputra, etc. 150, 151
 Ptolemies, fall of their empire 169
 Pugar, disciple of Uderolāl .. 200, 201 & n.; 203
 Pulicat, Polyacatt 61
pulla, fish 207
 Pūṣumāvi and Pūṣumāyī, 75 n.; Polemaious. 150-155
 Puṇḍarikapura, Chidambaram 94
 Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti, N. Bengal .. 162; 165
pura, (Pāli) meaning, capital town 71
 Puragupta, 17; date, 161, f.; and Skandagupta, suggested identity of 163 & n.—166
 Purāṇa literature, and the *Bhagavadgītā*, Sup. 8; 9; 30; 32
Purāṇas, and the Andhras, etc. 71, f.; and *Vārta*, etc. 235 & n.—239 & n.
 Purandara Kēśari, possibly a Somavaṃsi k... 211
 Puranic list, and Post-Āndhrabhṛitya rulers, identification of 298
 Puri, tn., and the palm-leaf record, 210; and the Vateśvara tree, 214; temple ornaments, etc. 216, f.
 Purushottama, g. Sup. 12; 21
 Pushkar, Poksharas, W. of Ajmer .. 75 & n.; 76
 Puttūr, Navāgrahāra, N. Arcot, and Śōṇādrinātha 95, f.

- Qadr Khān Bahādur Shāh of Khāndesh .. 179
 qastal, a *castra* 177
quffah, *gufar*, a river-tub 244
 Quli Qutb Shāh of Golcondah, 122; and Humā-
 yun 123
 Qutb Saheb, Qutb-ud-din Bakhtyar Kaki of
 Ush, and Khwāja Khizr 206
- rabies, cure for 207, f.
 Raghu 247
Raghuvamśa, the, and the Tāmraparni riv., 49;
 and Bāpa, etc., Subandhu's reference to, 247
 —249; a difficulty in 253
 Rāhu, planet 112
 Rai, inscrip., of Asalla Deva 241
 Rai Durlabh, *Diwān* to Surāju'd-daula .. 269; 273, f.
 Rāja Ahmad, reputed first ruler of Khāndesh,
 114; 182; 185, f.
 Rāja 'Alī, 'Alī Khān, or Adil Shāh IV.
 144—149; 183—186
 Rājanātha, son of Arunagiri, possibly two
 poets of the name 94; 96—98
 Rājanāthapura, 94; or Talpagiri .. 100
 Rājanāthēśvara, *Viṅga*, at Rājanāthapura .. 94
 Rājārāja I, inscrips. of 99
 Raja Sirkap, Panjab Śāka hero .. 263
 Rājasthāni, and the wide sound of *E* and *O*.
 41, 42; 44. 225—232
Rājataranginī, the, and Mihirakula .. 18. 19
 Rājēndracholadēva I, Gaṅgaikonda Chōla. 94. 99
 Rajmahal, and the Sun-god 219
 Rājputānū, and Bhūmaka, 73; and the Māla-
 vas 75 & n.
 Rājputa of Narwar, genealogical table of .. 241
 Rājyapāla, Bargaon inscrip. of 111
 Rāma, *kāvya* of, 96; and *Vārtā*, 238; and Viś-
 vāmitra, 240; and Viṣṇu Sup. 17
 Rāma-ism Sup. 19; 20
 Rāmakavi, author of the Sans. *Subhadrā-
 Dhanañjaya-nāṭaka* 97, f.
 Rāmānuja, system of Sup. 4; 9; 19; 23
 Rāmapāla, and E. Magadha 111
 Rāmatirtha, tn., and Ushavadāta 73
Rāmāyaṇa, the, and the word *ghoṣha*, 35; and
Vārtā 233 & n.; 237 & n.; 238 & n.; 256
 Ramsay, And., of Bombay, and Wm. Bolts,
 9 & n. 10
 Ranga II, copperplates of, 79; VI 81
 ranks, E. I. Co.'s officers obliged to go through
 them 84
 Ranthambhor, district and battle 243
rasa, sentiments, symbols of, in temples .. 217
- Rāshtrakūṭas, and the W. Chulukyas of Bādāmi,
 286 n.
 Rāshtrakūṭa k., Kriṣṇarāja III 19
 Ratanrai, Arora, a name of Uderolāl .. 199
 Rataul plate inscrip. 243
 Ratha Yātrā, Car festival 212
 Ratnapi Sher, Uderolāl 202
 Ratnaprabhā, a hell, and Kalkirāja .. 18
rava, *sāri*, bodycloth 202
 Ravenscroft, Mr., E. I. Co.'s servant .. 4
 Razi-al-Mulk, Ahmad II., of Gujarat .. 141
 re-birth, and birth, in the *Bhagavadgītā*. Sup. 25. 26
 record, palm-leaf, in Puri 210
 Records, Old Factory, Notes from 56; 84
 redwood, from Kaliot, Austrian trade in,
 32—34; 64 & n.
 references, to places mentioned in copper-plate
 grants 79—81
 reformadoe, volunteers 84
 Religion, in Sind, (contd. from Vol. XLVI,
 p. 208) 197, ff.
 Religion, monotheistic, of Krishna, etc. Sup.
 9—13; and philosophy Sup. 14
 Renaud, Nic., Austrian seaman 68
Republic, The. (Plato) and economics 233
 Revised Chronology of the Last Gupta Em-
 perors 161, ff.
 revision, of the *Bhagavadgītā*, date .. Sup. 30. 31
 Revival, Hindu, in Sind 203, f.
Rigveda, and monotheism Sup. 16
Rigveda-Saṃhitā, and the name Indrasenā,
 280. 282. 283 & n.
 Rikshavat, or Achhavata, Satpura Hills .. 151
 Rishabhadatta, and Ushavadāta 73 & n.
 Ritchie, R., E. I. Co.'s agent, Vienna .. 68; 85, ff.
 River cult in Sind, see Religion in Sind .. 197, ff.
 Rock Edicts, identification of Tambapānri. 48, f.
 Rock edicts, I., 221; 297 & n. XIII, 71; inscrip.,
 Junagadh 154; 162, n.
 Roderick, the Ostrogoth 174
 Rodriguez, Domingo, of Tellicherry, and
 Wm. Bolts 10
 Rohankhed, battle 147
 Roman, Emperors, coins of, 74; and Kad-
 phises, 77; architecture, in the Haurān,
 170; 177; art 294
 Romans, and the Lakhmid k. Imrulques .. 177
 roofing, systems, see Vaulting System .. 169, ff.
 Rossetti, J., and Wm. Bolts' Company .. 86. 88
 routines, of Aśoka, and of Chandragupta .. 54, n.
 Roy, Protāp Chandra, and the *Bhagavadgītā* ..
 Sup. 1 n.
Royal Henry, ship 31
 Rsis, seers of olden days, and Indian
 philosophical systems 101

- Rudra, or Śiva 218
 Rudradāman, 50; and Gautamīputra Śāta-
 karṇi, etc. 154 & n.; 155
 Rudra-Śātakarṇi 156
 Rudrasena, copperplate grant of 165
 ruins, of Kuṣair-al-Hallābāt, etc. 170
 Rulers, Fārdī, of Khāndesh, list 185, f.
 Rulers, Post-Anhrabhṛitya, of the Puranic list. 298
 Rumbold, Sir Thos., gov. of Madras .. 57 & n., 58
 Rummendei Pillar, 291; inscrip. 294
 Ryan, agent for Wm. Bolts 57
- Sabandhu, and Mallanāga 189
 Sabhāpati, and Śiva 96
 Sabhāpati, Dhakkā Sabhāpati, ancestor of the
 poets of Muḷlandram, 94, f.; a second of the
 name 96; 98
 sacred thread, cut 198
 sacrifices, in Nāpāghat inscrip., 71, 72 & n.;
 animal and vegetable, 189, n.; in the *Bhaga-
 vadgītā* 6 & n., 7, n.; 18; 32
 Sadāśiva-dēva-rāya, copperplate of 81
 Sadonon, the Śātavāhanas 150
 Sages, Indian, and Śvetadvīpa, and Alexandria,
 Sup. 15, 16; Kshatriya, and Yoga teaching,
 Sup. 32
 Sahya, Hills, Sahyādri 151
 St. Francis 197 & n.
 St. George, fort, and Austria's commercial
 venture, 7; 56—59; 61—63; 69; 84; monas-
 tery, in Sameh 172
 St James, court of, and Vienna, 5; 63; 65; or
 London 3
 St. Paul, Epistles of, and the *Bhagavadgītā*. Sup. 29
 St. Thomas, and Parthia Sup. 15
 St. Thomé, near Madras 58
 Śaiva Brāhmaṇas, and Rājendra Chōladēva I. 99
 Śāka, year, 16, 17; era, 20; 76; rulers, of the
 Panjab 263
 Śaka-kāla, Śaka-nṛipakāla, and other variants. 70
 Śākalya-Malla, court poet, and Nainārāchārya. 100
 Śākapūṇi, on Trivikrama Viṣṇu worship .. 84
 Śākas, and Daśapura, 78; the Pārthivas .. 138
 Śakasena, Siri-Śāta, k. 155
 Śakti, female counterpart of Śiva 136 & n.
 Śaktiśīrī, Hakuśīrī, son of Śātakarṇi 72
 Śikuntala, the, 247—249; and Subandhu .. 264
 Sukyamā, Yāma 299
 Saladin, and the el-Aksa mosque, Jerusalem. 176, n.
 Salīm, Sulṭān, Jahangir 181
 Śalivāhana, Śātavāhana 69
 Śalivāhana-śāka 70
- saltpetre, trade in 266 & n.
 Sālūr, inscrip. 288
śāruddharyudayam, a *kāvya*, attributed to Rāja-
 nātha 97—99
 Śāluva Narasiṃha, Vijayanagara k. 97
 salvation, in the *Bhagavadgītā* .. Sup. 25, f.
saṁdja, word in Rook Ediot I. 221, ff.
 Samarrā, and Muhammadan buildings .. 175
 Sām̐ba; son of Kṛishṇa 213
 Sambalpore, and the Somavaṁsi kings .. 210, n.
 Sambu, and the Solar cult 218
 Sāmdīpani, preceptor of Kṛishṇa 240
 Sameh, example of vaulted roof, at 172
 Samjaya, charioteer Sup. 20; 35
 Saṁkara 105
 Sāṁkhyā, system of philosophy, 102; 105 &
 n.: 107—109; and the *Bhagavadgītā*. Sup.
 14; 22—26; 28; 34
 Sāṁkhyā-Yoga, monotheism, Sup. 6 & n.: 8; 17;
 19; 21; 27; 35
 Samson, legend 208
 Samudra, and the Brahmins of Sind 197
 Samudragupta and Meghavarna of Ceylon .. 20
saṁvāha, unit of a settlement 35
sanads, Mughal, to Śvetāmbara Church .. 140
 Sāñchi, *stūpa*, inscrip., 72; or topes, 214;
 pillar 291
Sanctissimo Sacramento, Austrian ship .. 32
 Saṇḍa inscrip. 288
Sandhyā, prayer, and Aśoka 54
 Saṅkara, 194; and the *Śvetāsvatara Upanishad*,
 Sup. 15; or Saṅkarāchārya, and the Bhāga-
 vata-Pancharātra religion Sup. 18
 Saṅkarāchārya *maṭha*, or Kāmakoṭīśvara *pīṭha*,
 94; 96
 Sāṁkhyā, philosophy 109
 Saṅkisa, column 291, f.
 Sanskrit, and the wide sound of *E* and *O*, 25;
 26; 28, n.; 37—41; 43 & n.—46; 229 & n.,
 230; in inscrip., 111; texts, and *Vārīṭā*, 238
 & n., 239; 256; and the Sudras 240
 Sanskrit Poems, by Mayūra, and Bāṇa's *Candi-
 Sataka*, Book-Notice 167
 Sāranātha inscrip. 52; 298 & n.
 Sarasvatī, and dramatic art 221
 Sārathi, charioteer, of the sun 136; 280
Sarhang, *sarang*, native skipper 31
 Sarika, demon 197
 Sarnath, inscrips., 16, f.; image, etc. 161—163;
 166, f.; column 291, f.; 294
śāsana, orders, 52, n.; documents, 79; writers
 of the Vijayanagara kings 98, f.
śāsanam, composers and engravers of the
 Vijayanagara empire, pedigree, etc. .. 82, f.
śāstra, stage of development 101

slaves, of courtesans, 108; of industries, 12;
 102—104; 109; of kings, 159; expositions of,
 190—194; or art, of wealth .. 234 : 256
 Scott, Revd. K., and coins of Nahapāna .. 74, f.
 Scott, H., Customs officer, Calcutta .. 32
 Scrafton, Luke, and Omichund, 267 & n.; 269 & n.; 273
 script, Nabatean 170
 sculpture, remains, of old Indian, 212; see
 Mauryana 291, ff.
 Scythia, co., in Sind 78
 sea, and the Indus 197
 seduction, of a maiden 189
 Sehwan, in Sind, and Uderolāl, etc. .. 200 : 202—205
 Select Secret Committee, later the Foreign De-
 partment 266 & n., 269
 Seleucids, fall of 169
 Seleucos, and Chandragupta 70
 Sen, dyn., Bengal, sun worshippers .. 219
 Senart, on Kṛishṇa Sup. 10, f.
 Serampore, Śrīrāmpur, and Wm. Bolts. .. 30; 58
 Seringapatam, and Wm. Bolts 12, f.
 Seriva, ancient Andhapura 71
 serpent, in temple sculpture 215
 Śeṣha, serpent, reputed father of Śātavāhana .. 70
 Setagiri, hills, unidentified 151
 Seths, Bengal Hindu financial community, and
 Omichund, etc. .. 267 & n.; 268 : 270, n.
 settlement, Aryan, units of 35
 Settlements, projected Austrian, in Gogo, 7;
 Bimlipatam, 10; Nicobars, 13; E. I. Co.'s,
 in Sumatra, 56; 57; Dutch, etc., Baranagore. 58
 sex, and ethics, etc. 217

Sirīṭana Śrīstana, probably Śrī-Śaila 151
 Sirkap, c. on Taxila site 263
 Siro-Polennais, Śrī-Pulumāvi 153
 Siśuka. Simuka, Andhra conqueror 71
 Śiva, and Mihirakula, 19; and the Mauryas,
 51 & n.; temples, etc., and the *Brāhmaṇas*
 of Mandāra, 94—97; and the Sun-god, 136 &
 n.; 137; or Rudra, 218; Dionysos, Sup. 18 :
 Viṣṇu Hari-Hara Sup. 20
 Śivadatta, Ābhīra k. 156
 Śiva-Śrī-Śātakarṇi, coins of, etc. 155
 Skanda, worshipped by the Mauryas 51
 Skandagupta, 17; his Kahaṇa pillar inscrip.,
 20; and Puragupta, suggested identity. 161—167
 slaughter, and killing, 189, n.; 221; of Bethle-
 ham Sup. 16
 slaves, for E. I. Co., Sumatra 56
 Smith, Hon. Chas., President, Madras .. 61
 Smṛiti, stage of development in Indian spiri-
 tual life 101
Snow Vienna, Austrian ship 61, f.; 65—67
 Society, Triestine, (see Company) 85, ff.
 Sogal, inscrip. 287
 solar, eclipse, 16, f.; cult. see Sun Temple,
 Konarak, 209, ff.; theory, and Buddha. Sup. 10, f.
 Solen, probably variant of Ceylon, Greek for
 Tāmraparṇi riv. 49
 Somadeva, Jaina author, and Mihirakula, 19;
 and Śātavāhana 69
 Somais, Somai, Thakurs, Nasapur .. 201; 203
 Sōmanātha Dikshita, of Mandāra 94

- Somavāli-yōgūnanda-prahasana*, a work by Arunagiri 97 & n., 125, n.
- Somavamsi, kings, of Katak 210
- Somēśvara, Chāhamāna k., coins of 243
- Somēśvara I., W. Chālukya k., 285; or Trailokyamalla Āhavamalla, 289; II., 285, or Bhuvanaikamalla, 289, f.; III., IV. .. 285
- Somo, brother of Uderolāl 200
- Śōṇādrinātha, Arunagirinātha, poet, of Mullandram 94—98
- Śōnagiri, Arunagirinātha 98
- Sondā, Soundah, in N. Kanara, and Austria's commercial venture 13; 15, n.
- Song of Jasavanta Sonegars, date 47
- Song Yong, Chinese pilgrim, on Mihirakula, etc. 19
- Sophist*, Dialogue, (Plato), and economics .. 233
- Śōrpārāga, and Śōpārā, cap. of an ancient dist. 73 & n.; 78
- Soul, the, and Kāmandaki, 108, f.; transmigration of, etc., Sup. 2; 4; 5; 21; 23—25; 27, f.
- sound, the wide, of *E* and *O*, (contd. from Vol. XLVI, p. 304) .. 24, ff.; 37, ff.; 225, ff.
- Spirit, the theory of, in the *Bhagavadgītā* .. Sup. 24—26; 31; 34
- Spiritual, life, Indian, stages of, 101; and the Kshatriyas Sup. 9
- Spring, in the *Raghuvamśa* 253; 254 & n.
- springs, in Sind 204 & n.
- śraddadhānān*, superstitious devotees 51
- Śravaṇa Belgolā, in Mysore, statue in 139
- Śri, goddess, in the *Arthadāstra*, 51, n.; and Mahā Lakshmi 216
- Śri-Chandra-Sāti, k., coins of 155, f.
- Śrikanthāgrāma, the, and the poets of Mullandram 89, f.
- Śrinangaraya II., the Arivil[māṅgalam plates of, 79
- śringāra rasa*, erotic passion, and temple sculpture (see erotic, 216) 217
- Śri-parvata, Śri-ṭana, hill 151
- Śri-Pulumāvi, Siro Polemaios 153
- Śriraṅga, II., copperplates of 81
- Śri-Saila, k., Śriṭana 151
- Śrivallabha, and Varatunga Pāṇḍya, copperplates of 81
- stage, the, in ancient India 222
- Staht, Lieut., and Austria's commercial venture 61, f.
- staples, Europe staples, and Austria's commercial venture 10; 15
- State-craft, (see *Dandantti*, 102) science of 102—104; 109
- statues, Gommatēśvara, at Śravaṇa-Belgolā, 139; female, Beasagar 296
- Stedman, Sam., E. I. Co.'s servant 11
- Steppe of Balqa, Moab, and the Umayyads, 173, f.
- Sthāngunduru, *agrahara*, subjects studied there. 257
- Stone, inscrip., Bhimpur 242
- Stormont, Viscount, Sec. of State .. 64 & n.
- Strait Settlements, coinage of 28
- Stratagem, of Alexander, against Porus .. 245, f.
- stāpas*, Sañchi, 72; 216; Buddhist and Jaina, 111; 114; in Odra 209
- Subandhu, and Kālidāsa 247, f.
- Subha-Chandra, Jaina monk 210
- Subhadrā-Dhanañjayandṭaka*, play, by Rāmākavi 97; 125, n.
- Subrahmanyakavi, scholar of Mandāra .. 94
- Sudarśana-laka 162, f.; 164
- Sudasana, vil., in Nasik cave grant .. 152 & n.
- Śūdraka Śātavāhana, and Vikrama .. 112
- Śūdras, and Ābhiras, 35, f.; and *Vārtā*, 237 n.—239, n.; and emancipation Sup. 27
- Suffolk, Earl of, Sec. of State 57 & n.
- Sufi-ism, and Daryāpanthi religion .. 204, f.
- sugar, manufactured by the Austrians .. 13
- Sukkāni*, quarter-master 67
- Sukkar, in Sind 202
- Śukra, Kāvya Uśanas, Uśanas 105
- Sulivan, Ben., of Fort St. George 63
- Sultan. Suratrāna, and Śōṇādrī, 95, f.; Murād, 178—180; Salim, Jahāngir, Khusrāi, and Khāndesh 181; 185, f.
- Sumatra, E. I. Co.'s settlement 56
- Sun Temple, Kanarak, alleged Buddhist influence in 209, ff.
- Sun, and Brahmin etc., 136; 138; worship, in Mexico, 217; in the *Raghuvamśa*, 253—255; and Buddha, Sup. 10; Sūrya Sup. 32
- Śuṅgas, and Śisuka 71
- śapakāra-śāstra*, cooking 239
- Superb*, E. I. Co.'s ship 58
- Sūr, dyn., of Delhi 124
- Surāju'ddaula, and Omichund, etc., 265—270; 273, f.
- Śūrapāla, Vighrapāla 165
- Surāshṭra, Kāthiāwād, 150; 153; and Gautamiputra, etc. 154; 164
- Surat, Mogul's city, and Wm. Bolts, etc. 2; 3; 5; 8; and Kapura 78
- Surāṭha, Surāshṭra 150
- Surwaya, inscrip. of Gaṇapati Rāja .. 241
- Sūrya, Sun g., 138; or Sūryya, 214; and the warrior caste Sup. 32
- sūtra*, style, and *bhāṣya* style 190—192
- Suvarṇamukha, tn., and Ushavadāta .. 73
- Suvarṇānābha, writer 189
- Suvarṇas, coins 76
- Svayambhu, son of Tyāgarāja, of Mandāra, possibly two of the name 94—96

- Śvetadvīpa, White Island, and the Sages
Nārada, etc. Sup. 15 & n.: 16
- Śvetaketu, and the *Kāmasāstra* . . . 188 & n.
- Śvetāmbara, Jain sect 140
- Śvetāśvatara Upanishad Sup. 14: 15
- Śvetavāha, and other variants, names of Ar-
juna Sup. 13
- Syria, and the week days, 112; and architecte-
ture, etc. 170—172; 176, n.; and Antiochus. 297
- Systems, Philosophical, of India . . 101: 104—106
- Tabari, historian 174
- Tafā'ul Khān, stone seat, Khāndesh . . . 162
- Taila I., Bādāmi Chālukya k., 286; II., 285.
286 & n.; or Ahavamalla, 287; III. . . 285
- Taimūr and India 115
- Tak Eivan, building near Karkh . . . 173
- takiyah, hermit's hut 206
- Tālgund, inscrip. 287
- Ta'lib-i-ibn Ustad, or Mushta'qi, Sind
legend 205
- Talpagiri, Mettaippādi or Rājanāthapura. 94: 100
- tamasa, sacrifice Sup. 6, n.
- Tambapannī, riv., identification of . . 48, f.; 297
- Tāmrāpurnī, riv. 48, f.
- tanmatānusāritā, totality of followers of a doc-
trine 158
- Tarikh-i-Shivaji, Persian work 300
- Tatpādānūdhya, expression, applied to Pura-
gupta 164, f.
- Tatta, cap. of Sind, and Uderolāl . . 198, f.; 204
- tattvas 139
- Taxila, Soroll, inscrip. 76; tn., 138; and Sir-
kap 263
- Taylor, J., of Madrasapatam 61
- teg, sword 200
- Tel, Telingiri, and the Telavāha riv. . . . 71
- Telang, on *Bhakti* Sup. 15 & n.; 28, n.—32
- Tellicherry, and Austria's commercial venture,
8—12: 14
- Telugu, co., Andhradeśa 71
- Temples, of Śiva and Viṣṇu, 94, 96; of the
Sun, Kanarak, etc., 209, ff.; and worship
department, Mauryan institution . . . 51
- terms, explained, in the *Arthasāstra* . . . 50, ff.
- territory of Gautamīputra 150
- Tessitori, Dr., and the wide sound of *E* and *O*,
37 & n.—39; 43—47; 225, ff.
- texts, on *Vārtā*, etc. 238—240
- Thakurs, and Uderolāl, 200 & n.: 201 & n.: 202;
and exogamy 203: 207
- Thalner, vil., Karvand, and Rāja Ahmed,
115, f.; 121: 141
- The Divine Song, *Bhagavadgītā* . . Sup. 2, 3, n.
- The Practical Path, by Champat Rai Jain,
Book-Notice 139
- theatre, etc., and *samāja* 221—223 & n.
- Theism, and the *Bhagavadgītā*. Sup. 3—6, n.; 8, n.
- Theology, *trayī* 102—104; 106, f.; 109
- Thomas, St., and Parthia Sup. 15
- Tiberius, or Augustus, on coins 77, n.
- Tibet, Tibet, and Alexander 245
- tiger, *vyāghra* 197
- Timbe, near Delagoa Bay, and Wm. Bolts . . 1
- Tinnevely dist., ancient Pandya kingdom . . 48
- Tirtha-kalpa, a work by Jinaprabhasūri . . 69
- Tirumalarāja, copperplates of 81
- Tissa, k. of Ceylon 48
- tombs, Nabataean, and vaulted roofs, etc.,
169; 176; of Muhammad Tughlaq, 176; of
Uderolāl 201, f.
- Tondainādu, and Mullandram 99
- Toramāna, Eraṇ Boar inscrip., etc. . . 18, f.
- Torevanda, inscrip. 289
- trade, Austrian, in S. India 59, f.
- tradition, and Alexander 245
- tragedy, Black Hole 265; 266 & n.
- Trailōkyamalla, *biruda* of Somēśvara I. . 289 & n.
- Traité de l'Economie Politique* (1615) . . 234
- Tranquebar, Danish settlement 58, f.
- transmigration, of the soul Sup. 21
- trayī*, theology, 102; 106, f.: 109; 238. 239 & n.
291; 256
- treaty, with Surāju'ddaula, etc. . . 266—269; 273
- trees, in temple carvings, etc. . . 214; 216 & n.
- Tr ngganu, and Malay currency 28
- Tretā* ago, and *Vārtā* 233
- Triest, and Austria's commercial venture, 9; 32;
51 & n.: 58—60; 64; 68; Society of . . 85, ff.
- Trilokasāva, palm-leaf MS., extract from . . 22
- Trimūrtis in Bundelkhand 136, ff.
- Trinkat, Tricuttec, Nicobar isl. 13
- Trita, sage, and Śvetadvīpa Sup. 15, f.
- Trivikrama Viṣṇu worship 84
- Tuba, frontier fort, Haurān 174; 177
- Tughlaq dyn. 115
- Turks, and Uderolāl 200
- Udayagiri, mt., 168; temples on, 210, n.; caves, 216
- Uddālaka, and the *Kāmasāstra* 168 & n.
- Uddandapura, Bihar 110, f.
- uddhṛta*, meaning of 194
- Uddyotakara, early writer 102, f.

- Uderolāl, see Religion in Sind 197, ff.
udyaṇa, royal gardens 54
 Udyota Keśari, inscrip. 210, f.
 Ujjain, Ozene, cap., of Chashtana, etc., 153; 156;
 and Akbar, 180; and Sun worship 218
 Ujjayini, Ujeni, 78; Avanti 151; 167
 Ukhaiqir, palace, ruins, etc. 175
 Ulugh Khān, and Rāṇā Chāhādā Achārī .. 243
 Umar, Khalifah, or *al-Fārūq*, ancestor of the
 Fārūqī dyn. 116, f.
 Umar ibn 'Abd al-Aziz, and the *mihṛāb* .. 175
 Umayyad Khalifs, Arabs, 174; a power in C.
 Asia 177
 Umm-al-Jamal, Church etc., with vaulted roof. 172
 Umtātiyah, example of vaulted roof, at .. 172
Upanishads, the, and the *Bhagavadgītā*,
 Sup. 14; 15; 31 & n.; 35
 Uśanas, Śukra, etc., 105; and Gautama .. 107, n.
 Ushavadāta, two of the name, 73 & n.; his bene-
 factions 74—78
 usury, see money-lending 234, n.
 Uttamabhadras, and Mālayas 75
 Uttarādis, in Sind 203
Uttara-purāṇa, extract from 20—22, n.
utthāna, energy 53
- Vacha*, and *Vracha*, words in Aśoka inscrip. 53, f.
 vackeel, *vakil* 29 & n.
 Vadhryaśva, Vadhri, son of Indrasena. 280—284
 Vaidarbha School, of poets 264
Vaijayanṭa, g. 51, n.
Vaiśeṣika, system of philosophy, 104; 106; 108;
 190, f.
 Vaishṇava worship and Buddhism, etc. .. 84; 220
Vaiśravaṇa, g. 51, n.
 Vaiśyas, and *Vārtā*, 237 & n., 238; 240; 256;
 and emancipation Sup. 27
 Vākātaka, kings 165
 Vakṣū-tira, Vankeu, Oxus, riv. 17
 Valaipattanam, Baliapatam 10, n.
 Vallabha, commentator, 251; 253, n.; and the
 Kṛishṇa sect Sup. 19; 20
 Valūraka, caves 74
vanijjā, cattle-rearing 256
 Varāhamihira, 108; and Sun, idols .. 136; 138; 150
 Varatuṅga Pāṇḍya, Śrīvallabha, copperplate
 of 81
 Vardharis, or Budhāis, Thakurs 203
 Varga, Apsaras leader 197
vargr, *varag*, wolf 197
Vārtika-sūtra, Patañjali's gloss to, and the
 Abhiras 36
- Vārtā*, the Ancient Hindu Economics, 233, ff.;
 256, ff.; 275, ff.
Vāsavadattā, romance by Subandhu .. 247, f.
 Vāsishṭhiputra Pulumāvi, and Nahapāna,
 154, f.; inscrips. of 222
 Vāsishṭhiputra Śātakarṇi 155
 Vāsudeva, g., and Trivikramā-Vāmana
 Viṣṇu, 84; 137, f.; in the *Bhagavadgītā*,
 Sup. 4; 5; 9—13; 17; 18; 20; 21
 Vatesvara tree, Puri 214
 Vātsyāyana, and Kauṭilya, 102 & n.—104 & n.;
 106—108; and the *Kāmasāstra*, 188 & n.;
 and Mallanāga, etc., 189 & n.; 190 & n.; and
 Kālidāsa, two of the name, 195 & n.; and
samāja 222, f.
 Vaulting system of the Hindola Mahal, Mān-
 dū 169, ff.
Vāyupurāṇa, the, and the Abhiras .. 35; 36 & n.
 Veda, the, and Kṛishṇa, etc., .. Sup. 18; 21; 26
 Vedānta and the *Bhagavadgītā* .. Sup. 5—9; 34, f.
 Vedāntadēśika, founded the Vāḍagalai Śrivaish-
 nava sect 100
 Vedāntins, and Agamāntins 99
 Vedic, legend, of Viṣṇu, 84; Schools, 190, f.;
 works, and *Vārtā*, 236 & n.; and the *Bhaga-
 vadgītā* Sup. 6; 7 & n.; 11
 Vediśri, son of Śātakarṇi 72
 Vegetable, and animal, sacrifices, 189, n.; god, 207, f.
 Venice 85
 Venkaṭa I., II., copperplates of 81
 Venture, commercial, see Austria's .. 1, ff.
 Vernon, Sir Ed., Commander-in-Chief, E. Indies.
 82, n.
- Vēṭāla, ghost k., and Śātavāhana .. 70
Vibhāgapatramālā, a name for the *Vivēkapat-
 ramālā* 79, n.
 Vibhava, Iśvara and Kṛishṇa Sup. 20
 Victoria and Albert, Museum 296
 Victory pillar, at Kāmakoṭīśvara *piṭha* .. 94; 96
 Vidabha, Vaidarbha, co., and Gautamīputra,
 150; and the Vaidarbha School of Poetry .. 264
 Vidyāpati, g. 95
 Vidyāraṇya, sage 95
 Vidyās, and Kauṭilya, 102—104; 107, n.—109; 237
 Vienna, and Austria's commercial venture,
 3; 5; 6; 34; 86; 90; 91
 Vighrahapāla II., III., inscrips. of, etc. 111; or
 Śūrapāla 165
 Vijayanagara, dyn., śāsana writers of and the
 poets of Mullāndram, 79, ff.; pedigree of the
 composers, etc. 82, f.; 98
 Vikrama, and Malava, eras, etc. 16; 20; and the
 week-days 112 & n.
 Vikramāditya, k. of Ujjain, 70; III, 286 & n.;
 IV, 286 & n.; V, 285, 286 & n.; Tribhu-
 vanamalla, 287 & n.; VI 29

- Vilivāyakura, Baleokourous, coins of .. 153
 Vinaspharī, and Vanaspara .. 298, f.
 Vindhya, Vijha, mts. .. 151
vinīta, word, in Aśoka inscrip. . . 53; 54 & n.
 Virā Narasiṃha, copperplate of .. 79
 Virapurushadatta, Śrī Ikshvāku, k. .. 156
 virgins, cult .. 205; 208
 Virūpāksha, copperplates of .. 79
 Viśākha, worshipped by the Mauryas .. 51
 Viṣṇu, Temples, 95, f.; and the Sun, 136 &
 n. 137; 220; image, etc., 164; 216; Trivik-
 rama worship, 84; in the *Bhagavadgītā*,
 Sup. 2, 4, 5, n. 6, n.; 11, 17; 18
 Viṣṇuism, pre-Mussalman, 204, n.; in the
Bhagavadgītā .. Sup. 14; 19
 Viṣṇupāda, on Gaya Peak, 84 & n.; 219;
 inscrip. .. 109, f.
 Viṣṇupur, P'i-shen-p'o-pu-lo .. 204, n.
 Viṣṇuvite, attack on Uderolāl .. 204
 Viṣṇugupta, Kautilya, or Chāṇakya .. 101; 159; 190
 Viśvāmitra, and the Andhras, 70; and Rāma. 240
 Viśvaphāni, Viśvaphatika, etc., and Vanaspara. 298
 Viśvarūpa Sena, copperplates of .. 220
Viśekapatramālā, the .. 79, ff.; 94, ff.; 125, ff.
 volunteer, reformadoc .. 84
vraja, *vrajas*, divisions of land .. 55 & n.
 Vrindaban, and Sun worship .. 220
 Vṛttis, in Mammaṇ's *Kāvya Prakāśa*, an addi-
 tional proof of the genuineness of .. 23
 Vudri, inscrip. .. 288
 Vyāsa, and the story of Indrasena .. 281; Sup. 20
- Wadagēri inscrip. .. 290
wāgh, panther .. 197
wāgho, crocodile .. 197
 Walid I, Unayyad Khalifa, 174; and the
mihirāb .. 175
 Walker, man with Capt. Cook, and with Wm.
 Bolts .. 90 & n.
 wall-paintings, Kuṣair 'Amrah .. 174
Waḡā'i-i Nizāmshāhiyyah, and the *Bur-*
hān-i-Ma-āfir .. 120 & n.
 Warren Hastings, and Austria's commercial
 venture .. 29—31
 water worship, in Sind .. 197
 Watson, Admiral, and relief of Calcutta .. 266
 Watts, Ed., E. I. Co.'s servant .. 186, f.
 Watts, Wm., Chief, Kasimbazar .. 265, ff.
 wealth, art of .. 233—235; 239; 256
 Weber, and the *Bhagavadgītā* .. Sup. 1; 6, n.;
 10—13; 15—18 & n.; 21, n.; 29; 31
 wedding customs, Jodhpur, etc. .. 197
- week days, and Vikrama .. 112
 werwolf .. 197
 Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi, chronology
 of .. 285, ff.
 Western Ghāṭa, Malaya .. 151
 Williams, Capt., E. I. Co.'s servant .. 62
 wisdom, *prajñā* .. 217
 wolf, *vargr* .. 197
 wolf-god, Apollo .. 208
 women, and orthodoxy in India, 189, n.; and
 Uderolāl, 202; their studies, etc. 239, n. 256;
 and chariot races, 283; and emancipation,
 Sup. 27
 words, European, corruption of .. 196
Works and Days, a work by Hesiod .. 233
 worship, and the Mauryas, 51; 84, n.; in Sind,
 197; 202; 204; 207, f.; of the Sun, 217—219 & n.
- Xenophon, and economics .. 233 & n.
 Xerxes, palace of .. 203
- Yādavas, and the followers of Kṛishṇa,
 Sup. 9; 11; 13, n.
 Yajña-Śātakarni .. 155, f.
 Yājñavalkya, on beef diet .. 189, n.
 Yajvapālas, or Jajapallas of Narwar .. 241, ff.
 Yule, Elihu, E. I. Co.'s servant .. 56; 84
 Yuzna, Śakyamā .. 209
 Yamas, coins of .. 209
 Yār Lutf Khān, Indian officer (1757) 267 268;
 270 & n.
 Yaramādirāja, or Paramādirāja, Jajapella k. .. 242
 Yaśodharman, and Mihirakula .. 18
 Yavanas, Greeks .. 163
 Yēwūr, inscrip. .. 288
 Yoga system, of philosophy, 102; 104, f. 107—
 109; Sup. 21—23; 27
 Yuan Chwang, Hiouen Tshang, 150, n.; on
 Mihirakula, 163; and Odra *stūpas* .. 209
- Zafar-al-Walīh*, the, and Khāndesh .. 183; 185
Zārat, of Khwāja Khizr .. 204; 206
 Zimmerman, with Capt. Cook, and with Wm.
 Bolts .. 90 & n.
 Zinda Pir; Uderolāl .. 202; 204; 207, f.

